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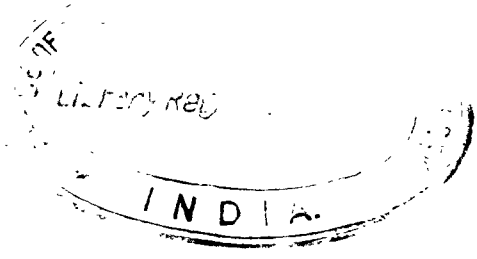
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# VEDIC VARIANTS


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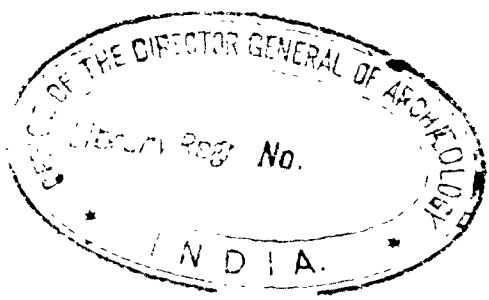
MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON



PUBLISHED WITH THE AID OF THE
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1932

# VEDIC VARIANTS

## A Study of the Variant Readings in the Repeated Mantras of the Veda

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BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

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AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

*Salisbury Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Yale University*

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*Volume II*

## PHONETICS

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# PREFACE

This second volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS deals primarily with Phonetics; included also are graphic variations, false divisions between words, and rime words. It is the largest volume of the series, and probably the most interesting and important.

The general plan and objects of the VEDIC VARIANTS have been described in the Preface to Volume I, The Verb (Philadelphia, 1930); which also stated the approximate extent to which each of the co-authors participated in the work. The greater part of the first volume was Bloomfield's. In this volume my own share is larger. Nevertheless the first nine chapters owe much to Bloomfield, who prepared a draft of their text on the basis of preliminary studies made by me. I have preserved as much as possible of Bloomfield's language in these chapters: those who know his inimitable style will find traces of it at many points in them. To my regret, he never continued this work beyond the ninth chapter. In the remainder his participation was nearly or quite limited to the gathering of preliminary list of materials. This will be true, also, of all the remaining volumes of the series, to which he contributed only an occasional marginal note, aside from the preliminary lists.

Cordial thanks are again due to the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA and to the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES, which by their continued generosity have made possible the publication of this second volume of the series.

Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, Sterling Fellow and Research Associate in Yale University, has read the proofs of this volume and made a number of useful suggestions. It gives me great pleasure to announce that Dr. Emeneau is collaborating much more extensively in the preparation of Volume III, on Noun Inflection. With his able and vigorous co-operation it is now (in April, 1932) nearly completed, and we hope to issue it soon. Dr. Emeneau's name will appear, most deservedly, on its covers and title-page as co-author.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

These are the same as those used in Volume I, with the addition of VV = VEDIC VARIANTS (VV I = the first volume, on The Verb). Most of them, it is believed, are self-explanatory. Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance. *RVRep.* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*.

The asterisk * is used to indicate a variant reading in one text when the mantra occurs in the same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute; that is, it calls attention to the occurrence of both forms of the variation in the same text.

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance.

# CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY

## PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE

**§1.** An examination of our materials shows that many, perhaps most, of the cases here treated under the general head of 'phonetic variations' are accompanied by, or result in, a lexical or morphological change at the same time. Thus, beginning with RV., the two words *vācam* and *vājam* interchange in:

*pra vācam* (9. 35. 4a *vājam*) *indur iṣyati* RV. 9. 12. 6a, 35. 4a,
'Soma sends forth speech (substance).' Obviously, there is here a change, involving a single sound, from one very familiar Vedic word to another equally familiar, the two having no etymological connexion whatsoever. Tho there is good reason to believe the reading *vācam* is the primary one (cf. *RVRep.* 410), the alteration makes good sense and is intentional. Yet when we find this same interchange occurring independently in a considerable number of cases, we cannot doubt that rime and phonetic confusion—both phenomena of sound, rather than sense—hold shares in the transaction, or, more precisely, constitute the prime motive in the shift.

**§2.** More purely phonetic, yet not devoid of lexical significance, is the following variation, which also involves interchange of *c* and *j:*

*prāñco agāma* (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.,
'We have gone forward (swiftly) to dancing and mirth.' For some reason *prāñco,* surely intelligible and fit, has suggested to the Taittirīyaka the more sophisticated, or tenser, reading *pra* + *añjas* 'forward swiftly' (*añjas,* RV.). The commentator's *prāñjaḥ* = *prāñcaḥ* is negligible; TA. must have been familiar with *añjas* in the sense of 'swiftly'.

**§3.** We find, however, a great many phonetic changes which carry a certain word or expression to the danger-line of unintelligibility, without necessarily reaching the point of senseless corruption. In these cases the secondary reading appears inappropriate to its context, or at least, its motive escapes our appreciation. And yet it would be dangerous to deny the resulting lexical change as a real fact of the tradition of a given school. The study of Vedic tradition must not be content with reconstructing or defining the original body of mantras, by detecting and recording secondary fancies, adaptations, and corruptions. These

secondary readings have their own right to exist; they are, as a rule, the genuine readings of their respective schools. It is our duty to sketch the development of the mantras in all the Vedic schools, assigning, where possible, causes for the changes, but rejecting no unexplained or apparently unmotivated change, however it may seem to conflict with what seems to us good mantra sense. Thus:

*ud usriyāḥ sṛjate* (TB. *sacate*) *sūryaḥ sacā* RV. SV. TB.,

'The sun sends forth (accompanies, attends) his ruddy rays all together.' (The TB. comm. seems to come around tortuously to the sense of the other schools: *utsacata udgatatvena saṁbaddhān karoti prasārayatīty arthaḥ.*) The TB. reading is inappropriate; but neither the theory of a quasi-Prakritic substitution of *a* for *ṛ*, nor that of interchange between surd and sonant (elsewhere a real phonetic change), alters the fact that the TB. understood the word as a form of *sac*, and had lost sight of the root *sṛj*, whatever meaning it attached to *sac*. Note, in passing, that the TB. reading results in a kind of alliteration, *sacate . . . sacā*. Thus the phonetic considerations involved are complicated by the (at least possible) regressively assimilatory influence of the word *sacā* on the original *sṛjate*. Yet in its final outcome the change is lexical, tho unquestionably related to (and perhaps started by) faulty hearing of sounds. Cf. Winternitz in his edition of ApMB., Introduction, xv ff., and xxx.

**§4.** Clearly, then, such variants are of interest and importance for Vedic phonology. Concretely speaking: If we are collecting examples of the quasi-Prakritic shift of *ṛ* to *a*, we shall, of course, begin with such a variant as this:

*ava sma durhaṇāyataḥ* (SV. *durhṛṇ°*) RV. SV.

Here the RV. has an obvious Prakritism which the SV. 'corrects' by substituting the Sanskritic *durhṛṇ°*. This does not mean that the SV. knows more Sanskrit than the RV.; the RV. itself knows the stem *durhṛṇ-* (1. 84. 16; 7. 59. 8). It is, however, a purely phonetic variation. On the other hand, in the variant:

*etāṁ saṁkṛṣya* (MS. MŚ. *°kaṣya* or *°kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.,

who can decide definitely whether the *a* or *u* for *ṛ* is purely phonetic (Prakritic), or lexical? Böhtlingk in fact assumes an improbable *saṁkuṣya* from the root *kuṣ*. Be this as it may, if we can discern in the Veda signs of a Prakritic change of *ṛ* to *a*, then the substitution of *sacate* for *sṛjate*, lexically different tho the two words be, bears in some fashion and in some degree upon the matter of Vedic Prakritism. But it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between purely phonetic and

lexical shifts. Our detailed consideration of the variants tries to do this as far as possible, holding itself very free from imposing upon the materials personal theories and predilections.

§5. Our procedure has been to select all sound interchanges which could possibly have phonetic interest, and then to gather all variants which show these sound interchanges, irrespective of the contributory influence of lexical and other moments. At the same time we have borne in mind the greater interest and value which, for the purposes of this study, must attach to those variants which are purely phonetic—which show different phonetic forms of what must be regarded as lexically the same word. By this procedure we are enabled to present here a new mass and a new class of materials for the study of Vedic phonetics, which are likely to become a permanent factor in future Vedic grammar.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

§6. We begin with interchanges between voiced and voiceless consonants, quite numerous and often suggestive of Prakritic phonetics. Next, interchanges between aspirates and non-aspirates, few and mostly lexical in character. Then variations between aspirate stops and *h*, mostly concerning *h* and *bh*, and in fact mostly interchanges between *grabh* and *grah*.

§7. Next, interchanges in the articulation-series, numerous and extremely interesting. The little section concerning palatals is important out of all proportion to its size (notably the quasi-Prakritic variations between *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps*, and *ch*). The numerous variations of labial stops with *m* and *v* are partly graphic (*b* and *v*, *p* and *v*), partly morphological (suffixes containing *m* and *v*), partly lexical, but to a large extent purely phonetic (especially in the variation between *b* and *v*, a very familiar phenomenon).

§8. The variations between semi-vowels and liquids differ widely from one another in character. Those between *y* and *r*, *l*, *h* are not many nor very significant. Those between *y* and *v* are more numerous and to some extent quite curious, pointing to phonetic relations between these two sounds hitherto not sufficiently emphasized. The tendency of the Taittirīya school to prefer *v* to *y* is paralleled by its preference in some cases of the vowel *u* to the vowel *i*. The only other important subdivisions of this section are the variants between *r* and *l* (numerous, and almost purely phonetic), and those between *ḍ* and *l*, or *ḍh* and *lh* (numerous, but mainly a matter of cut-and-dried school usage).

§9. With the sibilants we find a very large number of variants between

*ś* and *s*; a much smaller number between *ś* and *ṣ*; and a very small number between *s* and *ṣ*. The first two groups contain a considerable number of purely phonetic variants. Between *s* and *h* occur only lexical variants and corruptions, not numerous, but not lacking in interest.

**§10.** Next, a section on insertion or omission of consonants: first of nasals and *anusvāra*, cases which show a marked tendency to harmonize with a shift in quantity of the preceding vowel. Then of *y*, very numerous but mostly morphological (e.g. words identical in meaning but containing or lacking suffixal *y*). But there are groups of phonetic interest, such as that concerning *y* between vowels as sandhi-consonant or 'hiatus-tilger', and *y* after palatals, or after two consonants. Presence or absence of *r* does not display much interest, but that of *v* includes some cases of *v* initial before vowels, partly as 'hiatus-tilger' after a vowel. Cases of presence or absence of *h* and *s* mostly concern initial *s* before stops, and initial *h* before vowels (a sort of psilosis); those of *visarga* point to the light pronunciation of that sound as word-final.

**§11.** The consonantal variants are concluded with sections on single and double consonants, on assimilation of consonants (with suggestions of Prakritism), and on simplification of consonant groups.

**§12.** The treatment of the vowels begins with the variations in quantity of simple vowels. Most important and numerous are those between *a* and *ā*, especially the rhythmic lengthening of final *a*. Much light is thrown on the meaning of this phenomenon; our conclusions can hardly be stated in a few words and can best be deduced from the section itself. The variants between *i* and *ī* and between *u* and *ū* are in general parallel to those between *a* and *ā*, but much less numerous. The numerous shifts in quality between *a*, *i*, and *u* vowels are mostly morphological or lexical in character. On the other hand those between vocalic liquids and *a*, *i*, or *u* vowels are largely Prakritic, and of great interest; most numerous are those between *ṛ* and *a*. The variations between diphthongs and simple vowels, and between long and short diphthongs, while mainly morphological (varying grades of ablaut, and presence or absence of the vriddhi of secondary derivation), harbor also some phonetic or dialectic differences.

**§13.** The variations between *ṛ* and *ar* or *ār*, more rarely *ṛ* and *ir*(*īr*) or *ur*(*ūr*), mainly concern ablaut, and involve also dialectic and lexical shifts. The phenomena of '*saṁprasāraṇa*' show that the variations of *va*(*vā*) with *u* vowels, of *ya*(*yā*) with *i* vowels, and of *ra*(*rā*) with *ṛ* are mainly morphological or lexical; on the other hand variations of *ri*(*rī*)

and *ru*(*rū*) with *r* show Prakritic tendencies. Prakritism is, of course, concerned in the little group of variants between *aya* and *e*, and *ava* and *o*.

**§14.** Next comes a section on insertion or expulsion of vowels. Most commonly the vowel (generally *i*) is secondarily inserted, contrary to the meter, either before or after a liquid (anaptyxis); the insertion is especially common after *r* and before a sibilant or *h*. Only superficially do these cases resemble the next and last vocalic section, which concerns the writing of *iy* and *uv* for *y* and *v*, which is shown to be largely an attempt to represent in writing the vocalic pronunciation of *y* and *v* (as *i* and *u*).

**§15.** Leaving now the behavior of individual sounds, there is a considerable variety of phenomena which concern groups of sounds. We take up first metathesis: of consonants (transposition of a single consonant without change of other sounds, interchange in position of two consonants, adjoining or not adjoining); then metathesis of vowel and adjoining semivowel. This is followed by an interesting group of variants concerning haplology and dittology.

**§16.** Next, a large section dealing with differences in the division of words, which may perhaps hardly be called strictly phonetic, but which are interesting and important because they show, more than possibly any other kind of interchange, the extent of the breakdown during Vedic tradition of both sense and sound values. The point is reinforced by a miscellaneous collection of 'patch-words', teaching the same general lesson.

**§17.** A class of rime-words also throws light on the methods of text tradition. On the slender basis of a vaguer kind of assonance, rather than of real phonetic interchange, words which are easily subject to association are substituted one for another. There is no rubric in which the details of causation can be watched and accounted for more profitably.

**§18.** Finally, a considerable number of variants may be based on graphic similarities. Doubtless a careful study of Indian paleography would suggest much more than we are able to state in this section. Our selections are of the more obvious and simple kind; they seem, however, to suggest the great age to which graphic corruptions in Vedic tradition may go back.

**§19.** The variants exclusively concerned with external sandhi in a narrow sense constitute the last chapter of this volume, a large and important one. A summary of its contents will be found in its introductory section.

PRAKRITIC INFLUENCES

**§20.** We have at this point refrained from preliminary illustrations in the set rubrics which have established themselves under our hands. There is, however, one kind of interchange which runs as a red thread thru Vedic tradition, and which is so important that it should receive special treatment and emphasis. We refer to shifts which suggest possible dialectic influence from popular speech, by their resemblance to the phonetics of the later Middle-Indic dialects. (Cf. especially Wackernagel I, p. XVIII, with references there quoted; and for a brief preliminary outline of our materials, Edgerton in *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 25 ff.) The large mass of variants of this kind, clearly pointing to extensive influence of Middle-Indic phonetics in the earliest periods of the language, seems to us one of the most important results of this volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS. The principle, to be sure, is not new. But it has never before been illustrated so extensively; and the special character of the illustrations, namely the occurrence of double forms of the variants, with and without Prakritic phonetics, makes them especially valuable and interesting. Moreover, some of the rubrics here included are, we believe, now presented for the first time in Vedic phonology. We find, all in all, the most definite proof of phonetic changes not only in the direction of Prakritism, but also (no less interesting) in the reverse direction, 'hyper-Sanskritism,' which latter indicates a rather definite consciousness, on the part of the handlers of the texts, of the antithesis between the phonetics of the high speech and of the popular dialects.

**§21.** Taking up such variations in the order of their occurrence in our book, we find at the very outset a large number of variations between surds and sonants, some of which seem to defy lexical explanation, and to be capable of interpretation only as quasi-Prakritic phonetic variants. (See Chapter II, especially §§47–9, 53, 59, 66, 69.) Thus:

*pikaḥ* (KSA. *pigaḥ*) *kṣviṅkā nīlaśīrṣṇī te 'ryamṇe* (KSA. *'ryamṇaḥ*) TS. KSA. No form but *pika* is known outside of this KSA. passage.

*citrā etagvā* (TB. *edagvā*) *anumādyāsaḥ* RV. MS. TB. A pure Prakritism in TB.; the comm. does not explain the form. Cf. the next, in which MS. seems to have a hyper-Sanskritism, the reverse of this.

*diśāṁ devy* (MS. *tevy*) *avatu no ghṛtācī* TS. MS. All mss. and p.p. of MS. agree on *tevy*; if it means anything at all, it would seem to be a laletic (nursery) word for 'mother'. But it is doubtless merely a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism. Cf. *mātṛk* (for *mādṛk*) TA. 1. 5. 1, and §66.

*khajāpo 'jopakāśinīḥ* ApMB.: *bajābojopakāśinī* HG. Uncertain, because the words concerned are barbarous and obscure.

**§22.** The variations between surd and sonant aspirates are both much fewer, and less certain in their relation to Prakritism; we may however quote two cases (see §§70, 76–7):

*mā naḥ kaścit prakhān* (ApŚ. *praghān*) . . . KS. ApŚ.

*svāyāṁ tanū* (ApMB.† MG.† *tanūṁ*) *ṛtviye* (RV.† *ṛtvye*) *nādhamānām* (ApMB. *nātha°*, MG. *bādha°*) RV. ApMB. MG.

**§23.** Under aspirates and *h* occur a few forms which might be connected with the later Prakritic tendency to substitute *h* for aspirate mutes. Dialectic in a broad sense this change certainly is; but see Wackernagel I p. 252f., who holds that *h* regularly replaced *dh* and *bh* in the RV. dialect after (or initially before) an unaccented vowel. Cf. Ascoli, *KZ* 17. 258ff.:

*asaṁheyaṁ* [perhaps for *asaṁkhyeyaṁ*?] *parābhavan* JB.· *asaṁbhavyaṁ parā°* AV. See §121.

*gṛdhraḥ śitikakṣī vārdhrāṇasas te divyāḥ* (KSA. *vārhīṇasas te 'dityāḥ*) TS. KSA. So the single ms. of KSA.; v. Schroeder emends to *vārdhrī°*; the form with *h* for *dh* is otherwise unknown, but we should incline to keep the ms. reading. See §122.

*kakubhaṁ* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *kakuhaṁ*) *rūpaṁ vṛṣabhasya* (KS. *rūpam ṛṣa°*) *rocate* . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. The adjective *kakuhá* (with regular *h* according to Wackernagel's law) occurs in RV., where *kakubha* is not known. See §120.

**§24.** Under Palatals and Dentals (§§154–61, see especially 156, 159) are found some variations between *d* and *j* before *y*, with obvious Prakritic bearings; the second example we are about to quote shows an interesting hyper-Sanskritism in HG.:

*sahasriyo dyotatām* (TS. TB. *dīpyatām*, MS. *°rīyo jyotatām*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*ava jyām iva dhanvanaḥ* AV. Vait. ApMB.: *ava dyām iva dhanvinaḥ* HG.

**§25.** On Linguals and Dentals see our discussion below, §163:

*avatasya* (SV. *avaṭasya*) *visarjane* RV. SV. We believe (for reasons set forth §164) that *avaṭa*, 'well', is a pure Prakritism, and that, on the evidence of the variants, Prakritic influence in this section of Vedic phonetics has not been sufficiently recognized heretofore.

**§26.** The miscellaneous group of interchanges concerning palatals (Chapter V) contains a number of Prakritic phenomena (cf. Wackernagel I §135). Thus there are the familiar but very interesting cases of *ch* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps* (§§183–6); in most of our variants lexical considerations enter in, but note the following:

*achalābhiḥ* (KSA. *acharā°*, MS. *atsarā°* in p.p., in s.p. *matsarā°*, VS. *ṛkṣalā°*) *kapiñjalān* VS. TS. MS. KSA. The same word appears as *ṛcharā* in AV. **10**. 9. 23. Either MS. or VS. (or both?) must have hyper-Sanskritic back-formations.

**§27.** The following may be quoted as a probable example of dialectic *khy* for *kṣ* (§§190-1). Tho the Tait. form is none too clear, it seems that the ŚŚ. has a corruption of it:

*idhmasyeva prakṣāyataḥ* (ŚŚ. *prakhyā°*) TB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

**§28.** There are a number of cases of mutual interchange between *j* and *y* (§§192–3), mostly more or less justifiable lexically. Cf. Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b. In the following example we have a proper name, and may infer that one or the other form is a dialectic corruption of its rival:

*saujāmim* (ŚG. *sauyāmim*; with both sc. *tarpayāmi*) AG. ŚG.—Cf. AV. 19. 34. 2a, *jāgṛtsyas tripañcāśīḥ* (mss., wrongly emended in edition), for which read *yāḥ* (or *yāś ca*) *kṛtyās*, or *yā gṛtsyas*; see Whitney's note to Transl., and our §192.

**§29.** The interchange between *v* and *m* may be Prakritic, cf. Wackernagel I p. 197; it is fairly frequent (see particularly §§223–5). That between *b* and *v* (§§206–19) is certainly dialectic in a wide sense, whether properly Prakritic or not; cf. Wackernagel I p. 183f.:

*uc chvañcasva* (TA. *chmañcasva*) *pṛthivi mā ni bādhathāḥ* (TA. *vi bādhithāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

*yatra bāṇāḥ* (VS. *vāṇāḥ*) *saṁpatanti* RV. SV. VS. TS. AG. Both *b* and *v* are found in the RV. in this word; it is not known which is original.

**§30.** The thoro confusion of the sibilants in the Middle Indic dialects makes it plausible to suppose that the extensive confusion of them even in the Vedic texts is of like nature (cf. Wackernagel I p. 225f.). A few examples out of many may be quoted here; for *ś* and *s* see especially §§274–9:

*vi srutayo* (AŚ. *visrutayo*, ŚŚ. *viśru°*) *yathā pathaḥ* SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. And other cases of *śru* for *sru* (so that BR. even postulate a 'root' *śru*, 'flow'!). Here *s* is original and *ś* secondary. The contrary is the case in the next:

*śukeṣu me* (AV. *sukeṣu te*) *harimāṇam* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.

**§31.** Much less numerous are the variations between *ś* and *ṣ*; yet they are not rare, and are to some extent at least purely phonetic (see §§288–90):

*nainad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat* (VS. *arśat*) VS. VSK. ĪśāU. The proper form is *arṣat*; VS. comm. *ṛśa gatau*.

**§32.** There are very few variations between *s* and *ṣ* (§294):
*ye vṛkṣeṣu* (KS. *vaneṣu*) *śaṣpiñjarāḥ* (TS. *saspi°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Thought of the word *sasya* doubtless influenced TS., and cf. *śaṣpa* for the other form (a kind of haplology in each case); see §278.

**§33.** The later confusion between *kh* and *ṣ* (perhaps scarcely to be called 'Prakritic' in a strict sense; cf. Wackernagel I p. 136) finds surprisingly little representation here; in fact we have noted only one case, and that an uninterpretable word (§295):
*kaṣotkāya svāhā* TA. TAA.: *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU.

**§34.** There are however a couple of interesting cases of variation between *ś* and *kh*, which must be similar in character; see §296 below.

**§35.** Under presence or absence of nasals and *anusvāra* occur some variations which remind us of Pali-Prakrit *sīha* for *siṅha* and the like, altho usually lexical considerations enter in (cf. §300):
*pūṣṇe 'ghṛṇaye svāhā* TA.: *pūṣṇa āghṛṇaye* (em.; mss. *āpṛṇaye*) *svāhā* MŚ. *āghṛṇi* is regular.

**§36.** Under presence or absence of *y* we find some interesting cases which remind us of the wide-spread use of an unetymological *y* between two vowels as a 'hiatus-tilger' (§§338–44). To be sure, the forms are all grammatically or lexically diverse; but a similar phonetic tendency is surely present. It may be added that there are traces of a similar use of *v*, altho again the variant forms are lexically justifiable (§§358ff.):
*vaiśvānaram ṛta ā* (TS. *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. The secondary and not very intelligent reading of TS. shows a tendency to avoid hiatus by use of the glide-sound *y*.

**§37.** In Pali and Prakrit we find rather free interchange between long or nasalised vowel plus single consonant and short vowel plus double consonant, without much regard for etymology. The conditions are best stated by Geiger, *Pāli* §§5, 6. Traces of a similar tendency may be detected among the variants (§§393–8), tho again complicated by other considerations:
*agne samrāḍ iṣe rāye* (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . AŚ. ApŚ.: *iṣe rāye* . . . VS. MS. ŚB. TB. (See §396.) While the two parallel stems *rai* and *rayi* are of course concerned here, the result resembles the Middle Indic phonetic change referred to.

**§38.** There are also (§§406–16) traces of the Prakritic assimilation of two adjoining consonants; this is especially marked when one of the consonants is a semi-vowel or liquid, or (as in the following instance) the two are semi-vowel and liquid:
*abhinne khilye* (TB. *khille*) *nidadhāti devayum* RV. AV. TB. This is a

purely phonetic, Prakritic variant; TB. can mean nothing but an equivalent of *khilye* (comm. *khilībhūte*).

**§39.** Of the vocalic sections, the first to claim attention here is that on the interchange of vocalic liquids and other vowels (§§629–45). The Prakritic nature of this change is obvious. These variants are quite numerous, and, especially between *ṛ* and *a*, contain not a few genuine phonetic variations:

*ava sma durhaṇāyataḥ* (SV. *durhṛṇ°*) RV. SV. The SV. restores Sanskritic vocalism, as against the Prakritic form of RV.

*tejo yaśasvi sthaviraṁ samiddham* (ŚG. *samṛddham*) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. Here ŚG. alone has the 'correct' Sanskrit form, and even it has a v. l. *samiddham* (perhaps felt as 'inflamed', with *tejas*?).

*puraṁdaro gotrabhid* (MS. *°bhṛd*, TB. *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. A hyper-Sanskritism in MS; see §636.

*tvaṣṭṛmantas* (MS. MŚ. *tvaṣṭri°*, ApŚ. *tvaṣṭu°*) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*saṁvatsara ṛtubhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ* (KS. *°bhiś cākḷpānaḥ*, ApŚ. *°bhiś cākupānaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ.

**§40.** Various Prakrit dialects show occasional forms with *ri* or *ru* for Sanskrit *ṛ*; and the modern vernacular pronunciation of Sanskrit *ṛ* as *ri* or (e.g. Marāṭhī) *ru* should be remembered in this connexion. Among the variants *ru* for *ṛ* shows a tendency to be associated with labial consonants. Besides *tvaṣṭṛmantas* (*tvaṣṭri°*) etc., §39, we may quote from §§666–84:

*tṛṣucyavaso* (MS. *triṣu°*) *juhvo nāgneḥ* RV. MS. The adverb *tṛṣu* is the only possible form here; the variant of MS. is purely phonetic.

*bhṛmiṁ* (TB. *bhrumiṁ*) *dhamanto apa gā avṛṇata* RV. TB. The mss. of TB. seem to be unanimous on *bhrumiṁ*, an otherwise unknown form.

*pruṣvā aśrubhiḥ* VS. MS.: *aśrubhiḥ pruṣvām* (TS. *prṣ°*) TS. KSA. The form *prṣvā* occurs a number of times in Tait. texts; it may be called a hyper-Sanskritism for *pruṣvā*.

**§41.** Coming next to the diphthongs, variations between long and short diphthongs (§§703–12, 728–32) naturally remind us of the fact that all long diphthongs are shortened in Middle Indic. Among the clearest phonetic variants are:

*avārāya kevartam* VS.: *pāryāya kaivartam* TB. The usual form is *kai°*.

*sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *sukarīrā svopaśā* MS. Several mss. of MS. and its p.p. read *svaupaśā*.

**§42.** The familiar Prakritic reduction of *aya* to *e* and *ava* to *o* is paralleled by our §§744–9, e.g.:

*namaḥ kiṅśilāya ca kṣayaṇāya* (MS. *kṣeṇāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. *kṣeṇa* is otherwise unknown.

*to-to* (MS. KS. MŚ. *tava-tava*, TS. ApŚ. *to-te*) *rāyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

**§43.** The insertion of an epenthetic vowel, generally *i*, between two consonants, usually a liquid and a sibilant or *h*, is likewise related to Prakrit phonetics (§§751–65):

*tan naḥ parṣad* (MS. *pariṣad*) *ati dviṣaḥ* TS. MS. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 57.

## CHAPTER II. SURD AND SONANT MUTES

**§44.** These are treated in the following order: *k* and *g*, *c* and *j*, *ṭ* and *ḍ*, *t* and *d*, *p* and *b*, *kh* and *gh*, *th* and *dh*. (For *g* and *kh* see §82; *t* and *dh*, §97f.; *p* and *bh*, §§112–14.) In general the purely phonetic variants are much rarer than those which involve lexical change. They concern, too, for the most part rare words, so that it is often uncertain whether the voiced or voiceless sound is more original, unless the theory of Prakritic influence is sufficient to establish greater probability for the voiceless. It does seem to be true that, especially under purely phonetic variations of *k* and *g*, there is a preponderance of the cases in which *k* appears to be original.

### *k* and *g*

**§45.** We shall begin with the forms which clearly involve real lexical changes along with the phonetic changes, and first of all with cases where both readings make good sense. In these the question of priority is often peculiarly delicate; both variants may be assumed to represent the conscious intentions of their schools:

*athāham anukāminī* (MŚ. °*gāminī*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. How near these expressions are to one another may be seen from AV. 1. 34. 5cd, *yathā māṁ kāminy aso yathā man nāpagā asaḥ*. Yet MŚ. (all mss.) is no doubt secondary.

*gṛṇatā naḥ sviṣṭaye* AV.: *kṛṇutaṁ naḥ sviṣṭim* (MS. KS. °*ṭam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Sing for us unto well-being'; 'make well being for us.' The meter of AV. is easier, but the *āprī* hymn where it occurs is in a state of corruption so great (cf. Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda* 54; Keith, *HOS* 18. clxi) as to throw doubt upon its version of this pāda, easier tho it be. The word *gṛṇatā* is preceded by *gṛṇata* (other forms of *gṛṇ*° in the other Saṁhitās); this suggests that *gṛṇatā* is a secondary corruption, due not wholly and perhaps not primarily to the tendency here considered.

*mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnāṁ* (MS. °*hnā*) *cikitnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikitvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. *cikitnū* of TS (presumably 'intelligent', tho not quoted in the lexicons) and *jigatnū* of KS. ('swift') are both reasonable. See RV. 7. 65. 1, where *jigatnu* is precisely an epithet of Mitra and Varuṇa (wrongly Oldenberg, *Noten* 2. 50).

*namaḥ kṛchrebhyaḥ kṛchrapatibhyaś ca vo namaḥ* MS. KS.: *namo gṛtsebhyo gṛtsapatibhyaś . . .* VS. TS. See §185.

*tato na vicikitsati* (VSK. ĪśāU. *vijugupsate*) VS. VSK. ĪśāU.: *na tato vijugupsate* KU.: *na tadā vicikitsati* ŚB. BṛhU. 'Then he no more doubts', or, 'then (therefrom) he does not shrink away.' Two familiar verb-forms, both appropriate. The Kāṇva recension of BṛhU. has *jugupsate*. Cf. AV. 13. 2. 15b.

*dhipsyaṁ vā saṁcakara janebhyaḥ* MS.: *yad vādāsyan saṁjagārā janebhyaḥ* TB.: *aditsan vā saṁjagara janebhyaḥ* TA. Cf. *dāsyann adāsyann uta saṁ gṛṇāmi* (TA. and AVPpp. *uta vā kariṣyan*) AV. TA.: *adāsyann agna uta saṁ gṛṇāmi* AV. In all these passages *saṁ-gṛ* seems to mean 'devour, eat', tho doubt has been cast on this interpretation (see Whitney on AV. 6. 71. 3 and 6. 119. 1). If 'devour' is right, *saṁ-cakara* 'collect' is secondary, tho in the outcome not very far from the original meaning.

**§46.** We list next cases in which the priority of one reading is emphasized by the fact that the secondary form, tho correct enough considered as an individual entity out of its context, fits that context more or less poorly, so that the term corruption begins to be more or less applicable to it. Here belong, first, several interchanges between the roots *kṛ* and *gam*:

*ukhāṁ* (ApŚ. *garbhaṁ*) *sravantīm agadām akarma* (KŚ. *aganma*) KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'We have made the leaking *ukhā* diseaseless.' Tho *aganma* may serve at a pinch, *akarma* seems to be the true reading; see VV I p. 211.

*urvīṁ gavyāṁ pariṣadaṁ no akran* AV.: *ūrvaṁ gavyaṁ pariṣadanto agman* RV. KS. The original RV., 'surrounding it they penetrated into the stable of the cows,' is done over in AV., 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine' (Whitney).

*vadhūr jajāna* (AV. *jigāya*, MS. KS. *mimāya*) *navagaj* (ŚG. *navakṛj*) *janitrī* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. ŚG. See Whitney on AV. 3. 10. 4 for a collection of Hindu guesses on the meaning of *navagat*; the European guesses are scarcely better. ŚG. tries a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, rationalizing a tradition which it did not understand.

*imaṁ logaṁ* (TA. *lokaṁ*) *nidadhan mo ahaṁ riṣam* RV. AV. TA. 'Depositing this clod of earth, may I suffer no injury.' TA. *lokaṁ* (after *imaṁ*, this follows so naturally!) makes no sense here. The comm. in fact interprets it as *loṣṭam* (= *logam*), etymologizing monstrously (*lokyate dṛśyata iti loko loṣṭaḥ*!). Some mss. and the comm. of AV. read like TA., however.

*pary āgāraṁ* (AŚ. *ākāraṁ*) *punaḥ-punaḥ* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Only *āgāram* makes sense; something (a drum?) is being beaten 'about the house', not 'about the form.' The preceding (in AV., preceding but one) pāda is *yadi* (*yadīṁ*, *leliṁ*) *hanat kathaṁ hanat.*

*indrāpāsya phaligam* ApMB.: *indrāyayāsya śepham alīkam* . . . HG. The correct reading is certainly *phaligam.*

*mano jagāma dūrakam* (PB. *dūragāḥ*) RV. PB. The latter is a far-reaching recast of RV, where *dūrakam* belongs with *manas*; *dūragāḥ* (in itself a perfectly good word) can only be construed by violently detaching it to go with the subject of the next pāda, *tan ma āvartayā punaḥ.* This, according to the PB. comm., who so construes, is Soma (whom the epithet *dūragāḥ* does not fit at all).

*rājānaḥ satyaṁ kṛṇvānāḥ* (AV. *gṛhṇānāḥ*, but Ppp. *kṛṇvāno*) RV. AV. Whitney, who renders 'apprehending truth', notes that the other reading is better.

*tasya rathagṛtsaś* (MS. °*kṛtsnaś*, KS. °*kṛtsaś*) *ca rathaujāś ca senānīgrāmaṇyau* (TS. *senāni*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The word *ratha*° is a proper name, 'chariot-clever'; °*kṛtsa* is probably a corruption of the first stage, leading over to °*kṛtsna*, which does not fit.

*abhūr gṛṣṭīnām* (AV.* *v āpīnām* mss., R-Wh. *vaśānām*, false emendation withdrawn by Whitney ad loc.; ApMB. and one ms. of HG. *āpīnām*; HG. *āpīṇām*) *abhiśastipā u* (HG. ApMB. °*pāvā*) AV. (bis) HG. ApMB.: *bhavā kṛṣṭīnām* (AV. *gṛ*°, but Ppp. *kṛ*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG. See Whitney on AV. 19. 24. 5; Roth, ZDMG 48. 110. The word must mean 'people'; 'heifers' is nonsense (see Sāyaṇa's ludicrous attempt to justify it).

*prāṇān saṁkrośaiḥ* MS.: *saṁkrośān prāṇaiḥ* (VS. °*krośaiḥ prāṇān*) VS. TS.: *saṁghoṣān* (ms. °*goṣān*) *prāṇaiḥ* KSA. Here what was originally probably a mere corruption in KSA. (*ṣ* for *ś*, loss of *r*) becomes, if we accept the emendation, a lexical variant.

**§47.** We come now to cases where the new reading produces a word or combination of words which seem to defy interpretation. At the same time the putatively original forms are themselves apt to be not above suspicion. The cases concern great textual decay, and belong largely to the Yajurveda schools:

*nikīrya tubhyam abhya āsam* Vait.: *nikīrya tubhyaṁ madhye* ApŚ.: *nigīrya tubhyaṁ madhvaḥ* MŚ.: *nigīrya sarvā ādhīḥ* KŚ. The passages are unintelligible; *kir*, 'scatter', does not seem to be recorded in composition with *ni*, which points, perhaps, to *nigīrya* 'swallowing down' (note *madhvaḥ* in MŚ.).

*tena saṁhanu kṛṇmasi* AV.: *tena sann anugṛhṇāsi* HG. The meaning of AV. is uncertain (perhaps corrupt, see Whitney's note). The individually irreproachable words of HG. mouth over an uncomprehended text. Cf. §386.

*arepasaḥ sacetasaḥ* (etc.) *svasare manyumattamāś* (SV. ApŚ. °*mantaś*) *cite goḥ* (SV. *citā goḥ*, ApŚ. *cidākoḥ*) SV. AV. ApŚ. MŚ. *cidākoḥ*, with metathesis of voice-quality, as if from a stem **cidāku*, is corrupt.

*śakma yat te goḥ* MS. KS.: *sagme* (TS. *samyat*) *te goḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. 'What power of (over) the cow is thine', MS. KS., perhaps correctly and originally. In VS. ŚB. *sagme* looks indeed like a Prakritism for *śakma*. But on account of the different cases it is doubtful whether it is felt as having the same meaning (cf. however the adjective *śagma*, from root *śak*). It seems, rather, vaguely connected with *sa* and the root *gam*. VS. comm., followed by Griffith, *sagme yajamāne* (!), *goḥ gauḥ* (very simple!). BR. read in TS. *saṁpátte* with one ms. (p.p. *samyát, te*), but the comm., followed by Weber, ISt. 13. 107, takes *samyát* as =*samyak*. So also Keith ('to match thy cow'). BR. regard *saṁpátte* as =*sagme*, both meaning 'Einswerden im Handel'; they render: 'wenn du auf eine Kuh eingehst'. They therefore derive *sagma* from *sa* and *gam*.

*rudra yat te krayī* (VS. KS. *krivi*, VSK. *kravi*, MS. MŚ. *giri-*) *paraṁ nāma tasmai* (VS. MS. ŚB. *tasmin*) *hutam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. These various names of Rudra are all equally unintelligible. The reading *giri-* is especially sophisticated, having in mind Rudra's mountain habitat.

*idam ahaṁ sarpāṇāṁ dandaśūkānāṁ grīvā upa grathnāmi* (MŚ. mss. *kṛtsnāmi*; Knauer conjectures *kṛṇatmi*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I now tie up the necks of the stinging serpents.' But *kṛtsnāmi* is not *kṛṇatmi*, and the MŚ. may have merely a corruption of TS., in spite of Knauer's belief that the mantra was not taken from TS. Somewhat the reverse of this is found in *pumāṁ enaṁ* etc., §48.

Cf. also *jāgṛtsyas tripañcāśīḥ* etc., §192.

**§48.** In the remaining cases the possibility of real lexical change becomes fainter. We believe that we are now dealing with what are essentially nothing but phonetic shifts, if not pure corruptions:

*invakā* (MS. °*gā*) *nakṣatram* MS. KS. This name for the constellation Mṛgaśīrṣa is recorded in its *g* form only here, and in its *k* form according to BR. (V. 1144) only once more (TB. 1. 5. 1. 1). The priority of *invaka*, 'pervading', is hardly to be questioned, but MS. may have felt the word as a compound of *inva* plus *ga, gā*.

*sā prasūr* (ŚG. *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG. °*gā*) *bhava* AV. ŚG. HG. ApMB. *dhenukā* is a pet-word to *dhenu* 'milch cow'. In *dhenugā* there may be a touch of popular etymology, a hint of the stem *go*, 'cow', but the form is essentially Prakritic.

*āśuḥ kāṣṭhām ivāsaran* (read °*ram* with comm., Ppp., Whitney, and Bloomfield) AV. 2. 14. 5b. All mss. *gāṣṭhām*; *kā*° is emendation. Ppp. also (ms.) *gā*° (em. Barret, JAOS 30. 193, *kā*°); comm. *glāṣṭhām*.

*pikaḥ* (KSA. *pigaḥ*) *kṣviṅkā nīlaśīrṣṇī te 'ryamṇe* (KSA. °*mṇaḥ*) TS. KSA. The word is always *pika*, except here.

*sṛkāhastā* (TS. KS. *sṛkāvanto*, MS. *sṛgavanto*, one ms. *sṛka*°) *niṣaṅgiṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. The stem concerned is always *sṛka* 'spear', except in this and the following passage, and in a lexical quotation, perhaps based on these readings.

*namaḥ sṛkāyibhyo* (TS. *sṛkāvibhyo*, MS. *sṛgāyibhyo*) *jighāṅsadbhyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. See preceding.

*vīṇāgaṇakino* (ŚB. °*gino*) *devair imaṁ yajamānaṁ saṁgāyata* ŚB. ApŚ. Also: *vīṇāgaṇakinaḥ pūrvaiḥ saha sukṛdbhī rājabhir imaṁ yajamānaṁ saṁgāyata* ApŚ.: *vīṇāgaṇaginaḥ purāṇair imaṁ yajamānaṁ rājabhiḥ sādhukṛdbhiḥ saṁgāyata* ŚB. Cf. further KŚ. 20. 3. 2. Altho the compound *vīṇā*° does not occur outside these passages, its meaning is plain ('master of a band of lute-players'), and it seems that it must contain *-gaṇaka*, with suffixal *ka*. Perhaps the *g* is due to assimilation to the preceding *g*, or to sophistication from the root *gā*, 'sing' (so comm. on ŚB. and KŚ., both of which implausibly understand *vīnā-gaṇa* as meaning 'a quantity of [various kinds of] lutes'); cf. Conc. under *gāyatam* . . .

*puñjikasthalā* (KS.† *puñjiga*°) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS. ŚB. *kratu*°) *cāpsarasau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. This name of an Apsaras appears in later literature, always with *k*.

*pumāṅ enaṁ tanuta ut kṛṇatti* RV.: *pumān enad vayaty ud gṛṇatti* AV. See Whitney's note on AV. 10. 7. 43. *gṛṇatti* is doubtless a mere corruption, promoted by confusion with the root *grath, granth* 'tie', which with *ud* is nearly synonymous with *ut-kṛt*. More or less the reverse of this shift is found above, §47, *idam ahaṁ* etc.

**§49.** In the following variants there is for the most part little evidence to support the greater originality of either *k* or *g*; the words are almost or quite ἅπαξ λεγόμενα:

*vīryaṁ kuhābhyām* (KSA. *gu*°) TS. KSA. A part of the horse's body. For *ku*° the TS. comm. says, *hastayor madhyasaṁdhī* (cf. *viṣu-kuh*). The other form suggests perhaps *guhya*, 'pudenda'. Neither is recorded lexically.

*pratikramaṇaṁ kuṣṭhābhyām* (KS. *gu*°) TS. KSA.: *ākramaṇaṁ ku*° MS. Both otherwise unknown; like the preceding they designate a part of the horse's body. Bhāskara, *hastāparārdhamaṇi*; Keith, 'the two centres of the loins'. Cf. *kuṣṭhikā*, 'dew-claw, spur', etc.

*agne kahya* MS. KS. MŚ.: (*agne*) *gahya* TS. Neither in lexs., and neither interpretable. Keith, not plausibly, 'abysmal' (thinking of *gāhya*).

*salilaḥ saligaḥ sagaras te na ādityā haviṣo juṣāṇā vyantu svāhā* MS. KS.: *lekaḥ salekaḥ sulekas te na ādityā ājyaṁ juṣāṇā viyantu* TS. ApŚ. All isolated and uninterpretable.

*grāmyamañkīradāśakau* ApŚ.: *grāmyaṁ mañgīradāsakau* MŚ.: *vyāghraṁ mañgīradāsa gauḥ* Vait. In Vait. read *mañgīradāsagau*, or possibly with Caland, °*dāsakau*. Two proper names, Mañgīra or Mañkīra, and Dāsaka (or Dāś°), are involved.

*namo vaḥ kirikebhyo* (MS. MŚ. *namo gṛirikebhyo*) *devānāṁ hṛdayebhyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. In such a formula, of the Śatarudriya, either epithet remains doubtful, tho *girika*, of course, suggests 'mountain-born' like *giriśa* etc. The possibility of different lexical interpretations may be admitted, but the variation is probably purely phonetic.

*uruka urukasya* (ApŚ. *uruga urugasya*) *te vācā vayaṁ saṁ bhaktena gamemahi* (MS. °*mahy agne gṛhapate*) MS. ApŚ. Neither form is in the lexs.; *uruga* may be felt as *uru-ga*, 'wide-going' (so Caland). Is *uruka* some bird of good omen?

*vi te bhinadmi takarīm* (KS. °*rim*, AVPpp. [Roth] *tagarim*, AV. *mehanam*) AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. There is no evidence as to the meaning of *takarī* (°*ri*, *tag*°) except the context and the variant *mehanam*; and none whatever as to its derivation or original form.

## *c* and *j*

**§50.** Prakritic interchanges between the two sounds go in both directions (Pischel, §202). This of itself makes difficult the appraisal of their phonetic aspect in the variants. Moreover all variations produce passably good words of different origin or etymology, so that priority must be determined by sense, or by the established superiority of one or the other text. We are unable to discover anything like a concerted movement, either from *c* to *j* or vice versa. But on the whole we have the impression that the main current is from *c* to *j*, and that it is Prakritic in character (*prāñjo* from *prāñco*, *ud-aj* from *ud-ac*).

**§51.** Most notable and extensive is the riming interchange between

the forms *vācam* and *vājam*. Tho not synonyms, they are both familiar in ritualistic language as words of good and useful meaning. Their interchange begins in the RV. itself:

*pra vācam (vājam) indur iṣyati* RV. (both)

Here there seems reason to regard *vācam* as prior; see *RVRep.* 410. In the next following cases *vācam* is also original:

*vācaspatir no adya vājaṁ svadatu* VSK.: *vācaspatir vācaṁ* (VS.* † 9.1, ŚB.* † 5. 1. 1. 16 *vājaṁ*) *naḥ svadatu* VS. KS. ŚB. SMB.: *vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti* (MS. °*tu*) *naḥ* (TB. *te*, Poona ed. *naḥ*) TS. MS. KS. TB. The word *vācaspatir*, with the preponderance of texts, shows that *vājam* is secondary.

*pavitravantaḥ pari vācam* (TA. *vājam*) *āsate* RV. TA. N. The older *vācam* refers either to the sound of the soma-drops (Grassmann) or to the hymns of the officiating priests (Ludwig).

*premaṁ vājaṁ vājasāte avantu* AV.: *premāṁ vācaṁ viśvām avantu viśve* TS. MS. KS. In all texts the preceding pāda reads: *marutāṁ manve adhi no* (AV. *me*) *bruvantu*. The Maruts seem here to be regarded as singing priests (RV. 3. 14. 1, 5. 29, 3, 10. 78, 1), who may well help the *vāc* of human priests. AV. is a banal recast.

*vācam asme ni yacha devāyuvam* VS. ŚB.: *vājam asmin ni dhehi devāyuvam* MS.: *tapojāṁ vācam asme ni yacha devāyuvam* TA. In MS. a specious lectio facilior; *tapojām* in TA., as well as the *viprāṇāṁ devayā vācas* of RV. 5. 76. 1, prove that the other texts are right.

**§52.** In the remaining cases it seems likely that *vājam* is the original word:

*sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme* (MŚ. *vācam asmāt*) TS. MŚ.: *sā saṁnaddhā sanuhi vājam emam* (MG. *sunuhi bhāgadheyam*) AV.† MG. 'Do thou (O woman), consecrated, win strength (holy speech) for him (from (this),' or the like. *bhāgadheyam* is a sort of synonym of *vājam*. In MŚ. *asmāt* refers to the girdle with which the Pratiprasthātṛ binds the woman as he recites this verse (*iti pratiprasthātā yoktreṇa patnīṁ saṁnahyati*); *vācam* is simple but secondary.

*indraṁ vājaṁ vi mucyadhvam* TS. KS. TB.: *indrāya vācaṁ vi mucyadhvam* MS. MŚ. The verb on which the first two words of this quasi-pāda depend is *ajījapata;* cf. *ajījapatendraṁ vājam* VS. ŚB. As the interested person is a king, *vājam* is clearly required; *vācam*, 'prayer' or 'Sarasvatī', is far-fetched. Cf. *vājajic . . .* and *vājajityāyai . . .* in Conc.

*asredhanta itana vājam acha* RV.: *adroghāvitā vācam acha* AV. The

poor meter and general corruption of AV. (in which RV. 3. 14. 6 is somehow involved) make it unintelligible; see Whitney's note. Tho *vācam* would fit fairly well, RV. is original at all points.

Analogous to these is one variant between *vacasā* and *ojasā*;

*sam eta viśvā* (AV.† *viśve*) *vacasā* (SV. *ojasā*) *patiṁ divaḥ* AV. SV.—Ppp. evidently means to read *ojasā*; its text, as quoted by Roth, has *viśvā oham ā*. This supports SV., tho the otherwise corrupt Śaunakīya text makes as good sense as its rivals: 'Go all together to the lord of heaven (the sun) mightily (with prayer).' See, however, above under *vācam asme* . . . §51.

**§53.** There are next a pair of riming variants in which *ud-ac*, 'draw out' ('schöpfen', of liquids) seems to vary with *ud-aj*. This is the nearest approach to purely phonetic or Prakritic change, tho *ud-aj* may at a pinch be a fairly good synonym: 'drive out' in the sense of 'obtain, acquire'. Thus in RV. 1. 95. 7 *uc chukram atkam ajate simasmāt*, which we take with Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* 2. 189, to mean 'he draws out (derives) from himself a bright garment'. Otherwise *ud-aj* is the favorite word for driving cattle (often mythical) from their stable, which comes metaphorically even closer to *ud-ac:*

*avīraghnīr ud ajantv* (ApMB. *acantv*) *āpaḥ* AV. ApMB. 'Let them draw forth waters that slay not heroic sons'; cf. *vyukṣat krūram ud acantv āpaḥ* ApMB. 1. 1. 7. Weber, *Ind. St.* 5. 198, and Whitney on AV. 14. 1. 39 go the length of emending *ajantv* to *acantv*, which is doubtful practice (cf. §3). But probably the mantra was first composed with *acantv*, despite RV. 1. 95. 7 above.

*samudrād udajani vaḥ* (ApŚ. *udacann iva*) *srucā* MS. ApŚ. Here MS. is probably secondary or corrupt, but possibly understands a form of root *jan*, 'was born out of the ocean'.

**§54.** There are two cases in which derivatives of roots *can* and *jan* vary; it seems that they divide the honors of originality:

*caniṣṭhad* (SV. *ja*°) *agne aṅgiraḥ* RV. SV. Little can be done with the anomalous *caniṣṭhad* (Whitney, *Grammar*, §906b, Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8. 74. 11); less with *janiṣṭhad;* tho the ideas of either 'giving delight' or 'arousing' are well enough.

*sāvitro 'si canodhāḥ* (MS. *janadhāyāḥ*) VS. MS. ŚB. Cf. *tutho 'si janadhāyāḥ* (PB. °*yaḥ*) MS. KS. PB. MŚ.: *stuto 'si janadhāḥ* TB. ApŚ. 'Thou art Savitar's joy-giver (creature-nourisher).' The preponderance of texts favors *jana-;* there is no other criterion; both are reasonable enough.

**§55.** In two other individual cases the change is clearly from *c* to *j*, tho in both the forms with *j* are tolerably defensible:

*prāñco agāma* (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA. See §2.

*devebhyas tvā devāyuvaṁ* (KS. *devāvyaṁ*) *pṛṇacmi* (so MS. by emendation, mss. mostly *pṛṇaymi*! ApŚ. *pṛṇajmi*) *yajñasyāyuṣe* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *pṛṇajmi* (all mss. of ApŚ.) is supported by Dhātup. and by *anavaprgṇa* RV. 1. 152. 4, which is placed by Wackernagel I p. 117 and doubtfully by Whitney (*Roots*) under *pṛc*. See however Scheftelowitz, *IF*. 33. 136, and Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV*. 1. 33 (root **parzg*). But the matter is uncertain; the forms with *g*, *j* may be based on root *pṛc*, and due to proportional analogy with other 7th-class roots in *j*, which have *k* by internal sandhi in certain forms (e.g., *bhanakti*: *bhagna*: *bhanajmi* = *pṛṇakti*: *pṛgṇa*: *pṛṇajmi*). —In this connexion also:

*upa mā jakṣur* (!) *upa mā manīṣā* KŚ. 13. 2. 19, where *jakṣur* is either misprint or Prakritic anomaly for *cakṣur*.

**§56.** In several cases the variation between *c* and *j* is in the reduplication of roots in *k* and *g*, which latter it really concerns; see §45.

*mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnāṁ* (MS. °*hnā*) *cikitnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikitvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*tato na vicikitsati* (*vijugupsate*), etc.

*dhipsyaṁ vā saṁcakara janebhyaḥ*, etc.

**§57.** The remaining cases are miscellaneous:

*somaḥ sutaḥ pūyate ajyamānaḥ* (SV. *suta ṛcyate pūyamānaḥ*) RV. SV. Here the original form of root *aj* (*añj*), 'adorn', is replaced in SV. by *ṛc*, 'praise'; a lexical change with hyper-Sanskritic tendency.

*tve kratum api vṛñjanti viśve* (AV. **pṛñcanti bhūri*) RV. AV. (both) SV. TS. AA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'In thee they all set (mingle) their mind.' The combination *api aprāk* once more AV. 10. 4. 26, and nowhere else. For *api varj* (original) see Bloomfield, *JAOS*. 35. 281.

*agne vyacasva* (RV. MS. *yajasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV. AV. MS. 'O Agni, make sacrifice to (embrace) the wide heaven and earth.' AV. has a contaminated lectio facilior; cf. RV. 10. 111. 2 *mahānti cit saṁ vivyācā rajāṁsi*, and the converse, RV. 8. 12. 24, *na yaṁ vivikto rodasī*; or 10. 112. 4, *yasya . . . mahimānam . . . ime mahī rodasī nāviviktām*.

*divas* (SV. *divaḥ*) *pṛṣṭham adhi tiṣṭhanti cetasā* (SV.† *rohanti tejasā*) RV. SV. With metathesis of *c*(*j*) and *t*.

*ud usriyāḥ sṛjate* (TB. *sacate*) *sūryaḥ sacā* RV. SV. TB. See §3.

*anāhanasyaṁ vasanaṁ cariṣṇu* (ApMB. HG. *ja*°, PG. *jariṣṇuḥ*) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. As an epithet of a garment, *jariṣṇu* would mean possibly 'much worn' or the like; as an epithet of the subject,

*aham* (PG.), possibly 'attaining or destined for old age'. To us (contrary to the opinions of Kirste and Oldenberg on HG.) *ja°* seems, with the majority of the texts, the original reading, rather than ŚG. *cariṣṇu* (Oldenberg, 'wallend').

*jāmiṁ* (KS.† *cami*) *mā hiṁsīr amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *mā jāmiṁ moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV.—The KS. reading (of a single ms.) should certainly be corrected to *jāmiṁ*.

*gharmas triśug vi rājati* (ŚŚ. *rocate*) VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. Hardly belongs here; *rocate* is a perfect synonym of *rājati*.

*yuktās tisro vimṛjaḥ* (comm. *vibhṛjaḥ*) *sūryasya* PB.: *yunajmi tisro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ save* [or, *savaḥ*]) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. In PB. the comm. has two equally fatuous guesses on *vibhṛjaḥ* 'dividers' (of the sun). But there is little more sense in *vipṛcaḥ*, apparently 'separators' (of the sun); it seems to be applied collectively to *pṛthivī*, *vāyu*, and *vāc*. It can hardly mean 'separate, distinct' as BR. take it. Keith, doubtfully, 'spaces'; Caland and Henry, *Agniṣṭoma*, 128, equally doubtfully, 'épouses'.

*girā ca* (AV. *virājaḥ*) *śruṣṭiḥ sabharā asan naḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The AV. reading shows far-reaching adaptation to a secondary purpose, as it seems also to include with most of SPP.'s mss. (and his oral reciters) and the comm. *śnuṣṭiḥ* for *śru°*. Whitney adopts *śnu°*, which Ppp. also intends with its *suniṣṭas* (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 207). See §865.

*purā jatrubhya* (TA. ApMB. *jartṛbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhyā*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyaḥ*) *ātṛdaḥ* (MS. *°da*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. The original is obscure enough; but MS. is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible. Note its loss of final *ḥ* (§384).

## *ṭ* and *ḍ*

**§58.** We have found practically no variants here; the one recorded involves plausible but secondary change from 1st to 3d person in a verb form (*VV* I p. 217):

*viśvāvasuṁ namasā gīrbhir īḍe* (ApMB. *īṭṭe*) RV. ApMB.

## *t* and *d*

**§59.** Here we find, first, a number of cases in which *d* is substituted for *t* as what seems to be a purely phonetic, Prakritic change, real lexical difference being scarcely, or only in a very strained way, conceivable:

*citrā etagvā* (TB. *eda°*) *anumādyāsaḥ* RV. MS. TB. The comm. on TB.

ignores the word. The etymology of *etagva* (*AJP.* 17. 426) furnishes no opportunity for the change.

*pārāvataghnīm* (TB. °*daghnīm*) *avase suvṛktibhiḥ* RV. MS. KS. TB. N. *pārāvataghnīm* (sc. *sarasvatīm*), either 'slaying the distant (enemy)', or 'slaying from a distance'. TB. comm. has a labored and worthless explanation. If the text had anything in mind it must have analyzed *pāra* + *avadaghnīm*, root *dagh*, something like 'reaching across' (*pāra*, 'further bank').

*sa īṁ pāhi ya ṛjīṣī tarutraḥ* (VaradapU. *tarudraḥ*) RV. AB. GB. TB. NṛpU. VaradapU. Perhaps vague popular etymology in *tarudraḥ*, as if 'tree-cleaving'.

*ime 'rātsur ime subhūtam* (MŚ. *sūdam*!) *akran* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter (quoted by Knauer from an unpublished part of the text) evidently intends *subhūdam*, for *subhūtam*, since it is followed immediately by:

*ima udvāsīkāriṇa* (MŚ. *imā uddhāsicāriṇa*!) *ime durbhūtam* (MŚ. °*dam*) *akran* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. prec.

*agotām anapatyatām* (vulgate with most mss. *anapadyatām*) AV. 4. 17. 6b. Some mss. and the comm. read *anapatyatām*, which must be intended, as guaranteed by its juxtaposition with *agotām*. Cf. RV. 3. 54. 18 *yuyota no anapatyāni . . . paśumāṅ astu gātuḥ*.

*yadā rākhātyau vadataḥ* ApŚ.: *yadā rāghaṭī varadaḥ* Vait.: *yad adyārādhyaṁ vadantaḥ* MŚ. See §§70, 272a. Vait. is thoroly Prakritic.

**§60.** In the next following cases lexical considerations enter more forcibly, yet the change continues to be from primary *t* to secondary *d*:

*vayaṁ hi vāṁ purutamāso* (AV. °*dam*°) *aśvinā* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Is the epithet (here applied to the poets, *kāru*, but in juxtaposition to the word *aśvinā*) a bungled reminiscence of its application to the Aśvins in RV. 7. 73. 1 (*purudaṁsā purutamā*) ? Roth, *ZDMG.* 48. 107, and Whitney on AV. 7. 73. 1, consider the AV. form, 'having many houses', corrupt.

*mā me hārdi tviṣā* (MŚ. *hārdiṁ dviṣā*) *vadhīḥ* TS. MŚ. A replica of RV. 8. 79. 8c *mā no hārdi* etc.; *dviṣā* is lect. fac.

*sato vaḥ pitaro deṣma* VS.: *sado* etc. ApŚ. SMB. GG. In VS. 'of what is ours, O Fathers, we will give to you.' The others with lect. fac., 'a seat, O Fathers' etc.; this is facilitated by the quasi-synonym *gṛha* in the preceding pāda: *gṛhān naḥ pitaro datta*. Cf. the next.

*mukhaṁ sad asya śira it satena* (TB. *sadena*) VS. MS. KS. TB. The texts all intend *sad asya* (so MS. p.p. and VS. comm.); TB. comm. apparently reads *sam asya*. VS. comm. takes *satena* from a stem

*sata*, said to be a sacrificial implement, and says that the stem *sat* (in *sad*) = *sata*, '*chāndasaḥ*'. TB. *sadena*, taken by its comm. to mean 'seat', may be a sort of phonetic perseverance, matching *sad-asya*. Cf. prec.

*śivā rutasya* (VSK. *śiva ṛtasya*, TS. and v.l. of MS. *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °*jā*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

*gāva upāvatāvatam* (SV. *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV. SV. VS. In SV. a form of *upa-vad*; in the others, of *upa-av*. SV. is uninterpretable; its verb is singular, but the subject can only be *gāvaḥ*.

*svasāra āpo abhi gā utāsaran* (SV. *udāsaran*) RV. SV. In SV. a form of *ud-ā-sṛ* (quotable nowhere else) is substituted for the original, *uta+asaran*.

*ya ātṛṇatty* (ViDh. *āvṛṇoty*, SaṁhitopB. *ātṛṇoty*) *avitathena* (VāDh. *avidathena*) *karṇau* SaṁhitopB. VāDh. ViDh. N. *avidathena* can at a pinch mean 'unsacrificial' or 'not according to rule', but the use of the hieratic *vidatha* is very questionable at this stage. The reading is simply Prakritic or corrupt.

*yathāpaḥ pravatā yanti* TA. TU. Kauś.: *yathā yanti prapadaḥ* SMB. The latter is secondary; Jörgensen, 'wie die Wege gehen'. In his note he suggests *pratipadaḥ*, which is not enticing in view of the variant.

*agne tān vettha yadi te jātavedaḥ* HG. ApMB.: *tvaṁ vettha yati te jātavedaḥ* RV. VS. *yadi*, 'if', is lect. fac.

*ā vatso jagatā* (AG. *jāyatāṁ*, PG. *jagadaiḥ*) *saha* AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. *jagadaiḥ* (comm. 'guards', *anugai rakṣakaiḥ*) is certainly poor and secondary. The comm. however is probably right in his interpretation, as the next variant interestingly shows:

*īśānaṁ jagadaiḥ saha* PG.: *īśāno jagatas patiḥ* AV. TS. KS. ApMB. The context is different; the two pādas are hardly variants of each other. PG. comm. *jagadaiḥ*, *anucaraiḥ*. Cf. prec.

*hitvā na ūrjaṁ pra patāt patiṣṭhaḥ* (AV. *prapadāt pathiṣṭhaḥ*) RV. AV. MG. In RV., 'leaving us food may it fly forth, most swift-flying.' AV., doubtless intentionally, 'leaving us food, may it set out, being on the road', which seems to make possible sense, tho it is secondary (Whitney, however, abandons it and translates the RV. version).

*vanā vananti dhṛṣatā* (MŚ. mss. °*dā*; one, *dṛṣadā*) *rujantaḥ* RV. TS. JB. ŚB. MŚ. The corruption of MŚ. mss. is due to thought of *dṛṣad*, 'mill-stone'. RV. 8. 49 (Vāl. 1). 4 may have *dhṛṣat* in this sense. But see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on this passage.

*amoci* (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB. *avarti* 'distress' seems likely to be original.

*ā sutrāvṇe* (MS. KS. *bhūyiṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatim āvṛṇānaḥ* AV. MS. KS.: *oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatiṁ gṛṇānāḥ* TS. See §355.

In a couple of cases involving adverbs in *d* and *t* the *t* seems older; they are grouped below, §68, with similar cases in which *d* is older.

**§61.** In the next group we find different division of the words; but the change is still from *t* to *d* (cf. §65):

*pathā madhumatā bharan* (MS. *madhumad ābharan*) VS. MS. TB. Either reading is interpretable; in VS. TB. *madhu°* goes with *pathā*, in MS. with the object of *ābharan*. We judge that the former is probably original; cf. RV. 10. 24. 6 *madhuman me parāyaṇaṁ madhumat punar āyanam*.

*yena bhūyaś carāty* (MG. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*) AG. ApMB. MG.: *yena bhūriś carā divam* PG. The original form is that of ApMB. MG., of which AG. is a corruption. PG. changes the verb from 3d to 2d person, *carās* (VV I p. 235); this is connected with the further change that introduces *divam*.

*tvaṁ no devatātaye* (AV. *deva dātave*) RV. AV. SV.—Ppp. reads *devatātaye*, indicating that AV. (Ś.) is secondary. It makes, however, a sort of crude sense: 'do thou, O god, (stir) us (up) unto giving.'

*arepasaḥ sacetasaḥ . . . cite goḥ* (*citā goḥ, cidākoḥ*), see §47. Note the metathesis of surd and sonant qualities in the two consonants (*t-g, d-k*).

*jīvann eva prati tat te* (so Jörgensen for SMB.; v. l. *pratidatte*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. *dadāmi*) TA. SMB.†: *jīvann eva pratidatte dadāmi* MŚ. The latter is corrupt.

**§62.** The cases in which the change is, certainly or presumably, from *d* to *t* do not impress one so much with the presence of a purely phonetic movement. They consist either of downright blunders, or of variations in which either reading makes fair sense but the *t* forms represent a later or easier reading. Thus in the first case the *t* is a palpable blunder that turns an impeccable passage into a group of unintelligible syllables:

*ahā neta* (GB. *netar a-*, ŚŚ. *ahād eta*) *sann avicetanāni* AV. AB. GB. ŚŚ.: *ahā ned asann apurogavāni* (so divide) JB.—This is followed by:

*jajñā* (JB. Caland, *yajñā*) *neta sann apurogavāsaḥ* (JB. Caland, *avicetanāsaḥ*) AV. AB. GB. JB.: *yajñād eta sann apurogavāsaḥ* ŚŚ. Gaastra reads GB. as: *yajñā netar asann apuro°*; and so in the prec., read in GB. *netar asann*. Weber, *Ind. St.* 9. 306, suggests correctly *ned asann* for AV. etc. The true form of the two pādas is: *ahā ned asann avi°, yajñā ned asann apuro°*, 'lest the days be without distinction, lest the sacrifices be without a leader.' So

Caland, *ZDMG* 72. 24f., who quotes JB. as reading thus, except for the interchange of the two adjectives. AV. and ŚŚ. are hopeless; but GB. (as read by Gaastra) makes possible sense.

**§63.** But in other cases, as indeed in one secondary form of the preceding (that of GB.), either reading makes reasonable sense, tho for various reasons we believe that the *d* is older:

*pari doṣād udarpithaḥ* KŚ.: *parītoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ. Preceded in KŚ. by *yo me 'dya payaso rasaḥ*; in ApŚ. by *yan me 'tra payasaḥ*. It is an expiatory formula after a nocturnal emission. Caland adopts *pari doṣād* ('without [*pari;* sc. my] fault') from KŚ., and reads *udarpitaḥ*. We agree with him that this is the original reading, but consider that he is wrong in emending ApŚ. to accord with it; *parītoṣāt*, 'thru excessive gratification', tho a slipshod lect. fac., is clearly what ApŚ. intended.

*godhāyasaṁ vi dhanasair adardaḥ* (TB. *atardat*) RV. AV. MS. TB. The antique and rare *adardaḥ* (3d sing. imperf. intensive of *dar*) puzzles TB. sufficiently to provoke the synonym *atardat*.

*priyo me hṛdo* (MŚ. *hito*, v. l. *huto*) *'si* (MŚ.† *bhava*) TS. MŚ. The latter is simply a lect. fac.

*sapta rājāno ya udābhiṣiktāḥ* KS. AA.: *anu sapta rājāno ya utābhiṣiktāḥ* TB. The TB. stumbles over *udā*, 'with water', and eases it up to the colorless adverb *uta*.

*yāś ca* (AV. *yā*) *devīr* (SMB. *devyo*, PG. *devīs*) *antān* (AV. *antāṅ*, PG. *tantūn*) *abhito 'dadanta* (PG. SMB. *tatantha*) AV. PG. SMB. ApMB.: *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta* (so em.; mss. *tatantha*) MG. The reading *tatantha* could only intend a monstrously augmented form *atatantha*, because of the preceding *abhito* (note sandhi). Roth, *ZDMG* 48. 108, considers it obvious that *tatantha* is a corruption for *'dadanta*. In PG., however, the corruption has become infectious, because there *antān* is further changed to *tantūn* under the influence of *tatantha*. The comm. on PG. (see note in Stenzler's translation) treats the muddle of the text as Vedic license. Cf. VV I p. 139f.

*yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti* (TS. *uditau vyeti*) RV. VS. VSK. TS.: *yasminn adhi vitataḥ sūra eti* MS. KS. Of course RV. is original; but *vitataḥ* is found also in the AV. version, *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā*.

*vidad yadī* (MS.† *yadi*, TB. ApŚ. *yatī*) *saramā ruṣṇam* (MS.† *saramāruṇam*) *adreḥ* RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. The original *yadī* (*yadi*), 'when', is corrupted into a fem. pple. *yatī* (TB. comm.

*gachantī*) suggested by the final *ī* of *yadī*, and supported by RV. 5. 45. 7 *yatī saramā*. Saramā, the messenger, is hardly ever mentioned without the implication that she is a great traveler; cf. RV. 10. 108, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and note *gāt* at the end of 3. 31. 6, the stanza here concerned. Caland in his Translation of ApŚ. unwisely abandons *yatī* for *yadī*.

*yad vo devā atipādayāni* (AŚ. °*tayāni*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *ati-pad* and *ati-pat* are synonyms, 'transgress'. TB. comm.: *akaraṇam anyathākaraṇaṁ cātipattiḥ*. There is little reason for preferring either, except the somewhat greater evidence for the *pad* form (two texts confirm each other).

*ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā* (so divide) *adidyutat* (VSK. *ati dyutat*) *savīmani* AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The VSK. reading, if authentic, is secondary. See VV I p. 128.

*śvetāya vaidārvāya* (PG. °*darvyāya*, ApMB. HG. °*darvāya*, MG. *vaitahavyāya*) . . . AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. The epithet *vaitahavya* does not belong to the serpent demon Śveta, and is a secondary misunderstanding.

**§64.** In the following cases the *t* variant produces readings that are increasingly difficult or suspicious, and that tempt more to emendation. Even here, however, we cannot be sure that the secondary or false reading was not the established text of the school:

*duraś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ* RV.: *turaś cid viśvam arṇavat tapasvān* AV.† Whitney translates AV.: 'may he, quick, rich in fervor, send all.' Since Ppp. agrees with RV., it is clear that AVŚ. is secondary. But *turaś* is lexically defensible.

*tvaṁ rājāsi pradivaḥ* (VS. VSK. *pratipat*) *sutānām* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. N. *pratipat* is hardly intelligible; Mahīdhara takes *prátipat sutā́nām* as a compound, ignoring the accents: 'draughts pressed on each initial day of a lunar fortnight.'

*hariṇasya raghuṣyadaḥ* (ApŚ. °*ṣyataḥ*, two mss. °*ṣyadaḥ*) AV. ApŚ. Caland adopts the AV. reading; if ApŚ. really intended °*taḥ*, it simulates a pres. pple. form from a denominative **raghuṣya-*.

*agne* (Poona ed. *agre*, but comm. *agne*) *vikṣu pratīdayat* (v. l. °*yan;* not in Poona ed.) TB.: *agre vikṣu pradīdayat* RV. Comm. on TB., groggily: *pratīdayat, pratyekam eva prāptam āsīt* (as if *prati, id, ayat*!).

**§65.** Here again we find some cases accompanied by false division of words (as in §61):

*satyā tā dharmaṇas patī* ApŚ.: *satyād ā dharmaṇas* (ŚŚ. and mss. of MŚ.

°*ṇā*) *patī* (Vait. MŚ. *pari;* ŚŚ. omits) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. Caland in his Transl. of Vait. understands *satyādā* as one word (nom. dual), which may be right. He also adopts this reading in ApŚ., which is surely wrong in principle. Tho secondary, ApŚ. is perfectly clear, and undoubtedly intended just what it reads.

*tad vipro abravīd udak* (ŚŚ. *u tat*) AV. ŚŚ. Followed by *gandharvaḥ kāmyaṁ vacaḥ*. ŚŚ. has a lect. fac. which would be quite acceptable but for its repetitousness (*tat*, twice).

*balim ichanto vitudasya* (AG. *vi tu tasya*, v. l. *vidurasya*) *preṣyāḥ* (MahānU. AG. *preṣṭhāḥ*) TAA. MahānU. AG. The AG. attempts to rationalize the obscure *vitudasya* (said by TAA. comm. to be a name of Kālāgnirudra), a ἅπ.λεγ. which it does not understand.

**§66.** The remarkable case of *tevī* for *devī* deserves special emphasis; it is best regarded as merely a hyper-Sanskritism, cf. §21:

*diśāṁ devy* (MS. *tevy*) *avatu no ghṛtācī* TS. MS. AŚ.

In the pāda *mātṛk kva cana vidyate*, TA. 1. 5. 1d, the comm. (does not read *mādṛk*, as Conc. states, but) interprets *mātṛk* by *mādṛk;* which seems the only possibility.

**§67.** A few other special cases with problems of their own:

*pitvo* (VS. MS. *pidvo*, KSA. *bidvo*) *nyañkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS. *kakuṭhas*, TS. KSA. *kaśas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA. °*yāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. None of the forms *pitvo* etc. occurs elsewhere. Some animal is meant; remotely possible is connexion with *pedu*.

*mayaṁdaṁ* (MS. MŚ. *mayaṁtaṁ*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. An otherwise unknown fanciful name of a meter. Mahīdhara, *sukhaṁ dadāti;* Keith, 'delight-giving.' This is probably right: *mayaṁda* for *mayoda* in deference to the prevailing type of iambic dipody compounds with prior member in *m*. See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 21. 50ff., Wackernagel 2. 1, pp. 204ff.

*pariṣītaḥ kveṣyasi* ApMB.: *pariṣīdaḥ kleṣyasi* HG.: *parimīḍhaḥ kva gamiṣyasi* PG. The true reading is that of PG., with *ḍh*, and neither *t* nor *d*. See Stenzler's translation ('umpisst'). Comm. on ApMB. gets fairly close in general sense: *chāndasaṁ dīrghatvam, pariṣitaḥ paribaddhaḥ*.

[*suṣadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV.: *susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi* ŚŚ. The AV. mss. read exactly as ŚŚ., except that they read *gavom* and *pra ṣudasi*. The variant is not genuine, but only due to Roth's false emendation.]

**§68.** In a number of cases adverbs in *t* or *d* interchange. In the first two cases the *d* forms are certainly older, but in some of the others the reverse is the case:

*ado* (MŚ. *ato*, AV. *ado yad*) *devī* (AV. KS. *devi*) *prathamānā pṛthag yat* (AV. °*nā purastāt*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhīḥ* RV. AV. SV. AA. MŚ.: *ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi* TS.

*iti cid dhi* (AV. **yadi cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantam* RV. AV. (both)

*gṛhā naḥ santu sarvadā* (P.G. *sarvataḥ*) ApŚ. PG. HG.

*dhātar āyantu sarvadā* (TA. TU. *sarvataḥ svāhā*) TA. TU. Kauś.: *samavayantu sarvataḥ* SMB.

*tato na* (KU. *na tato*, ŚB. BṛhU. *na tadā*) *vicikitsati* (VSK. IśāU. KU. *vijugupsate*) VS. VSK. ŚB. BṛhU. IśāU. KU. See §45. *tato* is certainly older.

*pari krośatu sarvataḥ* (HG. *sarvadā*) HG. ApMB.

### *p* and *b*

**§69.** Here occur only a few stray variants:

*phalgūr* (KSA. °*gur*) *lohitorṇī balakṣī* (VS. *pal*°, KSA. *balakṣīs*, em. by ed. to °*kṣī*) *tāḥ* †*sārasvatyaḥ* VS. TS. KSA. MS. *balakṣa*, of unknown etymology, means 'white', and is clearly intended here. The change to *pal*°, not otherwise recorded, may be due to contamination with *palita*; VS. comm. simply says that *pal*° means *bal*°.

*avātirataṁ bṛsayasya* (TB. *prathayasya*) *śeṣaḥ* RV, TB. Bṛsaya, name of a demon. TB. comm. takes its form also as the name of a demon; it is clearly a corruption of the RV. form.

*khajāpo 'jopakāśinīḥ* ApMB.: *bajābojopakāśinī* HG. The readings are untrustworthy, and neither form is intelligible.

*pitvo* (*pidvo, bidvo*) . . ., see §67.

There are also a number of cases in which *b* as reduplicating syllable of *bh* (in *bibharti* etc.) varies with *p* as reduplicating syllable of *p* (in *piparti* etc.); they are gathered in §112.

### *kh* and *gh*

**§70.** Here again are only a few stray variants:

*mā naḥ kaś cit prakhān* (ApŚ. *praghān*) *mā prameṣmahi* KS. ApŚ. 'May no one harm us (or the like), may we not be injured.' Probably KS. is original; *pra-khān* BR. (Nachträge to V), 'durch Graben zu Fall bringen'. *praghān* is felt as coming from root *han;* tho problematic in form, it appears to ease the meaning. Prakritic influence is likely.

*saghāsi jagatīchandāḥ* TS.: *sakhāsi* (ŚŚ. adds *patvā*) *jagacchandāḥ* ŚŚ. MŚ. Cf. *sakhāsi gāyatraṁ chandaḥ* MŚ. (Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 16.

3ff.) It seems that *sakhā* is a sophisticated lect. fac.; it is clear that *saghā* (stem *saghan*, comm. 'vulture') is original; preceded in TS. ŚŚ. by *śyeno 'si gāyatrachandāḥ*, and *suparṇo 'si triṣṭupchandāḥ* (ŚŚ. inserting *patvā* both times).

*yadā rāghaṭī varadaḥ* (ApŚ. *rākhāṭyau vadataḥ*) Vait. ApŚ. *yad adyārādhyaṁ vadantaḥ* MŚ. The form *rā°* appears to be a proper name, not found elsewhere and wholly incomprehensible. BaudhŚ. 16. 23 reads *rākhandyau* (?), and one ms. of ApŚ. *rākhāṇḍau*.

*th* and *dh*

**§71.** Aside from the interchange of the adverbs *atha* and *adha*, or similar adverbs, the material is scanty. It may be partly graphic, since *th* and *dh* are practically indistinguishable in some South Indian alphabets. There is no clearly defined phonetic movement in either direction. Yet there seems to us to be, as in the preceding rubrics, perhaps a slight tendency to favor *dh* for *th* in readings that are obviously secondary, showing the presence of what we have thought to be Prakritic influence.

**§72.** In the one common case of interchange between the adverbs, chiefly *atha* (*athā*) and *adha* (*adhā*), we should expect on general grounds to find that the *dh* forms are generally original. This expectation is realized to this extent, that the SV., with only one exception among the variants, substitutes *th* forms for RV. *dh*. Yet the AV., relatively late and popular, surprizingly favors *adha* (*adhā*). The RV. in its hieratic parts favors the *dh* form as we should expect, and in its more popular parts the *th* forms. The remaining texts in general favor *atha*, but now and then fall into the archaizing *adha*.

**§73.** We begin with cases in which RV. shows *adhā*, other texts *athā* (*atha*); included is also one case of RV. *viśvadhā*, SV. *viśvathā:*

*vi bhānuṁ viśvadhātanat* (SV. *viśvathā°*) RV. SV.

*adhā jivrī* (AV. *atha jivrir*, mss. *jirvir;* ApMB. *athā jīvrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthaḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB.

*adhā* (SV. *athā*) *no viśvacarṣaṇe* RV. SV.

*adhā* (SV. *athā*) *te sakhye andhaso vi vo made* RV. SV.

*adhā* (SV. *athā*) *te sumnam īmahe* RV. AV. SV. TS.

*adhā* (TS. MS. *athā*) *te syāma varuṇa priyāsaḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS.

*adhā* (TS. MS. *athā*) *śatakratvo yūyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*rudrasya maryā adhā* (SV. *athā*) *svaśvāḥ* RV. SV.

**§74.** Next, cases in which RV. (almost always in Books 1 and 10) shows the more popular *atha* (*athā*), while other texts have the archaizing *adha* (*adhā*). The latter occurs most frequently in AV. (of course

secondary; cf. the similar preference of AV. for the archaic *kṛṇo-* as against *karo-*, VV I p. 116ff.); once in SV. (*ūrdhvadhā* for RV.° *thā*), once or twice in other texts·

*pra śmaśru* (SV. *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV. °*dhā bhuvat*) RV. (10) SV.

*athā* (AV. *adhā*) *naḥ śaṁ yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. °*tana*) RV. (10) AV. VS. MS. KS. N.: *athāsmabhyaṁ śaṁ* etc. TS.

*athā* (AV. *adhā*) *pitṝn suvidatrāṁ upehi* (AV. TA. *apīhi*, TS.† *apīta*) RV. (10) AV. TS. TA. Add to VV I §370.

*athā* (AV. *adhā*) *mano* †*vasudeyāya kṛṣva* (AV. *kṛṇuṣva*) RV. (1) AV. Despite the grandiloquent *adhā*, AV. is secondary as shown by the meter.

*athā* (AV. *adhā*, MS. KS. *tato*) *no vardhayā rayim* (RV. JB. *giraḥ*) RV. (3) VS. TS. AV. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. JābU.

*athā* (AV. *adhaḥ*; comm. *adha*, but Ppp. *adhaḥ*, Barret, *JAOS.* 40. 161) *sapatnī yā mama* RV. (10) AV. ApMB.: *adhā sapatnān māmakān* AV.

*atho* (AV. *adhā*) *vayaṁ bhagavantaḥ syāma* RV. (1) AV. KŚ. ApŚ. N.

*athā* (AV. *adhā*, comm. *atha*) *vayam āditya vrate tava* RV. (1) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: *athāditya vrate vayaṁ tava* ArS. SMB.

*athā* (KS. *adhā*) *somasya prayatī yuvabhyām* (KS. *yuvā*°, v. l. *yuva*°) RV. (1) TS. KS. N.

*athā* (MS. *adhā*) *devānām apy etu pāthaḥ* RV. (2) TS. MS.

**§75.** Among the remaining cases, it may be noted that AV. again prefers the *dh* form repeatedly, as against other texts with *th:*

*adha syāma surabhayo* (ApŚ. corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu* AV. KS. ApŚ.: *athā syāta surabhayo gṛheṣu* MS.

*adhā jīvema śaradāṁ śatāni* AV.: *atho jīva śaradaḥ śatam* VSK. And others; see Conc. under *asau jīva.*

*adhā* (HG. *atha*) *māsi punar ā yāta no gṛhān* AV. HG.

*adhā* (MS. MŚ. *athā*) *poṣasya poṣeṇa* VS. MS. KS. MŚ.

*adhā viśvāhārapa edhate gṛhe* VS.: *atha viśve arapā edhate gṛhaḥ* TS.

*athā* (VS. ŚB. *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS. †°*nāṁ*, TS, twice †°*nāṁ*, once °*nān*) *indro me* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*athā* (VS. ŚB. *adhā*) *sapatnān indrāgnī me* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*athā jīvaḥ* (KS. *adhā viṣitaḥ*) *pitum addhi pramuktaḥ* (so divide) TS. MS. KS.: *athaitaṁ pitum addhi prasūtaḥ* VS. ŚB.

*adhāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA.: *athāsya madhyam ejatu* VS. LŚ.: *athāsyai* (TS. MS. TB. °*syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait. °*tu*, AŚ. LŚ. *ejatu*, ŚŚ. *ejati*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.

*indro marudbhir ṛtuthā* (TS. ApMB. °*dhā*) *kṛṇotu* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApMB.

*devā no yajñam ṛtuthā* (TB. ApŚ. *ṛjudhā*) *nayantu* VS. TB. ApŚ. See §157.

**§76.** Somewhat like the change of *adha* to *atha* is one interchange between the roots *nādh* and *nāth*, since here *nādh* is clearly prior. But *nādh* is commonly considered to be in origin a secondary and quasi-Prakritic form of *nāth* (von Bradke, *ZDMG* 40. 678ff.; cf. Wackernagel I p. 123):

*svāyāṁ tanū* (ApMB.† MG.† *tanūṁ*) *ṛtviye* (RV.† *ṛtvye*) *nādhamānām* (ApMB. *nātha*°, but many mss. *nādha*°; MG. *bādha*°) RV. ApMB. MG.

**§77.** For the rest we find no very definite phonetic movement in either direction. But it may be significant that the cases in which *th* seems probably the original—listed in this paragraph—are somewhat more numerous than those in which *dh* appears older:

*avakro 'vithuro* (ApŚ. *'vidh*°; Kauś. adds *'haṁ*) *bhūyāsam* AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. That *avithuro* (root *vyath*) 'not staggering' is the original is indicated by the majority reading, and by its closer agreement in meaning with *avakro*; *avidhuro* is clearly secondary.

*maiṣāṁ nu gād aparo artham* (TB. ApŚ. ApMB. *ardham*) *etam* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. ApMB.: *mā no nu gād aparo ardham etam* TA. ApŚ. 'Let not another of them go to that goal (side, part).' *artha* and *ardha* are here synonyms; cf. RV. 1. 164. 17.

*ābhūr* (VS. TS. *ābhur*, NīlarU. *śivo*) *asya niṣaṅgathiḥ* (VS. °*dhiḥ*, NīlarU. °*tiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. Comm. on VS. 'sheath of a sword', but 'quiver' is more plausible since arrows are mentioned in the preceding pāda. Hindu lexicons quote *niṣaṅgathi* as meaning 'embracing' etc.; the other forms are ἅπ.λεγ. Probably °*dhi* is influenced by thought of root *dhā* (popular etymology), while °*ti* is a mere corruption.

*parīdaṁ vāso adhithāḥ* (HG. *adhidhāḥ*, ApMB. *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV. HG. ApMB. The original (AV.) form is 2 sing. aor. mid. of *dhā*; the personal ending *-thāḥ* is mouthed over in the later texts to a sufficiently plausible form of *dhā* (*dhāḥ*), the first part becoming the preposition *adhi*. See VV I p. 39.

*ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas* (MS. *mānthālavas*, VSK. *māndhālas*) *te pitṝṇām* VS. VSK. MS.: *pāṅktraḥ* (KSA. *pāṅktaḥ*; but all mss. of both TS. and KSA. *pāṁtra-*) *kaśo mānthīlavas* (KSA.† *ma*°) *te pitṛṇām* (KSA.† *pitṝ*°) TS. KSA. We may guess that the majority of

texts preserve the original *th*, but the forms occur nowhere else. Said to mean 'flying fox'.

*indrāvathuḥ* (VSK. °*dhuḥ*, KS.* TB. ApŚ. °*taṁ*) *kāvyair* (TB. ApŚ. *karmaṇā*) *daṁsanābhiḥ* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. TB. ApŚ. The subject is the Aśvins; so that VSK. is hardly interpretable. See VV I p. 282.

*apa snehitīr* (SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS.† *nṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi taṁ nṛmṇām* (Poona ed. *snuhi taṁ nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA. See §110.

**§78.** In the rest *dh* seems to be the original:

*apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB.: *amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ.† *ma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG.: *anāmayaidhi mā riṣāma indo* Kauś. The original (AŚ. ŚG.): 'be at home with me, do not desert us (me), Indra.' This SMB. converts into the unbelievable: 'be an off-warder of disease, do not die for us, Indra.' At least the comm. takes it thus, seeing in *mṛthā(ḥ)* a 2d sing. mid. of *mṛ* (one ms. reads *mṛdhā*); *riṣāma* of Kauś. confirms *mṛdh* as original. The variation is somehow connected with the sphere of *sa mā mṛta* (*taṁ mā mṛdhaḥ*), which see in §98. On Kauś.'s reading see §344.

*madhavyau stokāv* (MS. °*kā;* AV. *mathavyān stokān*) *apa tau* (AV. *yān*) *rarādha* AV. TS. MS. Several mss. and the comm. on AV. read *madhavyān*, which Whitney properly recommends.

*adhorāma* (HG. *atho*°) *ulumbalaḥ* (HG.† *ulumbaraḥ*) ApMB. HG. *adho*° = *adhas* is obviously correct; HG. mechanically recalls the many phrases beginning *atho* (= *atha u*), q. v. in Conc.

*dīrghām anu prasitim* (KS. *samṛtim*) *āyuṣe dhām* (KS. *tvā*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *dīrghām anu prasṛtiṁ saṁspṛśethām* MS. An extensive alteration, yet still showing the change of *dh* to *th* (°*ṣe dhām:* °*śethām*).

### *ph* and *bh*

**§79.** The instances are few and all concern questionable forms:

*phalāya*, and, *phallāya* KhG.: *bhalāya svāhā*, and, *bhallāya svāhā* SMB. GG. The words are addressed to the sun, or to the evening twilight; their meanings are unknown. The form with single *l* and the variant with *ph* make it questionable whether *bhalla* is Prakritic for *bhadra* (Wackernagel I §195), in spite of the form *bhallākṣa* which is probably so to be explained (Weber, *Ind. St.* 2.88).

*kanātkābhāṁ* (AŚ. *pranākāphā*) *na ābhara* TB. AŚ. See §151.

*yā sarasvatī vaiśaṁbhalyā* (ApŚ. °*balyā*, v. l. °*phalyā* and °*bhalyā*) *tasyāṁ me rāsva* . . . TB. ApŚ. See §114.

## CHAPTER III. ASPIRATES AND NON-ASPIRATES AND H

**§80.** The subdivisions of this chapter are very unequal in size and importance. In most of them we find only stray variants, often concerning obscure words of doubtful belongings. Sometimes both forms may be interpreted and defended; but on the whole they suggest that phonetic confusion between aspirates and non-aspirates played no slight rôle in changes of the Vedic tradition. Variants of aspirate and non-aspirate mutes in considerable numbers are found only as between *ṭ* and *ṭh*, where however graphic confusion is undoubtedly largely to blame; and as between the dental aspirates and non-aspirates. It is here that we find much the largest and most interesting group. It will appear that lexical and morphological considerations enter in to a large extent; yet it will scarcely be doubted that phonetic resemblance accounts at least in some measure for the swollen bulk of the variations between roots *dā* and *dhā*, for example, or between verbal endings of different sorts containing *t* and *th*.—The variation of aspirate mutes with *h* is appended to this chapter as a special section, §§115ff.

### *k* and *kh*

**§81.** Here occur two variants, both concerning very dubious forms:

*gohya †upagohyo marūko* (PG. *mayūkho*) *manohāḥ* PG. SMB. Cf. *gṛhyo* etc. Names or forms of Agni. The mss. vary. The form *mayūkha*, 'ray', would fit fairly well, but may be merely a lect. fac. The lexicons report *marūka* in various meanings.

*kaṣotkāya* (MahānU. *khakholkāya*) *svāhā* TA. TAA. MahānU. The MahānU. form recurs in the Purāṇas; it is interpreted as *kha-kha-ulka* (!), 'sky-meteor', i.e. the sun. The other form is ἅπ.λεγ., and the comm.'s explanation is not worth quoting.

### *g* and *kh*

**§82.** Two variants between the synonymous stems *sukha* and *suga*, to which no phonetic significance can be attached. The form *sukha* is later both times:

*sugaṁ* (VS. MS. ŚB. *sukhaṁ*) *meṣāya meṣyai* (RV. *meṣye*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

*sugam* (VS. MS. *sukham*) *ca me śayanaṁ ca me* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

*g* (*k*) and *gh*

**§83.** Only a few variants, one very obscure, one corrupt; cf. *yena mahānaghnyā jaghanam* AV. Kauś., where apparently all mss. of both texts read so, but the emendation *mahānagnyā* is obviously required and is assumed by the Conc. and by Whitney.

*yajñasya ghoṣad asi* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *goṣad asi* MS. KS. MŚ. TS. comm. 'wealth'; Keith 'substance', remarking that *ghoṣad* is probably a corruption for *goṣad*, which however is itself not clear.

*yatheyaṁ strī pautram aghaṁ na rodāt* AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

*tāsām īśāno bhagavaḥ* (MS. *maghavan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. The words are virtual synonyms.

*apūpakṛd aṣṭake* ŚG.: *apūpaghṛtāhute* ApMB. Addressed to an *aṣṭakā;* same context; one must be a phonetic corruption of the other. 'O cake-making A.', or 'O thou that hast cakes and ghee as oblations'.

*c* and *ch*

**§84.** Two variants, one an onomatopoetic word:

*cec-cec chunaka sṛja* . . . PG.: *chad apehi* . . . ApMB. Cf. the English 'skat'.

*karṇābhyāṁ* (PG. *godānāc*) *chubukād* (ApMB. *cu*°) *adhi* RV. AV. ApMB. PG. A v. l. of AV. with its comm. *cubukād;* one ms. of ApMB. *cibukād*, which is the form found in later Sanskrit.

*j* and *jh*

**§85.** A single variant:

*apāṁ naptre jaṣaḥ* (KSA. *jhaṣaḥ*) TS. KSA. *jaṣa* is otherwise not unknown (AV.), but *jhaṣa* is regular in the later language. The word is of non-Aryan origin.

*ṭ* and *ṭh*

**§86.** These variations are without doubt largely, perhaps mainly, graphic. In every case but one they concern interchange of *ṣṭ* and *ṣṭh*, which are practically indistinguishable in most alphabets. In nearly every instance the *ṭh* form is proper, or at least more usual. Many of the words, however, are obscure in derivation.

*kuṣṭhayā* (MS. *kuṣṭayā*) *te krīṇāni* MS. ApŚ. Regular is *kuṣṭhā*, designation of a measure; *kuṣṭā* is not recorded lexically.

*nadībhyaḥ pauñjiṣṭham* (TB. °*ṭam*) VS. TB. Also:

*namaḥ puñjiṣṭhebhyo* (TS. °*ṭebhyo*) *niṣādebhyaś ca vo namaḥ* TS. KS.:

*namo niṣādebhyaḥ puñjiṣṭhebhyaś* (MS. °*ṭebhyaś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. MS. The word *puñj*° or *pauñj*° 'fisherman' or 'fowler' seems usually to be written with °*ṭha*, but there is no little fluctuation. Its unknown, perhaps non-Aryan, origin is not illuminated by the proposed worthless etymologies.

*vaniṣṭum* (AB. TB. AŚ. MŚ. °*ṭhum*) *asya mā rāviṣṭa* MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.† 5. 17. 9, MŚ. The regular form is *vaniṣṭhu*, of unknown derivation. Knauer (on MŚ.) would emend MS. to °*ṭhum*.

*ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve* (VS. °*ṣṭhīve*) *bṛhadrathaṁtare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS.† *kalpantām*) VS. MS. (Add to VV I §357.) The proper form is *ūrv-aṣṭhīva*, the latter part being a modulation of *aṣṭhī-vant*, 'knee'.

*śatāpāṣṭhādya* (read with Poona edd. °*ṣṭhā gha*) *viṣā pari ṇo vṛṇaktu* TB. TA.: *śarā vāṣṭād* (p.p. *vā*, *aṣṭāt*) *dhaviṣā vārṇaḥ* (read [*a*-] *varṇaḥ*?) MS. As a missile (*heti*) is the subject, the true reading contains *apāṣṭha*, 'barb'. The MS. is entirely corrupt. The Poona ed. of both TB. and TA. makes the pāda begin with the preceding word *ugrā*.

*anupūrvaṁ yatamānā yati ṣṭha* (AV. *stha*, TA. *yatiṣṭa*) RV. AV. TA. *yatiṣṭa* could only be an aorist; but as it retains a double accent (*yáti-ṣṭa*) it is obviously corrupt (suggested by the preceding *yatamānā*) for *yáti ṣṭhá*, 'as many as ye be.'

*ṛdhag ayā* (TS. MS. KS. *ayāḍ*) *ṛdhag utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* (MS. KS. °*ṣṭa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: *dhruvam ayā* (AV. *ayo*) *dhruvam utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* (AV. *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV. AV. Here both forms are correct; there is a shift of verbal person, from 2d to 3d (explained VV I p. 241). On the corrupt reading of AV. see §234. Cf. next.

*āṣṭa* (MS. *āṣṭhāḥ*, KS. ms.† *āṣṭāḥ*, em. v. Schr. *āṣṭa*) *pratiṣṭhām* . . . TS. MS. KS. PG. See VV I p. 238, and cf. prec.

*vīty arṣa caniṣṭhayā* (SV. *paniṣṭaye*) RV. SV. If the SV. reading is tenable at all (*paniṣṭaye*, 'for praise') it points to a stem in *ti*, whereas RV. (of course original) has a superlative in *iṣṭha*.

[*nir aṣṭhaviṣam asmṛtam* GB. Vait. ApŚ. Quoted in Conc. with *aṣṭaviṣam* from GB. and Vait. But the Vait. reading is a mere misprint, corrected by Garbe p. 119; and Gaastra reads *aṣṭhaviṣam* in GB. without report of variant. Accordingly we may assume that *aṣṭaviṣam* never existed. The form is from *ṣṭhu* = *ṣṭhīv* 'spit' (cf. *ṣṭhutvā*, ApŚ.)]

**§87.** In the preceding *ṣṭh* is the proper or at least the usual spelling. We now come to the cases where *ṣṭ* seems proper. Both are dubious;

the first belongs to the sphere of the Kuntāpa hymns, whose textual tradition in all versions is of the worst sort, and the second has *ṭh* only in the p.p. of MS.:

*ṣaṣṭiṁ* (ŚŚ. *ṣaṣṭhiṁ*) *sahasrā navatiṁ ca kaurama* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. The combination *ṣaṣṭiṁ sahasrā* is very common; see e.g. Conc. thereunder. ŚŚ., if its reading has any real standing, has confused *ṣaṣṭi* with the ordinal stem *ṣaṣṭha*.

*mā no aghniṁ* (p.p. *aghniḥ*) *nirṛtir mā na āṣṭān* (p.p. *āṣṭhām*) MS.: *mā no rudro nirṛtir mā no astā* TA. See VV I p. 93. The forms are doubtful; read *āṣṭām*?

**§88.** The following is the sole variant between *ṭ* and *ṭh* not preceded by *ṣ*. Nothing is known about the word *kakuṭha* or *kakkaṭa* except that, as the context shows, it is the name of some animal:

*pitvo* (*pidvo, bidvo*) . . . *kakkaṭas* (*kakuṭhas*) . . ., see §67.

## *t* and *th*

**§89.** These sounds interchange a good deal in old, historic, morphological elements which are otherwise identical (or nearly so) in form, and frequently identical or similar in meaning. Hence, with variations containing such forms, it is not easy to say to what extent the change was morphological in character, and to what extent it resulted from an error of speech or hearing. No doubt both influences were concerned in most cases. We find, for example, that 2d personal verb forms containing *th* (indicative) and *t* (modal) are often interchanged; there is seldom any connexion in which either of them is impossible or even difficult (cf. VV I, especially §§14ff., 116). Again 2d and 3d duals often differ only in this single consonant, *t* or *th*; and VV I, especially §§20f., 292ff., 326ff., has shown how easy is the shift between second and third personal forms, often with no further change in the context. There are also cases concerning noun formation, suffixation etc., where this slight phonetic difference is concerned.

**§90.** We begin with the variations between the verbal endings *tha* and *ta*, the former properly present indicative, the latter modal (or preterite). They have been listed in VV I p. 23f. In the majority—listed first—the *t* form appears to be older; in the last five, at least, the *th* form:

*āpura stā* . . . ŚŚ.: *āpūryā sthā* . . . TS. AŚ. Add to VV I l.c.

*taṁ sma jānīta* (VSK. °*tha*) *parame vyoman* AV. VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *jānīta smainaṁ* (TS. MŚ. *jānītād enaṁ*) *pa° vy°* AV. TS. MŚ.: *etaṁ jānātha* (TB. *jānītāt*, KS. *jānīta*) *pa° vy°* VS. KS. TB

ŚB. Note especially that VSK. *jānītha* is apparently a blend of *jānīta* and *jānātha*, tho *jānītha* is grammatically better than *jānātha*.

*śivā no bhavata* (ApŚ. °*tha*) *jīvase* MS. ApŚ.

*śuddhāḥ pūtā bhavata* (TA. °*tha*, MG. °*ntu*) *yajñiyāsaḥ* RV. TA. MG.

*aśvā bhavata* (AV. TS. KS. °*tha*) *vājinaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *devā bhavata vā*° RV.

*tena krīḍantīś* (ŚG. *krīl*°) *carata* (ŚG. °*tha*) *priyeṇa* (AV. *vaśāṅ anu*) AV. TS. ŚG. PG. ViDh. *vaśāṅ anu* in AV. is due to infection from RV. 1. 82. 3, 10. 142. 7.

*devebhyo bhavata* (TB. °*tha*) *suprāyaṇāḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N.

*datto asmabhyaṁ* (KS. *dattvāsma*°, AŚ. *dattāyāsma*°, SMB. *dattāsma*°) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇaṁ yac ca bhadram* MS.

*ye 'tra pitaraḥ . . . bhūyāstha* AV. ŚŚ.: *ya etasmiṅ loke . . . bhūyāsta* TS. TB. A primary ending on a precative form is absurd; yet all mss. of AV. and ŚŚ. seem to agree on °*tha*; see Whitney on AV. 18. 4. 86.

*arālāg udabhartsata* (AV. mss. °*tha*) AV. ŚŚ. The AV. reading, augmented but with °*tha*, is a monstrosity. Roth's violent emendation, *āsannā udabhir yathā*, has no standing.

*aulaba* (HG. °*va*) *it tam upā hvayatha* (HG. °*ta*) ApMB. HG. Several mss. of ApMB. read °*ta*; in such trash as this it makes little difference what is read.

*saputrikāyāṁ jāgratha* PG.: *yajamānāya jāgṛta* ApŚ. See note in Stenzler's translation of PG. 1. 16. 22.

*indreṇa yujā* (TB. *sayujā*) *pra mṛṇīta* (TB. °*tha* [Bibl. Ind. *praṇītha*]) *śatrūn* AV. TB. Add to VV I §16.

*payasvatīḥ kṛṇuthāpa* (TS. °*tāpa*) *oṣadhīḥ śivāḥ* (TS. omits *śivāḥ*) AV. TS. Followed by:

*ūrjaṁ ca tatra sumatiṁ ca pinvata* (TS. °*tha*) AV. TS. (Add to VV I §18.) The clauses are parallel and we should expect the same mood in both; yet both are inconsistent. Little weight is to be attached to the Ppp. readings, quoted by Roth as having *t* thruout the stanza, even in pāda d (*yatrā naro marutaḥ siñcathā madhu*), where the relative clause should ensure the *th* form (indicative; see VV I pp. 78f.). Contrariwise, the AV. comm. reads *pinvatha* for °*ta*, which seems to suggest, perhaps, that originally all the verb forms had *th*.

*yad āmayati niṣ kṛtha* (TS. MS. KS. *kṛta*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *kṛtha*, tho a dubious root present, really a back formation from aorists like *kṛdhi*, is the older reading; *kṛta* lect. fac.

*yūyaṁ* (MS. *divo*) *vṛṣṭiṁ varṣayathā* (MS. °*tā*) *purīṣiṇaḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS.—MS., which borrows *divo vṛṣṭiṁ* from e.g. RV. 2. 27. 15b, is secondary also as regards °*tā*.

*ud īrayathā* (MS. MŚ. °*tā*, AV. KS. °*ta*) *marutaḥ samudrataḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ.

**§91.** About equally often second and third duals containing *th* and *t* interchange (listed VV I pp. 24f.) Even when the context is to our feeling inconsistent in one or the other reading, as often happens, we should generally resist the temptation to emend, for reasons made clear in VV I (references quoted §89). We begin with passages in which the *th* forms seem to be the older; in the majority there is little to choose between them:

*citrebhir abhrair upa tiṣṭhatho* (MS. °*to*) *ravam* RV.† MS. Followed by:

*dyāṁ varṣayatho* (MS. °*to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV. MS. See VV I p. 241.

*yāv* (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS.† °*tho*, AV. *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (AV. KS.† °*thaḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Followed by:

*yau viśvasya paribhū* (KS. *viśvasyādhipā*) *babhūvathuḥ* (TS.† °*tuḥ*), same texts. See VV I p. 228. The unanimity of AV. and KS., partly supported by MS., perhaps indicates that the 2d persons are original; we fail to see any ground for Keith's opinion (on TS. 4. 7. 15. 3) that the 3d persons are more 'logical'.

*tat satyaṁ yad vīraṁ bibhṛthaḥ* (MŚ.† °*taḥ*); and, in same passage,

*vīraṁ janayiṣyathaḥ* (MŚ. °*taḥ*),

*te mat prātaḥ prajanayiṣyethe* (MŚ. °*te*),

*te mā prajāte prajanayiṣyathaḥ* (MŚ. °*taḥ*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See VV I p. 236.

*ghṛtena* (Kauś. *vapayā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī prorṇuvāthām* (VS. TS. ApŚ. *prorṇvāthām*; MS. MŚ.† *prorṇuvātām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. ApŚ. MŚ.: also see Conc. under *svarge* (°*geṇa*, *suvarge*) *loke* (*-na*) *prorṇuvāthām* etc. (only MS. °*tām*; VS. VSK. TS. KSA. [†*samprorṇuvāthām*] ŚB. TB. Vait. °*thām*).

*yā rājānaṁ* (MS. KS. °*nā*) *sarathaṁ yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS. MS. KS.

*juṣetāṁ* (and, °*thāṁ*) *yajñam iṣṭaye* RV. (both). Add to VV I §21.

*kāmaṁ duhātām iha śakvarībhiḥ* AV.: *rāṣṭraṁ duhāthām iha revatībhiḥ* TB. See VV I pp. 25, 224.

*purā gṛdhrād araruṣaḥ pibātaḥ* (TS. °*thaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. Here, and in the following cases, it seems fairly clear that the *t* forms are original.

*sam* (ApMB. *śam*) *ūdho romaśaṁ hataḥ* (ApMB. *hathaḥ*) RV. ApMB. See VV I p. 24.

*hato* (SV. TB. *hatho*) *vṛtrāṇy āryā* (AV. TB. *aprati*) RV. SV. AV. TB.: followed by,

*hato* (SV. *hatho*) *dāsāni satpatī* RV. SV., and,
*hato* (SV. *hatho*) *viśvā apa dviṣaḥ* RV. SV. See VV I pp. 222, 232.
*yajñasya yuktau dhuryā* (TB. ApŚ. °*yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS. °*thām*) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ. And, in the same stanza:
*divi* (KS. *dive*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS. KS. *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS. KS.† °*thām*), same texts. *abhūthām* is certainly wrong, and all texts have a 3d person in the 1st pāda of the verse. See VV I p. 235.

**§92.** There are further a few anomalous variants concerning other verbal endings containing *t* and *th*; or, in the last case, a verbal ending with *th* varying with a nominal ending with *t:*
*abhiramyatām* (MŚ. °*thām*!) MŚ. ŚG. YDh. BṛhPDh. The MŚ. form, if correct (it occurs in an unpublished part of the text), is hopelessly anomalous; see VV I §22.
*yāś ca* (*yā*) *devīr* (*devyo, devīs*) *antān* (*antāṅ, tantūn*) *abhito 'dadanta* (*tatantha*), etc.; see §63.
*ubhāv indrā* (ŚB. *indro*) *udithaḥ sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB. · *aya(ḥ)sthūṇam* (TS. °*ṇāv*) *uditā* (TS. MS. KS. °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. The old loc. sing. in °*tā* is shifted in VS. ŚB. to a second person dual verb, *udithaḥ*.

**§93.** In nominal endings, suffixal or quasi-suffixal, this variation has a certain scope, but is complicated by corruptions or other obscurities:
*asunītāya* (TA. °*thāya*) *voḍhave* AV. TA. The AV. comm. reads °*thāya*, which is clearly original; °*tāya* is infected by *asunīti*; cf. Whitney on AV. 18. 2. 56.
*punar brahmāṇo* (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °*nītir*, KS.* °*dhītam*, 38. 12b† °*nītha*, MS. °*dhīte*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. All forms are rare and dubious. KapS. (v. Schr. on KS. 8. 14b) has *vasudhītam* or °*tim* (so also v. l. of KS.).
*nirṛtho* (MS. °*to*) *yaś ca nisvanaḥ* (AV. *nisvaraḥ*) AV. MS. TA. *nirṛto* in MS. is a secondary blend of *nirṛtha* (old) and *nirṛti* (common).
*svasti naḥ putrakṛtheṣu* (MG. *pathyākṛteṣu*, but v. l. as RV.) *yoniṣu* RV. AB. MG. Note metathesis of *t* and *th* in MG.; if the reading is correct, it is a blunder due to *pathyāsu* in the preceding.
*ābhur* (MS. KS. *ābhūr*, NīlarU. *śivo*) *asya niṣaṅgathiḥ* (VS. °*dhiḥ*, NīlarU. °*tiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. The last has a corruption; see §77.
*paktā* (KSA. *panthā*) *sasyam* TS. KSA. Comm. on TS., *pākaśīlam*. KSA. corrupt, see Keith on TS. 7. 5. 20. 1.
*stuto 'si janadhāḥ* TB. ApŚ. (LŚ. pratīka, *stutaḥ*): *tutho 'si janadhāyāḥ*

(PB. °*yaḥ*) MS. KS. PB. MŚ. LŚ. Is *stuto* lect. fac. for *tutho* of unknown meaning?

*samiddho agnir vṛṣaṇāratir* (AV. °*ṇā rathī*, ŚŚ. °*ṇā rayir*) *divaḥ* AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. From RV. 3. 3. 6, 4. 15. 2, 8. 75. 1 it is probable that *rathī* is the true reading.

*garbhaś ca sthātāṁ garbhaś carathām* RV. Conc. would read *cáratām* (gen. pl. of *cárant*); but *caráthām* (gen. pl. of *carátha*) may stand (Oldenberg, *Noten*).

**§94.** In a few adverbial forms this variation is primarily morphological, but rather indeterminate phonetic tendencies may have been at work:

*atho* (MU. *ato*) *annenaiva jīvanti* TA. TU. MU.

*tato* (AV. ArS. *tathā*) *viṣvañ vyakrāmat* (AV. *tathā vyakrāmad visvañ*) RV. AV. ArS. VS. TA.

*atho rājann* (AV. *uta rājñām*) *uttamaṁ mānavānām* AV. TB.

*atho pitā* (MS. *utāyaṁ pitā*) *mahatāṁ gargarāṇām* AV. TS. MS. KS.

**§95.** As regards lexical interchange of *t* and *th*, RV. 8. 13. 27 *harī indra pratadvasū abhi svara* has been suspected of harboring a corruption of *prathadvasu*, 'increasing wealth' (Yāska, *prāpta-vasu;* Sāyaṇa, *vistīrṇa-dhana*), or *pratata-vasu*. But there is not the slightest reason for any Vedic poet to blunder away from so obvious a form as *prathad-vasu*. The word as it stands may be *pra-tad-vasū*, '(carrying) forward his (Indra's) wealth', sc. the two bay steeds, as subject. Cf. the doubtful *kṛtád-vasū* (*kṛta-tad-vasū* with haplology?) in RV. 8. 31. 9; see however Wackernagel, 2. 1 pp. 64, 319; Oldenberg *Noten* on the passages.

**§96.** The lexical interchanges are otherwise few, largely corrupt, and partly based on different word divisions:

*tābhyāṁ* (MS. KS. add *vayaṁ*) *patema sukṛtām u lokam* (Kauś. *pathyāsma sukṛtasya lokam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Dhātup. has a root *path* 'go' doubtless abstracted from the noun *path, panthan*. Possibly Kauś. intends *pathyā(ḥ) sma*. In VV I p. 110 we have treated its form as a precative. It is likely, however, to be a mere corruption as regards the *th*.

*hitvā na ūrjaṁ pra patāt patiṣṭhaḥ* (AV. *padāt pathiṣṭhaḥ*) RV. AV. MG. See §60.

*saṁsrāvabhāgā* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *saṁsrava°*, MS. °*bhāgāḥ*, KS. Kauś. °*bhāgās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *bṛhantaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. *taviṣā* is a sophisticated assimilation to *bṛhantaḥ*.

*aktaṁ* (MS. MŚ. *aptubhī*, KS. **arthaṁ*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS. TB. KhG.

*viyantu*) *vayaḥ* TS. MS. KS. (bis) TB. MŚ. GG. KhG.: *vyantu vayo 'ktaṁ rihāṇāḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ. *aktaṁ rihāṇāḥ*, 'licking the fat', is certainly original; the KS. *arthaṁ* rationalizes poorly, or rather is a mere corruption. Indeed von Schroeder on KS. 31. 11 suggests emending *arthaṁ* to *aktaṁ*. On MS. see §152.

*atho mātātho pitā* TA.: *hatā mātā hataḥ pitā* SMB.: *hato hatamātā krimiḥ* AV. See §386.

*atho ye kṣullakā iva* AV.: *hataḥ krimīṇāṁ kṣudrakaḥ* SMB.: *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāḥ* TA. See ibid.

*sarve rādhyāḥ stha* (ŚŚ. °*yās tu*) *putrāḥ* AB. ŚŚ.

*gṛho hiraṇyayo mitaḥ* (AŚ. *gṛ*° *mi*° *hi*°) AV. KS. AŚ. Here all AV. mss. and comm. read *mithaḥ*, which makes no sense and is clearly a corruption; RWh. read *mitaḥ* with Ppp. and KS. AŚ.

*parītoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ.: *pari doṣād ud arpithaḥ* KŚ. Read in both *udarpitaḥ*; see §63.

*upa yajñam asthita* (AV. comm. *astṛta*, MŚ. *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RVKh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ.

*t* and *dh*

**§97.** Here we find chiefly forms of the roots *vṛdh* and *vṛt*, which in composition with several prepositions are almost synonymous; but in every variant which occurs one reading or the other is suspicious or corrupt. It happens that the *vṛt* forms are correct or original in every case except the first two, where the reverse is true:

*bhīma ā vāvṛdhe* (SV. *vāvṛte*) *śavaḥ* RV. SV.

*madanti devīr amṛtā ṛtāvṛdhaḥ* (Vait. °*vṛtaḥ*) Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Caland on Vait. 13. 20 assumes that °*vṛtaḥ* (all mss.) is an error.

*abhi rāṣṭrāya vartaya* (AV. *vardhaya*) RV. AV. The AV. is certainly poor, and Ppp. has *vartaya*; see Whitney on 1.29. 1. Cf. next two.

*yenendro abhivāvṛte* (AV. °*vṛdhe*) RV. AV. In same verse as prec.; same conditions. Cf. also next.

*abhi somo avīvṛtat* (AV. °*vṛdhat*) RV. AV. In next verse to the prec. two; same conditions.

*nivarto yo ny avīvṛdhaḥ* (ApMB. °*vṛtat*) HG. ApMB. Oldenberg adopts °*vṛtat* for HG.

*pumāṅsaṁ vardhatāṁ* (†text is right, despite Conc.) *mayi* ŚG.: *pumān saṁvartatāṁ mayi* PG.: *pumān garbhas tavodare* SMB. 'Let them two (Indra and Agni) make a male grow in me'; 'let a male be in me' or the like. ŚG. has a 3 dual active verb. See §840.

Note further the exchange between the old (RV.) adjectives *ṛtāvṛdh*

and *dhṛtavrata* (not concerning root *vṛt*) in: *āvitte* (*āvinne*) *dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau* (*dhṛtavrate*), and others, see §§466, 665.

**§98.** The remaining cases are sporadic, and again largely suspicious or corrupt:

*saṁvatsarasya dhāyasā* (AV. VS. *tejasā*) AV. VS. TS. KSA. HG. Synonyms.

*sa mā mṛta* (MG. *vṛtat*) AG. ApMB. MG.: cf. *taṁ mā mṛdhaḥ* ŚG. 'Let him not die', or 'do not fail him'; and §78, *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra*, etc. The MG. has a mere corruption, see §225.

*ābhur* (*ābhūr*, *śivo*) *asya niṣaṅgadhiḥ* (°*thiḥ*, °*tiḥ*), see §77.

*vi te* (PG. *tau te*, HG. *vidhe*) *krodhaṁ nayāmasi* PG. HG. ApMB. Kirste suggests emending HG. to *vi te*, and this apparently Oldenberg assumes in his translation; *vidhe* may be somehow felt as from *vi-dhā*, but is really hopeless.

*yebhyo madhu pradhāvati* (AV. *pradhāv adhi*) RV. AV. TA. Comm. on AV., followed by SPP. in text and by Whitney in his Translation, reads as RV. See Whitney's note and Lanman, ap. Whitney, p. xcii.

*śriyai* (MG. *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG. *vedhavai*) ApMB. MG. For the MG. Knauer suggests *veddhavai*, Conc. *vettavai*.

*sinanti pākam ati* (ŚŚ. †*adhi*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ. *emi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *adhi* is very inferior in sense.

### *d* and *dh*

**§99.** This interchange occurs in a considerable and heterogeneous mass of variants, most of which are isolated and either lexical or under suspicion of corruption. The manuscripts certify to the ease of confusion between the sounds by very frequently showing variation between them in the same passage of the same text; cf. e.g., Whitney on AV. 11. 1. 23 (*aṅsadhrī*: °*drī*), to mention only one out of numerous possible examples. In the midst of this miscellaneous mass, however, there looms a large and compact block of variants between the two roots *dā* and *dhā*. These two roots, thruout the whole of their inflection and in large part in nominal derivatives, are rime-words, differing (in general) only in the aspiration or lack of it. They are also in large measure synonymous, or so near it that it amounts to the same thing.

### Roots *dā* and *dhā*

**§100.** They are thus used interchangeably, without betraying any perceptible difference of meaning, in ritual formulas like the following: *āyurdā asi* ŚŚ.: *āyurdhā asi* TS. JB. AŚ.

*āyurdā* (MS. KS. °*dhā*) *agne 'si* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.
*cakṣurdā* (KS. °*dhā*) *asi* VS. KS. ŚB.
*varcodā asi* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *varcodhā asi* AV. TS. MS. KS. JB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
*varcodā* (MS. °*dhā*) *agne 'si* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.—All these formulas are followed by *āyur* (*cakṣur*, *varco*) *me* (*mayi*) *dehi* (*dhehi*), the verbs in the two associated formulas being always consistent.

**§101.** There is, to be sure, one regular difference between these two verbs as regards the cases they govern, tho it is one-sided rather than reciprocal: *dā* does not govern the locative of the person, but only the dative. The root *dhā*, on the other hand, while it seems (to our feeling at least) most naturally construed with the locative, may also govern the dative. We have noted among the variants only two cases of *dā* with the locative, both of which may reasonably be suspected:
†*okhāṁ dadhātu* (MS. *dadātu*) *hastayoḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. This is no real exception, first because a dative (*tubhyam*) in the preceding pāda is connected with the verb, the locative *hastayoḥ* being really epexegetic; but also and chiefly because the MS. reading is nonsense, since the preverb *ā* is joined with *dā*, which could only mean 'take', a meaning that is manifestly impossible here. Cf. *mā no andhe* . . ., §105.
*mayi puṣṭiṁ* †*puṣṭipatir* (AV. *puṣṭaṁ puṣṭa*°) *dadhātu* (AG. †*dadātu*) AV. MS. KS. TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. AG. SMB. Here the isolated *dadātu* in the late AG. is evidently an error.
[*mayi rucaṁ dhāḥ* (KS. †*dhehi*) MS. KS. Conc. *dehi* for KS.]

**§102.** On the other hand, we find cases like *payo me dāḥ*, MS., recurring as *payo mayi dhehi* ApŚ.; and in the same text (TS.) all three possibilities in a formula like *āyur me dehi* TS. 1. 5. 5. 3, *āyur me dhehi* 1. 6. 6. 1, and *āyur mayi dhehi* 7. 5. 19. 2 (but, N. B., no **āyur mayi dehi*).

**§103.** In very simple formulas of the type presented in this paragraph, there is as a rule no criterion for establishing the greater originality of either reading. Indeed, it is doubtful to what extent they are properly to be considered variants of one another; not infrequently they may very well have originated independently:
*rayiṁ me dāḥ* (AV. *dhehi*) AV. MS.
*ojo dehi* KS.: *ojo dhatta* TS. KŚ.: *ojo mayi dhehi* VS. TB.: *ojo me dāḥ* (*svāhā*) AV. VS. ŚB.
*balaṁ dehi* KS.: *balaṁ dhatta* TS. MŚ.: *balaṁ mayi dhehi* (AV. *me dāḥ svāhā*) AV. VS. TB.
*saho mayi dhehi* (AV. *me dāḥ svāhā* ) AV. VS. TB.

*prāṇaṁ dhehi* (KS. *dehi*) KS. TA. ApŚ. See Conc. in the vicinity of these.

*vācaṁ dhehi* (MS. *me dāḥ*) MS. TA.

*annaṁ me dehi* (PB.* *dhehi*) PB. (both) LŚ. Kauś.; cf. note on Kauś. 136. 4.

*āyur dhehi* (KS. *dehi*) KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.: *āyur me dāḥ* (*svāhā*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.: *āyur mayi dhehi* VS. TS. ŚB.: *āyur me dehi* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.: *āyur me dhehi* VSK. TS. KS. KSA. MS. TB. ApŚ.: *āyur me dhattam* TB. ApŚ.

*śrotraṁ dehi* (TA. *dhehi*) KS. TA.: *śrotraṁ mayi* (KSA. †*mayi*, not *me*) *dhehi* TS. KSA.: *śrotraṁ me dāḥ* AV. MŚ.

*cakṣur dehi* (TA. *dhehi*) KS. TA.: *cakṣur me dhehi* (KS. KSA. *dehi*) VS. KS. KSA. ŚB.: *cakṣur mayi dhehi* TS.: *cakṣur me dāḥ* (*svāhā*) AV. MS.

*tejo mayi* (AŚ. *me*) *dhehi* (AŚ. *dehi*) AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. LŚ. ŚG. ApMB.: *tejo me dhāḥ* (AŚ. *dāḥ svāhā*) TA. AŚ.

*varco mayi dhehi* VS. TS. PB. ŚB. ApŚ.: *varco me dāḥ* (TA. *dhāḥ*) MS. MŚ. TA.: *varco me dehi* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.: *varco me dhehi* VSK. MS. KS. JB. ApŚ.: *varco asmāsu dhatta* (AŚ. *dhehi*) AV. AŚ.

*vīraṁ dhatta* (AŚ. *vīraṁ me datta;* MŚ. °*no datta*) *pitaraḥ* AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *vīrān naḥ pitaro dhatta* ViDh.: *vīrān me pitaro* (*tatāmahā, prata-tāmahā*) *datta* Kauś.

*ūrjam mayi dhehi* VS. VSK. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ūrjaṁ me dhehi* (PB. LŚ. *dehi*) VSK. TS. KS. PB. GB. TB. Vait. LŚ. KŚ.

*hṛdispṛk kratuspṛg varcodāḥ* (MS. °*dhā asi*) MS. AŚ.

**§104.** Prose formulas of a somewhat less simple type continue the same style of variations without introducing any additional criteria of textual correctness or priority:

*aśvibhyāṁ pradhāpaya* (TA. °*dāpaya*) MS. TA.

*apām oṣadhīnāṁ garbhaṁ dhāḥ* (MŚ. *garbhaṁ me dāḥ*) TS. MŚ.

*adhi dātre vocaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *adhi dhātre vocaḥ* MS. KS.

*cakṣurdā varcodā varivodāḥ* TS.: *varcodhā varivodhāḥ* MS.: *varcodā varivodāḥ* (TA. *varivodā draviṇodāḥ*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*bhūs* (also, *bhuvas*, and *svas*) *tvayi dadhāmi* (MG. *te dadāmi*) ŚB. BṛhU. PG. HG. MG.: *bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ sarvaṁ tvayi dadhāmi* (MG. *svas te dadāmi*) ŚB. BṛhU. PG. MG.

*anādhṛṣṭāḥ sīdata sahaujaso* (TS. MS. KS. *sīdatorjasvatīr*) *mahi kṣatraṁ* (*varcaḥ*) *kṣatriyāya dadhatīḥ* (KS. *dadatīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*iyaṁ vaḥ sā satyā saṁdhābhūd* (MS. *saṁvāg abhūd*) *yām indreṇa sama-dhadhvam* (MS. °*dadhvam*) TS. MS.: *eṣā vas sā satyā saṁvāg abhūd*

*yām indreṇa samadadhvam* KS.: *yām indreṇa saṁdhāṁ samadhatthāḥ* (comm. and some mss. *samadhattāḥ*) AV. Where the noun *saṁdhā* occurs, it guarantees connexion of the verb with the root *dhā*; note that in MS. KS. it is replaced by *saṁvāg*; but even so, *samadadhvam* may perhaps be felt as from root *dhā* (Wackernagel I p. 128).

*astṛto nāmāham . . . ātmānaṁ ni dadhe dyāvāpṛthivībhyāṁ gopīthāya* (KS. . . . *dyāvāpṛthivyor ātmānaṁ pari dade . . .*) AV. KS.

*devīr āpo apāṁ napād . . . devebhyo devatra dhatta* (VS. ŚB. *datta*, KS. *dāta*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. . . . *taṁ devebhyaḥ śukrapebhyo dāta* MS.

*puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe cakṣuḥ smane smānaṁ . . . dehy asmai* MS.: *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ. °*pate*) *puṣṭiś . . . asmai punar dhehi* (AŚ. *dhehi* or *dehi svāhā*) AŚ. ApŚ. For *smane smānaṁ* see Bloomfield, *AJP* 21. 324.

*agnir annādo 'nnapatir . . . mayi dadhātu* (TB. *yajamānāya dadātu*) ŚB. TB. KŚ. Similarly nine other formulas with other gods.

[*udgātar devayajanaṁ me dehi* ŚB. ApŚ. (Conc. *dhehi* for ApŚ.)]

**§105.** The metrical variants bring in a larger number of texts, but offer little new evidence; only the familiar chronological relations of the various texts offer any basis for distinctions of priority, as when, in the first cases to be mentioned, we naturally assume that the RV is original:

*rayiṁ devī dadhātu me* AV.: *rāyo devī dadātu naḥ* RV.

*purumedhaś* (SV. °*dhāś*) *cit takave naraṁ dāt* (SV. *dhāt*) RV. SV.

*dakṣaṁ dadhāsi* (KS. *dadāsi*, v. l. *dadhāsi*) *jīvase* RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*asmabhyaṁ dattāṁ* (AV. *dhattāṁ*; but comm. *dattāṁ*) *varuṇaś ca manyuḥ* RV. AV.—Ppp. also *dattaṁ*.

*vasudeyāya* (KS. °*dheyāya*) *vidhate vibhāti* RV. KS. In RV. *vasudeya* occurs twice more, but no *vasudheya*.

*tato no dehi jīvase* RV. TB. TA.: *tasya no dhehi jīvase* AV. SV. Kauś.

*tisro dadhur* (KS. *dadur*) *devatāḥ saṁrarāṇāḥ* VS.† (so for Conc. RV.) 19. 81b, MS. KS. TB. The majority are probably original.

*somāya rājñe paridhātavā* (HG. °*dā*°) *u* AV. HG. ApMB. As Kirste remarks, HG. is secondary or corrupt; the first pāda of the verse has *paridhatta* in all texts.

*mā no andhe tamasy antar ādāt* MŚ. (properly emended by Knauer to *ādhāt*, cf. §101): *mā sv* (Poona ed. *mo ṣv*) *asmāṁs tamasy antarādhāḥ* TA.: *mo ṣvatvam asmāntarādhāt* MS.† (corrupt).

*pratyādāyāpara iṣvā* AV. 10. 1. 27; read *pratyādhāyā*°, see Roth, *ZDMG* 48. 681, and Whitney's and Bloomfield's Translations.

*dhātā dadhātu* (TS. ApŚ. ApMB. *dadātu*) *no rayim* AV. TS. MS.† KS. ApŚ. ApMB. Kauś. See §106, first two variants.

*dhātā dadhātu* (ApŚ. *dadātu*) *sumanasyamānaḥ* AV. MS. KS. ApŚ.

*indreṇa ma indriyaṁ dattam ojaḥ* AV.: *asmin nara indriyaṁ dhattam ojaḥ* TS. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. *dhattam*.

*āyur no dehi jīvase* ŚG.: *āyuṣ ṭe* (AV. *āyur no*) *viśvato dadhat* AV. TS. TA. ApŚ. AŚ. HG. BDh. Cf. *rayiṁ no dehi* . . . §106.

*rāyas poṣaṁ cikituṣe* (AV. °*ṣī*, AŚ. *yajamāne*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*iṣam ūrjaṁ yajamānāya dhehi* (Vait. *dattvā*, AV. *duhrām*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait.

*lokam asmai yajamānāya dehi* (MU. *dhehi*) TS. KSA. MU.

*tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi dadhatī* (ŚB. KŚ. *dadatī*) *sarasvatī* ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. *dadatī* is a secondary adaptation to *dadātu* in the next pāda.

*asme dhehi* (SV. *dehi*) *jātavedo mahi śravaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*kṛtvī* (AV. *kṛtvā*) *savarṇām adadur* (AV. *adadhur*) *vivasvate* RV. AV. N. The AV. is undoubtedly secondary, but it is perhaps a little strong to call it a 'corruption' (Whitney).

*devebhyo* (VS. *devānāṁ*) *bhāgadā* (TS. °*dhā*) *asat* VS. TS. MS. KS.†

*pra ṇo* (MS. KS. *mā*) *brūtād bhāgadhān* (ApŚ. °*dhāṁ*, MS. °*dāṁ*, KS. *dhavirdā*) *devatāsu* (KS. °*tābhyaḥ*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

**§106.** In the preceding there seemed to be some reason for preferring one reading or the other. In the following we find none, or so little as not to be worth noting:

*dhātā dadātu* (AV. *dadhātu*) *dāśuṣe* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. AG. ŚG. N. See next.

*dhātā viśvā vāryā dadhātu* AV.: *dhātā dadātu dāśuṣe vasūni* TS. MS. ApMB. In variants like this and the preceding, the occurrence of a derivative of the root *dhā* in the context may be noted. But as an argument for priority it may be a two-edged sword. Does it indicate that the original verb was *dhā*, or rather that an original *dā* was attracted to it?

*rayiṁ no dehi jīvase* ŚŚ.: *rayiṁ no dhehi yajñiyam* MS. Cf. *āyur no dehi jīvase*, §105.

*medhām agnir dadātu me* (SMB. *dadhātu te*) SMB. ApMB.; cf. *medhāṁ ta indro dadātu* HG., *medhāṁ dhātā dadātu* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz *dadhātu*) *me* RVKh. VS.

*tasmai mā devāḥ paridhatteha sarve* AV.: *tasmai no devāḥ paridatteha* (KS. MŚ. °*dhatta*, PG. °*dhatteha*) *sarve* (MŚ.† *viśve*) TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. BDh. Comm. on AV. also °*datteha*, called by Whitney a better reading; of this we are less sure.

*tasya no rāsva tasya no dhehi* (AŚ. *dāḥ*) AV. AŚ.

*jīvann eva prati tat te dadhāmi* (SMB. *dadāmi*) TA. SMB.†: *jīvann eva pratidatte dadāmi* MŚ.

*udno* (AV. ed. *ūdhno*, but mss. *utno* etc.; Whitney transl. reads *udno*) - *divyasya no dhātaḥ* (TS. KS. *dehi*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Comm. on AV. *dhāta*, explaining by *dhehi* (!).

*mahi varcaḥ kṣatriyāya dadhatīḥ* (KS. *dadatīḥ*, TS. *vanvānāḥ*) TS. MS. KS.

**§107.** Leaving now the roots *dā* and *dhā*, we come to other *d* and *dh* variations. They are practically all lexical, or else involve dubious and probably corrupt readings. But their very frequency, and the frequency of corruptions between the two sounds in the mss., certifies to the ease with which they could be confused. We begin with a group in which the variant forms are still fairly close to one another in external form; in the first they are even etymologically equivalent, concerning divergent forms of the desiderative of the root *dabh*. This (originally **dhabh*) produces both *dhips* and *dips*, of which the first is historically regular, while the second, tho analogical in origin (:*dabh*), is the usual form:

*nindād yo asmān dipsāc* (VS. ŚB. *dhipsāc*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*dhipsyaṁ vā saṁcakara janebhyaḥ* MS.: *aditsan vā saṁjagara janebhyaḥ* TA. Here *dhips* varies with the negative desiderative of *dā* (cf. §§180, 45).

*yaṁ te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavaḥ* RV.: *yaṁ te svadāvan svadanti gūrtayaḥ* RV. The second version is inferior in sense and meter; see RVRep. on 8. 5. 7a and 8. 49. 5c.

*sā brahmajāyā vi dunoti rāṣṭram* AV.: *sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahmajyasya* AV. Roots *du* and *dhū*.

*rajani* (AV. ed. em. *rajjuni*) *granther dānam* (AŚ. *dhānām*) AV. AŚ. Vait. The emendation *rajjuni* is very pat; the passage means 'the tying of a rope', and *dhānām*, like *rajani*, is nonsense.

*adhi kṣami* (SV. *asmin kṣaye*) *prataraṁ dīdhyānaḥ* (SV. °*rāṁ dīdyānaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. See Whitney on AV. 18. 1. 1 and Geldner, *Gurupūjākaumudī* 20. SV. has an obvious lect. fac. infected by ideas such as RV. 5. 64. 5, *sudītibhiḥ . . . sve kṣaye . . . vṛdhase*, or RV. 5. 23. 4, *eṣu kṣayeṣu . . . dīdihi*. Geldner seems to have the right sense (with *dīdhyānaḥ*).

*yad baṅhiṣṭhaṁ nātividhe* (TB. °*vide*) *sudānū* RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. Both readings make a sort of sense; TB. comm. *nātyantaṁ labhyam*. But the compound *ati-vid* is not really Sanskrit, and is properly wanting in the lexicons. However, one ms. of MS. has °*vide*.

*indra dartā* (SV. *dhartā*) *purām asi* RV. SV. AV. The foolish antonym of SV. is disproved by RV. 1. 130. 10, 3. 45. 2, 6. 20. 3.

[*dhāmno-dhāmno rājan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG. So also mss. on AV. 7. 83. 2, emended by RWh. to *dāmno-dāmno*. Whitney, Transl., keeps the emendation, tho even Ppp. has *dh-*. But Keith on TS., 'from every rule' (ordinance), which is conservative and possible. At any rate there is no variant. In the preceding verse also the AV. mss. have *sarvā dhāmāni muñcatu*, emended by RWh. to *dāmāni*; the variant KS. 3. 8, AŚ. 3. 6. 24 has *dhāmno-dhāmna iha muñcatu*.]

**§108.** A little less close to each other are the roots *vid* and *vṛdh*, which exchange several times; the 'Prakritic' exchange of *ṛ* and *i* also comes in here. In the first two variants *vid* is clearly original, in the last the precedence is less clear:

*mā no vidad* (KS. *vṛdhad*) *vṛjinā* (KS. TB. ApŚ. *vṛjanā*) *dveṣyā* †*yā* AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Cf. Conc. under *mā no vidad* (*vidan*).

*hotrāvidaḥ* (RV. °*vida*, TB. °*vṛdha*) *stomataṣṭāso arkaiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. On *hotrāvid* cf. RV. 5. 8. 3; *hotrāvṛdh* is not recorded.

*indrartubhir brahmaṇā vāvṛdhānaḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *indra ṛbhubhir brahmaṇā saṁvidānaḥ* ŚŚ.

**§109.** Remoter lexical variants are the following:

*śyenasyeva dhrajato* (MS. KS. *dravato*) *aṅkasaṁ pari* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *dravataḥ* is a banal easing up of the poetic *dhraj-* with *śyena;* cf. RV. 1. 165. 2.

*avocāma kavaye medhyāya* RV. VS. TS. MS.: *pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya* (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *medhyāya*) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ: *śrutkarṇāya kavaye vedyāya* AV. KS. ApŚ.

*āpo asmān* (MS. *mā*) *mātaraḥ śundhayantu* (AV. MS. KS. *sūdayantu*, TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. *sūd*° is evidently secondary. Note that in AV. 20. 136. 16d the word *śuddham* of the vulgate is based on mss. readings *sudam* and *śunam* (Whitney, Index).

*taṁ tvā bhrātaraḥ suvṛdho* (HG. *suhṛdo*, AV. *suvṛdhā*) *vardhamānam* AV. ApMB. HG. *suvṛdhā vardh*°, 'growing with good growth', is original. In HG. there is a slipshod assimilation in sense to *bhrātaraḥ* ('brothers, friends').

*spardhante dhiyaḥ* (TS. KSA. *divaḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA. In RV., 'Pious thoughts (prayers) vie for him (Soma) as people (vie for) the sun,' poetic but intelligible, is done over in TS. KSA., into 'The people of the

sky vie with the sun (seated on Soma as on a steed).' So at least the TS. comm., followed by Keith; this however implies emendation of the accent of *dívaḥ* to *diváḥ* (ignored by them). If correct, this concept is otherwise apparently unknown, and it is strange that it supplants the familiar notion of 'conflicting prayers' (Bloomfield, Acts 14th Congress Orientalists 242ff., or *Johns Hopkins Circulars* 25. 1ff.). The whole verse is obscure.

**§110.** The rest are obscure if not corrupt:

*apa snehitīr* (KS. ms. *snihiti*, em. v. Schroeder; SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ* [so divide], KS.† *nṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi taṁ nṛmṇām* (Poona ed. *snuhi taṁ nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA.—KapS. reads *snehitī tṛmaṇām athaṁdrī*. In RV. 'He, the heroically minded, drove away the enemies.' Cf. 1. 74. 2. Benfey takes *adhad* as aorist of *dhā*, and *rāḥ* as 'riches.' The TA. comm. understands *snuhi* as *bhūmau prasrāvaya* (root *snu*), and glosses *athadrām* by *adhodravaṇaśīlam* (v. l. *atho°*, as if *atha* = *adhas*+*drā*!). Why these terrible readings instead of the simple version of RV.?

*anāgaso adham it saṁkṣayema* TB.: *anāgaso yathā sadam it saṁ kṣiyema* Vait. Comm. on TB. *adham id, anantaram eva*; but no adverb *adham* is otherwise known. It seems to be a nonce-formation = *adhā* by proportional analogy, on a pattern such as *sadā: sadam* = *adhā: adham;* note that the TB. comm. assigns to it the meaning of *sadam*, 'always'. Cf. VV I p. 195.

*upākṛtaṁ śaśamānaṁ yad asthāt* (MŚ. *sadhasthāt*, v. l. *sad asthāt*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. If *sadhasthāt* is more than a blunder it must depend on *upākṛtam:* 'fetched from home' or the like.

*vanā vananti dhṛṣatā* (MŚ. mss. *dhṛṣadā* and *dṛṣadā*) *rujantaḥ* RV. TS. JB. ŚB. MŚ. See §60.

*ud vaṅśam iva yemire* RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mbh.

*adhā viṣitaḥ pitum addhi prasūtaḥ* KS.: *adomadam annaṃ addhi pramuktaḥ* AV. And others, §870. *adomadam* is obscure; we suspect that it contains *adas* (pronoun).

[*tayā madantaḥ sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh. VS. *sadhamādeṣu*) RVKh. VS. MS. KS. TB. And others; §325. Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* in RVKh.; but his ms. °*mādyeṣu*.]

## *p* and *ph*

**§111.** Only in the synonymous roots *guṣp* and *gulph*. Aspiration in the latter may be somehow connected with sibilation in *guṣp*, but the

relation is obscured by other forms such as *guph, gumph* (Whitney, *Roots*); see Bloomfield, *Hymns of the AV.* 338, top, where *guṣṭitam* ŚB. 3. 2. 2. 20 is a misprint of that text:
*mano yad asya guṣpitam* (ApŚ. *gulphitam*) MS. ApŚ.
*yad asya guṣpitaṁ* (ApŚ. *gulphitaṁ*) *hṛdi* MS. ApŚ.
*viṣāṇe vi ṣya guṣpitam* (some mss. and comm. *gulphitam*) AV.

*p* and *bh*

**§112.** These sounds vary chiefly in rime-words of nearly synonymous meanings: most commonly the roots *pṛ* and *bhṛ*, in the meanings 'preserve' and 'support'. In AV. 3. 5. 4c, *taṁ priyāsaṁ bahu rocamānaḥ*, we must read *bhriyāsaṁ* with Whitney.
*manas tanūṣu bibhrataḥ* (TB.* ApŚ.* LŚ. *pipratoḥ*) RV. VS. TB. LŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. Both readings in TB. ApŚ.
*utem* (ŚŚ. *uto*) *āśu mānaṁ piparti* (ŚŚ. *bibharti*) AV. AB. GB. ŚŚ. One ms. of ŚŚ. *piparti*, which should perhaps be read even in that text.
*taṁ pipṛhi daśamāsyo 'ntar udare* ŚG.: *taṁ mātā daśa māso bibhartu* ApMB. HG.
*sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu* AV. 13. 1. 1d; Ppp. according to Roth *pipartu* for *bi°*, which must be secondary if Ppp. has *subhṛtaṁ* as indicated by Roth's silence. This is just the converse of the following, which concerns three pādas of AV. 11. 5 (1d, 2e, 4d):
*sa ācāryaṁ tapasā piparti* (Ppp. *bibharti*),
*sarvān sa devāṁs tapasā piparti* (Ppp. *bibharti*), and
*śrameṇa lokāṁs tapasā piparti* (Ppp. *bibharti*), all AV. and Ppp.

**§113.** There are also two interchanges of the partly synonymous roots *yup* and *lubh*, the former being original both times; see Bloomfield, *AJP* 12. 414ff.:
*saṁyopayanto duritāni viśvā* RV. MG.: *saṁlobhayanto duritā padāni* AV.
*ayupitā* (ApŚ. *alubhitā*, and once *āyupitā* by misprint, see Errata to Vol. 2) *yoniḥ* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

**§114.** Finally two miscellaneous cases:
*agner jihvāsi suhūr* (VSK. TS. TB. *subhūr*, KS. *supūr*) *devebhyaḥ* (TS. TB. *devānām*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. *suhū*, 'calling enticingly,' fits *jihvā* best.
*yā sarasvatī vaiśaṁbhalyā* (ApŚ. *°balyā*, vv. ll. *°phalyā*, *°bhalyā*) . . . TB. ApŚ. The true form, derivation, and meaning of this epithet are unknown. TB. comm. has a fatuous explanation.

### ASPIRATE MUTES AND H

**§115.** That there was in Vedic times, as in Prakrit, a tendency to reduce aspirates to *h* is indicated e.g. by Wackernagel 1 §218. Nearly all our cases concern *bh* and *h*; and a majority of these, again, the single root *grah* (*grabh*). Any rule as to early phonetic interchange between these two forms of the root (Wackernagel, l. c., p. 252) is cheerfully neglected. The same school or the same text will use *grabh* in one place and *grah* in another, under like conditions. The popular texts, AV. and most of the Gṛhya Sūtras, seem to like *grah* a little better, but they are not consistent; they are merely moving in the direction of Classical Sanskrit, with which they are in other respects more closely affiliated than the hieratic language. Perhaps the same preference may be discernible in TS. and KS. RV. and other archaizing texts—seemingly including VS., MS., ŚB. and ApMB.—and the RV. sūtras prefer *grabh* on the whole. But really the one stable factor is inconsistency.

### *bh* and *h*

**§116.** We begin with *bh* and *h*, which includes *grah: grabh* and with it nearly all that may have historical significance. First, *grah* and *grabh:*

*gṛbhṇāmi* (AV. HG. *gṛhṇāmi*) *te saubhagatvāya* (ApMB. HG. *suprajāstvāya*) *hastam* RV. AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.

*jagṛhmā* (RV. *jagṛbhmā*, TB. *jagṛbhṇā*) *te dakṣiṇam indra hastam* RV. SV. MS. TB. Svidh. In VV I p. 252 we have suggested that the form *jagṛbhṇā* (comm. *vayaṁ gṛhītavantaḥ*) may have been a 1st person subjunctive. [In the ms. of this section Bloomfield wrote: 'If this startling form is more than an old and inexplicable blunder, it seems to contain dissimilation of *m* to *ṇ* after the labial aspirate.' I myself am now inclined to see in it only a sort of confused blend-form; *jagṛbhmā* (in which *-mā* is the 1st plural ending) of RV. is stupidly altered to *-ṇā* with thought of the present infix in forms like *gṛbh-ṇā-ti*.—F E.]

*na hy asyā* (ApMB. *asyai*) *nāma gṛbhṇāmi* RV. ApMB.: *nahi te nāma jagrāha* AV.

*hiraṇyapāvāḥ paśum āsu* (SV. *apsu*) *gṛbhṇate* (AV.† *gṛh°*) RV. AV. SV.

*savitā* (AG. ApMB. HG. MG. *°tā te*) *hastam agrabhīt* (AV. SMB. MG. *°hīt*) AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.: *devas te savitā hastaṁ gṛhṇātu* AV.

*idaṁ rādhaḥ prati gṛbhṇīhy* (JB. *gṛhṇīhy*) *aṅgiraḥ* AV. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

*bhagas te hastam agrabhīt* (AV. *°hīt*) AV. ŚG. ApMB.

*agniṣ ṭe hastam agrabhīt* (SMB. °*hīt*) SMB. ApMB. HG.

*aryamā* (ApMB. °*mā te*) *hastam agrabhīt* (SMB. °*hīt*) ŚG. SMB. ApMB.

*oṣadhayaḥ prati gṛbhṇīta* (TS. KS. *gṛhṇītāgnim etam*, MS. MŚ. *gṛbhṇītāgnim etam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

*nākaṁ gṛbhṇānāḥ* (TS. KS. *gṛh*°) *sukṛtasya loke* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*agne brahma gṛbhṇīṣva* (MS. MŚ. *gṛhṇīṣva*, KS. *gṛhīṣva*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

*apo devīr* (VS. ŚB. *devā*) *madhumatīr agṛhṇan* (MS. KS. *agṛbhṇām*, VS. ŚB. *agṛbhṇan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*āpo devīḥ pratigṛbhṇīta* (TS. KS. ApŚ.† °*gṛhṇīta*) *bhasmaitat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*devo vaḥ savitā hiraṇyapāṇiḥ prati* (MS. MŚ. °*pāṇir upa*) *gṛhṇātu*(VS. ŚB. *pratigṛbhṇātv . . .*; VSK. °*vaḥ savitā pratigṛhṇātu . . .*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*aditis te* (VS. MS. ŚB. °*tiṣ ṭe*) *bilaṁ gṛhṇātu* (VS. MS. ŚB. *gṛbh*°) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ.

*taṁ vo gṛhṇāmy* (MS. *taṁ te gṛbhṇāmy*) *uttamam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*prati gṛhṇāmi* (MŚ. TB.† AŚ. *gṛbh*°) *mahate vīryāya* (MS. KS. *mahata indriyāya*) MS. KS. TB. AŚ.—TB. Poona ed. text and comm. *gṛbh*°.

*yasya yoniṁ patireto gṛbhāya* (HG. *prati reto gṛhāṇa*) ŚG. HG.: *vy asya yoniṁ prati reto gṛhāṇa* ApMB.

**§117.** The same variation occurs in the independent but semantically synonymous roots *bhṛ* and *hṛ*, without other motive than the close similarity in sound. The first two variants in §118 belong also here.

*parāpuro nipuro ye bharanti* (MŚ. *har*°) AV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB.

*rātrīṁ-rātrīm* (VS. ŚB.* *ahar-ahar*, AV. TS. *rātriṁ-rātrim*) *aprayāvaṁ bharantaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (both): *ahar-ahar balim it te harantaḥ* AV.

*śarma varmedam ā bhara* ApMB.: *śarma varmaitad ā hara* AV.

*viṣṇuḥ saṁbhriyamāṇaḥ* VS.: *viṣṇur upāvahriyamāṇaḥ* TS.

*prāṇāpānābhyāṁ balam āharantī* (ApMB. *ābhar*°) SMB. ApMB. (Other forms, see Conc.)

**§118.** Next come a number of shifts between the participles *-hita* (*-dhita*) and *-bhṛta* (*-hṛta*, cf. preceding). Tho quasi-Prakritic as regards both vowel and consonant change, this variation really concerns approximate synonyms. Cf. also *-dhita: -bhṛta*, §175:

*hiraṇye 'smin samāhitāḥ* (HG. *samābhṛtāḥ*) RVKh. HG. ApMB. Scheftelowitz reads °*hṛtāḥ* in RVKh.

*devīr devaiḥ samāhṛtāḥ* (TB. °*bhṛtāḥ*) SV. TB.: *devair devīḥ samāhitāḥ* RVKh. But Scheftelowitz, here also, reads °*hṛtāḥ* for RVKh.; if this is right the variant belongs in the preceding paragraph alone.

*gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtaṁ guhā sat* VS.: *gan*° *nāma nihitaṁ guhāsu* TA. MahānU. And others; §855.

*sūryaraśmiṁ samābhṛtam* TS. TB.: *sūryāñ* (p. p. °*yāt*) *śukraṁ samābhṛtam* MS.: *sūrye santaṁ* (KS. TA. *śukraṁ*) *samāhitam* (KS. TA. °*bhṛtam*) VS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*yad agne pūrvaṁ prabhṛtaṁ* (AŚ. *prahitaṁ*; MŚ. *nihitaṁ*) *padaṁ hi te* TB. ApŚ. AŚ. MŚ.

**§119.** Next we group together a number of cases in which derivatives of the root *bhū* vary with others from *hū* and *hu*. All are ritualistic epithets compounded with *su-* or *sva-*, and in such language these epithets are very nearly interchangeable; one does about as well as another:

*agner jihvāsi suhūr* (*subhūr, supūr*) *devebhyaḥ* (*devānām*), see §114.

*ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte* (AV. *cā suhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. According to Roth Ppp. has *cā bhūte*, evidently intending *cā svabhūte*, which is presumably original. Vāyu is addressed.

*ā tvā subhava* (AB. AŚ. *suhava*) *sūryāya* AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*samudraṁ na suhavaṁ* (AV. *subhuvas*, TB. Poona ed. *suhuvaṁ*) *tasthivāṅsam* AV. TB. ApŚ.: *mahiṣaṁ naḥ subhvaṁ tasthivāṅsam* MS.—AVPpp. reads as MS. except *subhavas*, for which Barret, *JAOS* 35. 46, reads *subhuvas*. The root *hu* may be concerned here, despite TB. comm. (*sukhenāhvātuṁ śakyam*).

*suhutakṛtaḥ stha* . . . AŚ.: *subhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ.: *subhūtakṛtaḥ subhūtaṁ naḥ kṛṇuta* ŚŚ.

**§120.** In two cases—besides the *grah*: *grabh* variants—the identical word, or a derivative of the same root, appears with *bh* and *h:*

*kakubhaṁ* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *kakuhaṁ*) *rūpaṁ vṛṣabhasya* (KS. *rūpam ṛṣ*°) *rocate bṛhat* (VSK. *bṛhan*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (pratīkas. ApŚ. MŚ.).—*kakuha* occurs already in RV., which does not know *kakubha*. Cf. §23.

*apāṁ gambhan sīda* VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *apāṁ gambhīraṁ gacha* KS. ApŚ.: *apāṁ tvā gahman sādayāmi* . . . MS. MŚ.

**§121.** Miscellaneous cases:

*brāhmaṇebhyo hy anujñātā* (TA. *'bhyanu*°) TA. MahānU. *hi*: (*a*)*bhi*.

*asaṁbhavyaṁ* (JB. *asaṁheyaṁ*, perhaps for *asaṁkhyeyaṁ*) *parābhavan* AV. JB.

*abhi dyumnaṁ* (RV. VS. *sumnaṁ*) *devabhaktaṁ yaviṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitaṁ yaviṣṭhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

*nābhimṛśe* (MS. KS. *nābhidhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS. *tanuvā*) *jarbhurāṇaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *jarhṛṣāṇaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*asmāṅ* (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣv ā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *asmān devāso †'vatā haveṣu* AV.

### *dh* and *h*

§122. Here we find only a few variants. They are partly based on familiar phonetic alternates (imperative ending *dhi: hi*; participle *hita: dhita*), partly on lexical changes:

*nṝṅh* (MS. *nṝṅṣ*) *pāhi śṛṇudhī* (SV. °*hī*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 253.

*uṣṇena vāya* (ApMB. *vāyav*) *udakenehi* (SMB. GG. °*naidhi*, MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. *ihi: edhi*, both regular, the latter obviously secondary.

*upasthe soma āhitaḥ* (ApMB. *ādhitaḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB. MG. Note archaism in ApMB.

*ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny ānṛdhuḥ* (TS. *ānṛhuḥ*, MS. *ānaśuḥ*) AV. TS. MS. Whitney (*Roots*) rubricates *ānṛhuḥ* under *arh*. The obscurity of the passage makes it impossible to say whether this is right or whether it is a phonetic form of *ānṛdhuḥ;* see Whitney's note on AV. 2. 35. 1 and Keith on TS. 3. 2. 8. 3.

*gṛdhraḥ śitikakṣī vārdhrāṇasas te divyāḥ* (KSA. ms. *vārhīṇasas te 'dityāḥ*) TS. KSA. Von Schroeder emends to *vārdhrī*°, questionably; see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 28, and above §23.

*harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣitā* (TB. °*atā*) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N.: *harṣamāṇā hṛṣitāso marutvan* AV. Three mss. of AV. *dhṛṣitāso*; Ppp. ms. *ṛṣamāṇāso ṛṣadā*, for which Barret, *JAOS* 35. 59f., reads *dhṛṣatā*. The form *hṛṣit*° is obviously suggested by the preceding *harṣa*°.

*usrāv* (VSK. KS. *usrā*) *etaṁ dhūrṣāhau* (VSK. MŚ. °*vāhau*, KS. °*bādhā*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

### *gh* and *h*

§123. We find only a few cases, which seem on the whole to concern phonetic reduction of *gh* to *h*:

*arghaḥ* HG.: *arghyaṁ* ŚŚ. HG.: *arghyaṁ bhoḥ* Kauś.: *arhaṇīyā āpaḥ* ApG. See §321, end. *arh* = *argh*.

*aṅghārir* (ŚŚ. *aṅhārir*, all mss.) *asi bambhāriḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. LŚ. The word is obscure, but ŚŚ. looks like a phonetic reduction.

*somaṁ te krīṇāmy ūrjasvantaṁ payasvantaṁ †vīryāvantam abhimātiṣāham*

(KS. *vīryāvantaṁ bahvarghaṁ śobhamānam*) TS. KS.: *somavikrayin somaṁ te krīṇāni mahāntaṁ bahvarhaṁ bahu śobhamānam* MS.

*taṁ ghed agnir vṛdhāvati* RV. TS.: *taṁ hed agnir vidhāvati* MS. Particles *gha* and *ha*.

*vīraṁ hi* (read *avīraghnī*?) *vīravataḥ suśevā* MG.: *avīraghno* (ApMB.† °*nī*) *vīravataḥ* (ŚG. *vīrataraḥ*, HG. °*tamaḥ*) *suvīrān* (HG. *suśevān*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB.

## *kh* and *h*

**§124.** Only one real variant, which concerns an onomatopoetic word imitating the sound of a frog. With this cf. *asaṁbhavyaṁ* (JB. *asaṁheyaṁ*) *parābhavan* AV. JB., where *asaṁheyaṁ* may be for *asaṁkhyeyaṁ;* see §121.

*khaṇvakhā3i khaimakhā3i madhye taduri* AV.: *haimahā3 haimahā3* KŚ. Cf. *haimahā3 idaṁ madhv . . .* ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.

## CHAPTER IV. INTERCHANGES OF THE MUTE SERIES

### 1. Gutturals and palatals

**§125.** Interchange between gutturals and palatals is of special interest, because both go back to identical IE sounds, namely velars or labio-velars, with the exception of the voiceless aspirates which are peculiar. The general rule that palatals appear before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, and *y*, much disturbed by analogies even in established words and classes of words, is still further rendered unstable by the more sporadic forms that mostly appear among the variants. Especially VSK. affects forms like *tanakmi* for *tanacmi*, *yunagmi* for *yunajmi* (§§127, 131), etc. It may be observed that in these particular forms VSK. is historically regular, the variant forms being analogical. But since VSK. also replaces *j* with *g* before *m* when *j* is an IE palatal, which should never appear as *g*, it is unlikely that it here preserves unchanged a real prehistoric form. Rather we are dealing with a secondary matter of school oddity. Wackernagel, I §§119ff., especially 121ff., deals fully and ably with the leading aspects of the interrelation of these sounds.

#### *k* and *c*

**§126.** The variants are not numerous. They occur occasionally in the same word, but more often in words which, while not identical, are available for interchange because of greater or less semantic proximity. Thus, first, in two derivatives of the root *cit*:

*samānaṁ ceto abhisaṁviśadhvam* (TB. *keto abhisaṁrabhadhvam*) AV. TB.

*ā no agne sucetunā* (TB. ApŚ. *suketunā*) RV. SV. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

The *s*-stem *ketas* is ἅπ.λεγ., and is doubtless due to confusion between *cetas* and *keta*, both of which are historically regular. TB. comm. *sahavāsasthānam*, the meaning of the Classical *keta* (perhaps from *ci*, 'pile', rather than *cit*). The form *-ketu* of the second instance is (to be sure with different meanings) commoner and more primary than *-cetu*, patterned after the prevalent *c* forms of the root. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 146, and further Oldenberg on RV. 5. 66. 4; Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v. *ketunā*. Yet the reading *suketunā* is evidently secondary.

*śokāt* (TS. *śocāt*) *pṛthivyā uta vā divas pari* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *śocāt* is ἅπ.λεγ. and analogical.

*kanīkhunad iva sāpayan* TB.: *canīkhudad yathāsapam* AŚ. *c-* is again analogical; for the intensive reduplication see Wackernagel I p. 147.

*yatraitān* (VS. ApMB. °*nān*) *vettha nihitān parāke* (SMB. *parācaḥ*) VS. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. *parā(ñ)c-* and its extension *parāk-a-*.

*nū cit* (SV. *nakiḥ*) *sa dabhyate janaḥ* RV. SV. *cit* is, of course, in origin the regular neuter to the stem *ka-*; but equally of course no consciousness of this relationship can have been present at the time when this variation occurred.

*atho adhivikartanam* (ApMB. °*cartanam*) RV. AV. ApMB. Here the two roots are unrelated: *kṛt* 'cut' and *cṛt* 'tie'. In both the initial sound has been generalized (Wackernagel I p. 145). The primary reading of this variant was 'cutting off'; the secondary, 'untying'.

*ima udvāsīkāriṇa* . . . TB. ApŚ.: *imā uddhāsicāriṇa* . . . MŚ. See §59. The MŚ. reading is secondary and poor; it is felt as containing root *car*, as against the original *kṛ*.

**§127.** In a class by itself is the curious phonetic treatment of an established root-ending *c* as *k* before *m* in VSK., see §125:

*indrasya* (MS. MŚ. *indrāya*) *tvā bhāgaṁ somena tanacmi* (VSK. *tanakmi*, MS. MŚ. *somenātanacmi*) VS. VSK. KS. ŚB.: *somena tvā tanacmīndrāya dadhi* TS. TB. ApŚ.

*g* and *c*

**§128.** An isolated case concerning unrelated words; the majority reading with *c* is presumably original:

*na vai śvetasyādhyācāre* (HG. °*bhyācāreṇa*, MG. °*bhyācāre*, AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.

*k* and *ch*

**§128*a*.** An isolated lexical variant:

*chavīṁ* (KSA. †*kavīṁ*) *chavyā* TS. KSA. The latter is doubtless original; assimilation to the next word in TS., resulting in absurd repetition of the same stem.

*kh* and *ch*

**§129.** Two variants contain forms of *khid* and *chid*, identified by Haug, *ZDMG* 7. 517, and hesitatingly by Uhlenbeck, *Etym. Wbch.* Wackernagel however (I §§121, 131), with most scholars tho against Brugmann, denies any historic connexion between *kh* and *ch*. See his references §131b, end, and cf. Güntert, *Reimwortbildungen* 23, 32.

*yataḥ* (MS. *yena*) *prajā akhidrā* (MS. *achidrā*) *ajāyanta* . . . TS. MS. KS.
*akhidrāḥ* (ApŚ. *aghoraḥ*) *prajā abhiripaśya* KS. ApŚ.: *achinnapatrāḥ* (MS. °*traḥ*) *prajā anuvīkṣasva* VS. MS. ŚB.

## *g* and *j*

**§130.** The distinction between the two kinds of Sanskrit *j* (Wackernagel I §§120, 136ff.) is such that *j* from IE palatal *g* should properly never vary with *g*, whereas *j* of the velar (labio-velar) series should appear only before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, *y*. Nevertheless *j* from palatal *g* produces analogically some *g* forms (Wack. §138), and the velar voiced sound at the end of roots before consonantal endings (usually *m* and *v*) is regularly treated as *j* (Wack. §130c). The variants regard all historic distinctions of this sort little or not at all.

**§131.** To begin with, VSK. as we have remarked (and in one case SV.) shows *g* for *j* before *m* (§§125, 127). This applies equally to both kinds of *j* (root *yuj* with velar, roots *mṛj* and *sṛj* with palatal):

*mitrāvaruṇayos tvā praśāstroḥ praśiṣā yunajmi* (VSK. °*gmi*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*agniṁ yunajmi* (VSK. °*gmi*) *śavasā ghṛtena* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*agnīṣomābhyāṁ juṣṭaṁ ni yunajmi* (VSK. °*gmi*) VS. VSK. ŚB.

*vājinaṁ tvā vājedhyāyai* (TS. *sapatnasāhaṁ;* KS. *vājin vājayatyāyai*) *sam mārjmi* (VSK. °*gmi*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB.

*vājinīṁ tvā vājedhyāyai* (TS. *sapatnasāhīṁ*; KS. *vājini vājayatyāyai*) *saṁ mārjmi* (VSK. °*gmi*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. Corresponding formulas of other schools all with *mārjmi*; see Conc. under *vāji tvā*.

*upa tvā kāmān mahaḥ sasṛjmahe* RV. AV.: *upa tvā kāma īmahe sasṛgmahe* SV.

**§132.** Besides the above, derivatives of the roots *yuj* and *sṛj* show each a couple of variations between *g* and *j*:

*hinvāno mānuṣā yugā* (SV. *yujā*) RV. SV.

*daivyaṁ mānuṣā yugā* RV. SV. VS. TS. ŚB.: *viprāso mānuṣā yugā* KS.: *daivaṁ mānuṣā yujā* MS. The SV. form of the first variant may be taken with Benfey as instrumental from root-stem *yuj*. In this case both are phonetically normal, as the RV. has a neuter plural of *yuga* (cf. Wackernagel I §128a, d). In the second case also MS. may have an adverbial instrumental.

*diṣṭāya rajjusarjam* (TB. °*sargam*) VS. TB.

*prajāpate viśvasṛj* (MS. °*sṛg*, mss. mostly *sṛk*, one *sṛj*) *jīvadhanyaḥ* MS. TB. AŚ.† 2. 14. 12c [also in Conc. under *idaṁ no deva pratiharya*

*havyam*, read AŚ. 2. 14. 12d] ApŚ.—The ἅπ.λεγ. *rajju°* seems to mean 'rope-maker' (TB. comm. *rajjūnāṁ sraṣṭāram*), and the vocalism of the radical syllable points to an *a*-stem. Since *a*-stems from roots in velar *j* tend to have *g* (Wackernagel §128a), the root *sṛj* is carried away with the rest; cf. the familiar nomen actionis *sarga*. The 'historically correct' *sarja*, occurring here alone, may therefore be secondary. On *sṛj: sṛg* see Wackernagel I pp. 173f., 329. In the second variant *srj* before *j* might stand for *sṛt*; cf. below, §142, *brahman tvam asi viśvasṛt* (*°sṛk*).

**§133.** Once an intensive reduplication varies between *g* and *j*; cf. the same with *k* and *c*, §126, *kanīkhunad* etc.:

*ni galgalīti dhārakā* VS. ŚB.: *ni jalgulīti* (KSA.† mss. *jalgalūti*, ed. em. *jalgalīti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA.

**§134.** The rest concern miscellaneous words of independent origin:

†*prajāyāmasy agrataḥ* HG.: *pragāyāmasy agrataḥ* PG. ApMB.: *pragāyāmy asyāgrataḥ* MG. Verb forms of *pra-gai* and *pra-jan*, the latter obviously secondary, but found in other places besides HG.; see Kirste's note.

*sadā yācann ahaṁ girā* (SV. *jyā*) RV. SV. N. Comm. on SV. reads *girā* with RV. Since *jyā* is unaccented, Benfey posits a verb-form ('potential optative') of root *ji*, with loss of final *m*, for **jyām* = **jiyām*. Very dubious.

*apa* (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apaḥ* (most mss. *apa*) *śvetapad āgahi* (so all mss.) MG. See §817.

*punar brahmāṇo* (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (*°nītir*, *°dhītam*, *°dhīte*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. See §93.

## 2. Gutturals and Linguals

**§135.** A single stray variant concerning obscure forms in *k* and *ḍ*: *ṭekaś ca sasaramaṭaṅkaś ca* HG.: *tekaś ca sasaramataṇḍaś ca* ApMB. See §165.

## 3. Gutturals and Dentals

**§136.** The variations between gutturals and dentals are interesting, but none too numerous and for the most part difficult or dubious. To some extent they concern final consonants; in one of these cases the ultimate root concerned has a palatal ending, and the variation is really one of sandhi. The majority of guttural-dental variants are lexical in character; often the change is in consonant combinations, again bringing in (this time internal) sandhi or assimilation.

## *k* and *t*

**§137.** We begin with lexical variants, where we find first the absolutely equivalent rime-roots *stabh* and *skabh;* see Bloomfield, *IF* 4. 74ff.; Güntert, *Reimwortbildungen* 26ff. Among the variants, RV. always has *stabh*, while AV. prefers *skabh:*

*jagatā sindhuṁ divy astabhāyat* (AV. *aska°*) RV. AV.

*mahān mahī astabhāyad* (AV. KS.† *aska°*) *vi jātaḥ* AV. TS. KS. AB. AŚ.

*yaṁ krandasī avasā tastabhāne* (AV. *avataś caska°*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS.: *ya ime dyāvāpṛthivī tastabhāne* MS. KS. AVPpp. (Barret, *JAOS* 35. 44f.)

*vy astabhnā* (VS. ŚB. *aska°*, MS. *aṣka°*, KS. *aṣṭa°*, TS. *askabhnād*, TA. *aṣṭabhnād*) *rodasī viṣṇav* (*°ṇa*, *°ṇur*) *ete* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*divaṁ skabhāna* KS.: *dyāṁ stabhāna* KS.

**§138.** There are few other cases in which *k* and *t*, not final, exchange in a purely lexical or corrupt fashion:

*stuhi śūraṁ vajriṇam apratīkam* (TB. *apratītam*) MS. TB. The Bibl. Ind. ed. of TB. has *apratīttam*, but comm. and Poona ed. text correctly, *apratītam*, 'invincible'. MS. has a mere blunder.

*avānyāṅs tantūn kirato dhatto anyān* TB.: *prānyā tantūṅs tirate dhatte anyā* AV. See Whitney on AV. 10. 7. 42.

*purā jatrubhya* (TA. ApMB. *jartṛbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhyā*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyaḥ*!) *ātṛdaḥ* (MS. *°da*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. See §57.

*ugro* (HG. *ūrdhvo*, MG. *agne*) *virājann* (MG. *°jam*) *apa* (MG. *upa-*) *sedha* (AV. *vṛṅkṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB. HG. MG.

**§139.** Next a group of cases in which the combination *tt* varies with *kt* (and occasionally with other consonants before *t*); cf. §416, to which all these variants also belong:

*vi no rāṣṭram unattu payasā svena* TB.: *saṁ te rāṣṭram anaktu payasā ghṛtena* AV. For *vi-unattu* cf. RV. 1. 164. 47, 5. 83. 8; for *sam-anaktu*, RV. 10. 88. 4, 118. 4. The variation is lexical, hardly phonetic.

*devair nyuptā* (KS. *nuttā*, AV. *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV. *°tvam*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Cast forth (KS. impelled, AV. spoken!) by the gods thou (earth) hast spread out greatly (to greatness).' Ppp. reads *mahitvā*, and also *sṛṣṭā* for *uktā*, seemingly an ancient gloss which states in plain language what all the texts really mean.

*anyām icha pitṛṣadaṁ vyaktām* (ApMB. *vittām*) RV. ApMB.: *jāmim icha pitṛṣadaṁ nyaktam* (read *°tām*) AV. Here the assimilated form of ApMB. (with saṁprasāraṇa) is clearly secondary.

*sarvāṅ it tāṅ anu vidur vasiṣṭhāḥ* RV.: *sarvam uktam anuvidur vasiṣṭhāḥ* JB. A more drastic reconstruction or Verballhornung in JB.

*iha prasatto* (AV. *prasakto*, TB. *prasapto*) *vi cayat kṛtaṁ naḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. *prasapto* (comm. *prakarṣeṇa samāgataḥ san*, as if from *pra-sṛp* with Prakritic *a* for *ṛ*) has no standing. AV., tho also secondary, makes fair sense, 'attached'; RV. probably 'gracious', in the sense of the later *prasanna*.

*viviktyai* (TB. *vivityai*, read with Poona ed. *vivittyai*) *kṣattāram* VS. TB. *viviktyai*, 'for discernment', is certainly original. TB. comm. *viśeṣa-lābhābhimāninyai:* but the form of root *vid* is isolated if *vi* be regarded as the preposition, and anomalous if it be taken as reduplication.

*dhātuḥ katkaṭaḥ* (KSA. *kakkaṭaḥ*) TS. KS. Original form unknown; VS. 24. 32 has *kakkaṭa*.

*avimuktacakra* (v. l. °*rā*) *āsīran* PG.: *vivṛttacakrā āsīnāḥ* HG. ApMB.

**§140.** There are also several cases of variation between *kṣ* and *ts*, reminding us of the fact that both these combinations become *ch* in the Middle Indic languages, and to some extent in Vedic dialects, see below, §§183ff. These variants indeed really belong in that chapter; they manifestly concern the pronunciation of both combinations as something verging on *ch*. In five out of six cases the writing with *kṣ* (thrice in SV., once in AV., once in MS.) is secondary, and in three it is more or less foolish, if not utterly uninterpretable.

*vṛṣaṇaṁ pṛtsu* (SV. *pṛkṣu*) *sāsahim* RV. AV. SV. Here only *pṛtsu*, 'in battles', can be meant; 'in delights' (root *pṛc*) is silly.

*yat te ditsu* (SV. *dikṣu*) *prarādhyam* RV. SV. The RV. has a nom. sg. neut. of a desiderative adjective from *dā*, agreeing with *manas*. SV. clearly secondary and poor (Benfey, 'in aller Welt').

*yad ditsasi* (SV. *yac chikṣasi*) *stuvate māvate vasu* RV. SV. In this case the two forms are practically synonyms; *śikṣeyam* and *ditseyam* together in RV. 8. 14. 2; a similar passage RV. 1. 81. 2.

*agniṁ* (AV. *agniḥ*) *sruco adhvareṣu prayatsu* (AV. *prayakṣu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. *prayaty adhvare*, familiar formula in RV. at the ends of pādas (*RVRep.* 660). Wackernagel I §156a, note, erroneously suggests that *prayatsu* may be for *prayaṭsu* = *prayakṣu* (*pra-yaj*), but the form does not really construe. The hymn AV. 5. 27, with its miserable corruptions (Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda* 54), does not call for any serious treatment of *prayakṣu* (the p.p. leaves it undivided); it is, like most of the SV. readings with *kṣ* for *ts*, a phonetic blunder for *prayatsu*.

*āvitsi* (MS. *āyukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Roots *ā-vid*: *ā-yuj*.

*prāsmāṅ ava pṛtanāsu pra vikṣu* (TB. *yutsu*) RV. TB. Here, of course, *kṣ* is original; *yutsu* is suggested by *pṛtanāsu*.

**§141.** There is also one isolated anomaly in which *kn* is substituted for *tn*, somewhat as in the preceding. Here too *kn* seems to be a phonetic variant or blunder, based merely on similarity of the sound combinations:

*tādītnā* (TB.† °*knā*) *śatruṁ* (TB. °*ūn*) *na kilā vivitse* (TB. Conc. *vivatse*, read *vivitse* with Poona ed. text and comm.) RV. TB. *tādīknā* is repeated in the comm. (Poona ed.), which glosses *tādṛśān*! It seems that it must mean simply *tādītnā*.

**§142.** Finally, a few cases of interchange between *k* and *t* final. All concern the ends of pādas. Two concern adverbial forms in *-k* from *añc* stems; a third is simply a matter of external sandhi:

*anamitraṁ no adharāt* (KS. °*rāk*, VSK. *me* †*adharāk*) AV. VSK. KS. Equivalent adverbs, one abl. of *adhara*, the other acc. neut. of *adharāñc*. The same pair sonantized, below, §145, *ottarād adharād* (°*rāg*) *ā purastāt*.

*tad vipro abravīd udak* (ŚŚ. *u tat*) AV. ŚŚ. See §65.

*brahmaṅ* (MahānU. *brahman*) *tvam asi viśvasṛt* (MahānU. °*sṛk*) TA. MahānU. There is a v. l. °*sṛk* in TA; and as the next sentence begins with *t*, the variant may be graphic. Possibly, however, *sṛt* may be for *sṛṭ* by dissimilatory influence of the lingual vowel *ṛ*; cf. Wackernagel I §156a, note, and as regards the final treatment of this root in general, §149a, *α*. [Delete *brahma tvam asi* etc. in Conc.]

*samyak* (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ.* MŚ. *sam it*, KS.* *sarit*) *sravanti sarito na dhenāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TAA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See §830.

*sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak* (TB. ApŚ. *abhīṣṇāt*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Altho TB. comm. fatuously glosses by *bhiṣ-ajyatu*, *abhīṣṇāt* (*abhi*+*iṣṇāmi*) is doubtless an independent lexical word, 'inspire', into which the phonetic relation of *k*:*t* enters as a factor. While *abhiṣṇak* is ἅπ.λεγ., the word, as well as the treatment of its final consonant (Wackernagel I §138), is primary.

Note also: *yaśo bhagaś ca mā riṣat* MG. 1. 9. 27c, where Knauer reports that practically all his mss. point to *riṣak* as the true reading; of course it must mean the same as *riṣat*. Cf. Wackernagel I §260a, *β*, small print; §277a.

Cf. also AV. 1. 18. 2a: *nir araṇiṁ savitā sāviṣat padoḥ;* so the vulgate;

but all mss. *sāviṣak*, retained by SPP. and approved by Whitney; see Whitney, *Grammar* 151a, and the preceding variant. According to Whitney, the comm. and Ppp. both have *sāviṣat*. The same form occurs in the VSK. version of the following; on the subject of final *k*:*t* see most recently Renou, *Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger* 163n.; Oertel, *ibid.* 137; and our §272a, *na me tad* etc.; our §145; and *abhiṣyak* for °*ṣyat*, PG. 3. 1. 3b (VV I p. 242, infra).

*tasyāṁ no devaḥ* (MS. *tasyāṁ devaḥ*) *savitā dharmaṁ* (VS.† VSK.† TS.† ŚB.† *dharma*) *sāviṣat* (VSK.° *ṣak*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

The next is an error of the Conc.:

[*trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB. ApŚ.: *trivṛd bhuvanaṁ yad rathavṛk* KS. Conc., but read *rathavṛt*; text °*vṛj jīvo*—.]

*kh* and *t*

**§143.** In the single variant following, PG. has a corruption, due to assimilation to the word *sakhyāni* in the following; Stenzler on PG. 2. 11. 12 translates the AŚ. reading. See his note there, and his critical note.

*pari satyasya dharmaṇā* (PG. *sakhyasya dharmaṇaḥ*) AŚ. PG.

*g* and *d*

**§144.** Except final, this interchange occurs in only a few stray variants. The first may possibly contain a phonetic confusion or assimilation:

*ā galdā dhamanīnām* (ApŚ. *galgā dhavanīnām*) ApŚ. MŚ. N. *galgā* is undoubtedly secondary (by assimilation to the preceding *ga*-?); *galdā* is Rigvedic (8. 1. 20), but nevertheless obscure. Pischel, *VSt.* 1. 84, and *KZ* 41. 183ff., discusses the word without knowing the full stanza in ApŚ. MŚ. After him many others; see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8. 1. 20. The following word in ApŚ. is also a phonetic corruption for *dhamanīnām*; see §225. Caland leaves the pāda untranslated.

*yad annam admi* (PrāṇāgU. *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (etc., §619) AV. TA. PrāṇāgU.

*na vai gāvo mañgīrasya* (KŚ. *mandīrasya*) KŚ. Vait. MŚ. Proper names, of unknown etymology.

*rudras* (MŚ. *ugras*) *tanticaro vṛṣā* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. GG. KhG.

*marudbhir ugrā ahṛṇīyamāṇāḥ* AV.: *marudbhī rudrāḥ samajānatābhi* TS. Whitney considers *ugrā* a corruption for *rudrā*.

*āsminn* (KS. *ā sīm*) *ugrā* (MS. *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuḥ* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. In an obscure ritual verse; MS. doubtless a lect. fac.

**§145.** In the rest the sounds are final (either absolutely, or before pāda endings); as under *k:t* (§142), matters of external sandhi seem to some extent involved. But it is hard to isolate or define the extent of that influence; it is complicated by lexical confusions and corruptions. The first case is purely morphological, presenting (before a following sonant) the same two adverbs, *adharāt* and °*rāk*, which we met in §142, first variant:

*ottarād adharād* (TB. °*rāg*) *ā purastāt* RV. MS. KS. TB.

*niyudbhir* (AV. *viyugbhir*) *vāyav* (AV. VSK. MS. *vāya*) *iha tā vi muñca* (ŚŚ. †*muñcaḥ*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. [Add to VV I §§25 and 156.] Also:

*prayugbhya* (TB. *prayud*°) *unmattam* VS. TB. In the first of these two *viyugbhir* is untenable, because the *niyutaḥ* are technically the span of Vāyu (Bṛhaddevatā 4. 140). In the second, *prayugbhyaḥ* of VS. is hardly translatable (not glossed by Mahīdhara; Griffith, 'for Motives'). Comm. on TB. glosses *prayud*° by *prakarṣeṇa yoddhṛdevebhyaḥ*, as if from *pra-yudh*. At TB. 3. 7. 9. 1, ApŚ. 12. 3. 2 occurs *prayutaḥ*, which TB. comm. glosses *prakarṣeṇa somaṁ miśrayantaḥ* (adopted by Böhtlingk, 'durcheinander mengend'). This idea fits *unmattam* 'mad', thus favoring the TB. reading. But PB. 1. 2. 5 reads *maruto* for *prayuto* in the corresponding passage; Caland gives up *prayutaḥ*.

*nṛcakṣāḥ soma uta suśrug* (comm., and Poona ed. text, *śuśrug*) *astu* TB.: *sucakṣāḥ soma uta sasrud astu* MŚ. The latter is not quite certain; the mss. record forms which look towards the TB. reading. But *sasrut* occurs several times in RV. TB. obviously contains root *śru* (comm. *śrotā*); so that apparently *g* = *k* must stand for *d* = *t*. It belongs with our §142, and Wackernagel I §§260a, *β*, note, 277a. See also our §283.

*mayuṁ* (also *gauraṁ, gavayaṁ, meṣaṁ, śarabhaṁ*) *te śug ṛchatu* (KS. *te kṣut*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Mixed lexical and phonetic (sandhi). KS. actually reads *kṣud*, before a following sonant.

*triśug* (AŚ. °*śrud*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS. *gharmas sadam in me vibhāti*) KS. TB. TA. AŚ. °*śrud* here is poor and doubtless corrupt.

*yamasya dūtaś ca vāg vidhāvati* MS.: *yamasya dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvasi* TA. The subject is *gṛdhraḥ* 'vulture'; TA. is correct, and MS. an unintelligible corruption, in which the sandhi relations of *g*(*k*) and *d*(*t*) have a share.

*dadhṛg* (TA. *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan* (AV. °*kṣan*) *paryañkhayāte* (TA. °*tai*, AV. *parīñkhayātai*) RV. AV. TA. Roots *dṛh* and *dhā*.

### *ñ* (for *k*) and *n* (?)

**§146.** One variant concerns an obscure name of a gandharva, of which the original form is uncertain; it is obvious that MS. (secondarily) etymologizes on it, changing it to *su-vāc* 'beautiful-voiced':

*suvāñ nabhrāḍ* . . . MS. MŚ.: *svān nabhrāḍ* . . . KS.: *svāna bhrājāñghāre* . . . VS. TS. ŚB.: *svāna bhrāṭ* . . . TA.

*amāsi sarvāñ* (AŚ. *sarvān*) *asi praviṣṭaḥ* AŚ. Kauś. The original is *sarvāñ* (*sarvāñc* 'turned in all directions'); AŚ. secondary.

### Guttural and dental aspirates

**§147.** The few cases under this heading present little of interest:

*grāme vidhuram* (HG. *vikhuram*) *ichantī svāhā* HG. ApMB. Both in wretched hocus-pocus, from which scarcely any meaning can be extracted.

*aghadviṣṭā devajātā* AV. Kauś.: *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāḥ* ApŚ. The latter is a mere corruption.

*deva puraścara saghyāsaṁ tvā* TA. ApŚ: *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsaṁ tvā* MS. The former is original: 'may I be able to carry thee'. MS. has a slipshod substitute.

*yad aghriyata* (KS. °*yathās*) *tad ghṛtam* (KS. adds *abhavas*) MS. KS: *yad adhriyata tad ghṛtam abhavat* TS. As Keith says, the TS. etymology is not too bad for a Brāhmaṇa; but the other is certainly original.

## 4. GUTTURALS AND LABIALS

**§148.** Wackernagel's treatment of this interchange (I §117b) receives additional illustrations from the variants. They almost all concern *k* and *p*, and reveal no new principle. For the peculiar Taittirīya treatment (not mentioned in TPr.) of the final sound of the stems *anuṣṭubh* and *triṣṭubh* as *k*(*g*) in all case-forms except before vocalic endings, and as word-finals in sandhi except before surds (occasionally however *k* before *p*), and before *j*, *d*, and *dh*, see Weber, *ISt.* 13. 109, n. 2; Keith, *HOS* 18. p. xxxviii. This applies to TB. as well as TS., but apparently not to ApŚ.:

*anuṣṭup* (TB. *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktyai* (MŚ. *pañktaye*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*anuṣṭup* (TS. *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktyā saha* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*triṣṭub* (TS. *triṣṭug*) *graiṣmī* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

**§149.** The word, of unstable form, which occurs in the next group refers to some kind of aquatic bird; AV. 11. 2. 25 adds *purīkaya* (comm. *pulī*°). It may be noted that most forms contain both *p* and *k* somewhere in the word. The original form cannot be determined:

*mitrāya kulīpayān* (MS. *pulīkayān*) VS. MS.

*nākro makaraḥ kulīpayas* (TS. *kulīkayas*, MS. *pulīkayas*, KSA. *pulīrayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA. †*kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*kulīkā devajāmībhyaḥ* VS.: *devānāṁ patnībhyaḥ pulīkāḥ* MS.

§**150.** Very varied also are the forms of the following words. It is impossible to say what the original form is, unless the solitary occurrence of *nicumpuṇa* in RV. decides. It may be onomatopoetic:

*avabhṛtha nicumpuṇa* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nicañkuṇa*, MS. KS. MŚ. *nicuñkuṇa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApŚ. N.

*nicerur asi nicumpuṇaḥ* (TS. TB. *nicañkuṇa*, MS. KS. *nicuñkuṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. In same passage as preceding; nom. changed to voc. in TS. TB. by form-assimilation to the adjoining formula.

§**151.** Other, isolated cases which concern chiefly textual decay, with more or less obscure phonetic bearings, are the following; lexical considerations enter in faintly with some of them:

*kanātkābhāṁ* (AŚ. *pranākāphā*) *na ābhara* TB. AŚ. Note the dental *n* in AŚ., despite preceding *r*. Comm. on TB., desperately, *kanakavad bhāsamānāṁ rūpavatīṁ kanyām*. Both forms are hopeless.

*bajābojopakāśinī* HG.: *khajāpo 'jopakāśinīḥ* ApMB. Again both are hopeless.

*kūtanānāṁ* (VS. ŚB. *kukūnanānāṁ*, MS. *pūtanānāṁ*) *tvā patmann ā dhūnomi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kotanāsu* (sc. *te śukra śukram ā dhūnomi*) TS. An otherwise unknown, perhaps onomatopoetic, epithet of waters.

*śaṁ te* (AV.* *śam u*, TA. *śam u te*, KS. MŚ. *śaṁ naḥ*) *santv anūpyāḥ* (TA. *anūkyāḥ*) AV. KS. TA. MŚ. *anūkyāḥ* might be considered a purely phonetic variant; it should be remembered that Tait. texts show a certain preference for at least final gutturals in place of labials (§148). The word is an epithet of waters and must mean about the same as *anūpyāḥ*, from *anūpa;* so comm., *anūpadeśe bhavā anūkyā āpaḥ*. Formally, however, *anūkya* is imaginable from the stem *anvañc* ('successive'? or 'going along with', approximately 'helping'?); and it is likely that influence from this sphere has been at work in TA.

*pūlyāny* (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB.: *lājān āvapantikā* ŚG. PG. MG.: *agnau lājān āvapantī* SMB. HG. *kulpāny* may conceivably be understood in the light of the Tait. preference for gutturals, cf. the prec. and §148.

*vanakrakṣam* (SV. °*prakṣam*) *udaprutam* RV. SV. 'Sounding in (vessels

of) wood'. The onomatopoetic root *krakṣ* also in *krakṣamāṇa, avakrakṣin*. SV. °*prakṣa* has no lexical basis and is doubtless phonetic, tho the comm., followed by Benfey, absurdly derives it from *pra-kṣi* 'abide'.

*aṅśuṁ* (AV. *aṅśūn*) *babhasti* (ApŚ. *gabh*°) *haritebhir āsabhiḥ* AV. KS. ApŚ. The ApŚ. stanza is otherwise corrupt, and *gabh*° is uninterpretable. Caland gives up the verse.

*grīvāyāṁ* (KS. *grīvāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsani* (MS. *apipakṣa āsan*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Original is *apikakṣe*, a certain part of the body. MS. (p.p. *api- pakṣaḥ*) may have been influenced by thought of *pakṣa* (cf. Keith on TS. 1. 7. 8. 3).

*viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsañ juhomi* TS. GB. Vait.: *viśloka viśvadāvye tvā saṁjuhomi svāhā* MŚ. *viśloka* is perhaps a sort of lect. fac., but *viśvalopa* is itself not clear; cf. Keith on TS. 3. 3. 8. 2.

**§152.** The rest concern cases where lexical rather than phonetic considerations dominate; that is, words of independent origin seem more clearly to be involved.

*agner* (ApŚ. *devā*) *akṛṇvann* (RV. *apunann*) *uśijo amṛtyave* (RV. °*vaḥ*, ApŚ. *amartyave*) RV. MS. ApŚ.

*yad adya dugdhaṁ pṛthivīm asṛpta* (TB. ApŚ. *asakta*, MŚ. *abhakta*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. In MŚ., as in AB. AŚ., the parallel following pāda contains *asṛpad;* in TB. ApŚ., *asarad.*

*iha prasatto* (AV. *prasakto*, TB. *prasapto*) *vi cayat kṛtaṁ naḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. See §139.

*krāṇā* (SV. *prāṇā*) *śiśur mahīnām* RV. SV. And:

*krāṇā* (SV. *prāṇā*, AV. *prāṇaḥ*) *sindhūnāṁ kalaśāṅ acikradat* (RV. *avīvaśat*) RV. SV. AV. The SV. is really inexplicable; AV. attempts to rationalize it. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 279. On the much discussed *krāṇā* see last *RVRep.* 136.

*devair nyuptā* (KS. *nuttā*, AV. *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV. °*tvam*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §139.

*aktaṁ* (MS. MŚ. *aptubhī*, KS. **arthaṁ*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (*viyantu*) *vayaḥ* TS. MS. KS.* TB. MŚ. GG. KhG. And others, see §96. The stem *aptu* (certainly secondary here) is said to mean 'small'. It is hard to apply this meaning here; perhaps adverbially, 'daintily'.

*asmin goṣṭhe karīṣiṇīḥ* (Kauś. °*ṇaḥ*, MS. *purīṣiṇīḥ*) AV. MS. Kauś. The riming synonyms *karīṣa* and *purīṣa;* cf. Bloomfield, *AJP* 16. 409ff. Different context, hence different gender, in Kauś.

*kriyanta* (TB. *priyā ta* [so divide]) *ā barhiḥ* (TB. Conc. °*his*, Poona ed. °*hiḥ*) *sīda* RV. AV. KS. TB. Preceded by *imā brahma brahma-*

*vāhaḥ* (TB.† °*ha*). 'These prayers, O thou to whom prayers are offered, are made (TB., are pleasing to thee); sit upon the barhis.'

[*pra so agne tavotibhiḥ*] *suvīrābhis* †*tirate* (SV. TS. *tarati*) *vājabharmabhiḥ* (SV. TS. °*karmabhiḥ*) RV. SV. TS. KS.

*sugandhiṁ* (AV. *subandhuṁ*) *pativedanam* AV. VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *sugandhiṁ puṣṭivardhanam* (KS. *rayipoṣaṇam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TAA. Vait, LŚ. N. The AV. changes *sugandhiṁ* by adaptation to the meaning of *pati-vedanam* (*pati* suggests *bandhu*).

**§153.** To the same category as the preceding section belong three cases of variation between the roots *pṛ* and *gṛ* (*gir*), which have a special interest because in each of the three derivatives of the root *yaj* are closely associated. These words are pivotal for the interpretation of the variants. The roots *yaj* and *gṛ* go naturally together (sacrifice and praise); and *abhi-gṛ* (as in the third variant) likewise goes with *yaj* because sacrifice gratifies the gods (*gūrta* = Lat. *grātus*); see e.g. RV. 1. 15. 3, 3. 6. 10, 10. 15. 6. On the other hand *yaj* and *pṛ* 'give' are perhaps even more constant companions (*iṣṭā-pūrta*); see Windisch, *Festgruss Böhtlingk* 115ff.; Bloomfield, *AJP* 17. 408ff. In the third variant *abhipūrtam* and *pūrtam* are clearly secondary, suggested by *iṣṭam* which recalls *iṣṭāpūrta*. In the first variant text-history makes it equally clear that *gṛ* is secondary. In the second, KS. seems to give the best sense, but may be a lectio facilior. The fact is that the two roots, riming in sound and ritualistically so close in meaning, easily slip over into one another. Aside from the matter of rime, they contain little of phonetic significance:

*indro yajvane pṛṇate* (AV. *gṛ*°) *ca śikṣati* (AV. °*te*) RV. AV. TB.

*sviṣṭam agne abhi tat pṛṇāhi* (PG. *pṛṇīhi*, KS. *tad gṛṇīhi*) KS. TB. ApŚ. PG. HG.

*iṣṭaṁ vītam* (AV. *pūrtam*) *abhigūrtaṁ* (AV. °*pūrtaṁ*) *vaṣaṭkṛtam* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. [Delete in Conc. reference to AV. under *iṣṭaṁ vītam* . . .]

**§153*a*.** The following variants, tho concerning independent words each of which is suitable to the context, are interesting phonetically as involving the quasi-Prakritic equivalence of *kṣ* and *ps* (cf. §§182–6):

*somasya drapsam* (AV. *bhakṣam*) *avṛṇīta pūṣā* (AV. *śakraḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Either a 'drop' or a 'draught' of soma will suit; it is hard to see any reason for preference.

*hṛtsu kratuṁ varuṇo* (MS. °*ṇaṁ*) *vikṣv* (RV. *apsv*, MS. *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV. VS. †TS. †MS. KS. ŚB.†

### 5. PALATALS AND DENTALS

**§154.** These variants are mostly lexical in character except before *y*; the combinations *dy* and *jy* exchange on a purely phonetic basis. A suggestion of a similar 'palatalization' of *t* before *ī* or *y* seems to occur in the first variants quoted under §156.

#### *c* and *t*

**§155.** Here occur first a number of variations between the approximately synonymous riming roots *car* and *tar:*

*yajñasyāyur anu saṁ caranti* (AŚ. *tarantu*) TS. AŚ. Cf. *yajñayur anusaṁcarān* TB. ApŚ.

*na tad* (AV. *nainaṁ*) *rakṣāṅsi na piśācāś caranti* (VS. °*cās taranti*, AV. °*cāḥ sahante*) RVKh. AV. VS. But Scheftelowitz reads RVKh. as VS.

*achinnaṁ tantum anu saṁ tarema* (TA. *carema*) AV. TA. Comm. on AV. *car*°.

*śamyāḥ prataratām* (Vait. °*tā*) *iva* (MŚ. *pracaratām iha*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

**§156.** The rest are sporadic, and partly corrupt; the first two have interesting phonetic aspects:

*sā śaṁtāti* (SV. °*tā;* TB. ApŚ. °*cī*) *mayas karad apa sridhaḥ* RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. The TB. ApŚ. reading (conceived as an adjective agreeing with Aditi, the subject) is apparently felt as modelled on directional adjectives in *-ācī*, fem. to *-āñc* (like *prācī*); so, perhaps, the comm. understood it (*aniṣṭaśamanaprāpikā satī*). But it seems at least possible that palatalization of the original dental was not unrelated to the following *i*-vowel. Cf. next.

*arciṣātriṇo nudataṁ pratīcaḥ* AV.: *arciṣā śatrūn dahataṁ pratītya* AG Here in the secondary AG. we have an essentially phonetic change, the reverse of the preceding.

*satyaujasā* . . . TS. MS. KS: *sacetasau* . . . AV. See §305. Here we suspect that AV. is secondary, with palatalization of *ty* to *c*.

*agre* (TB. *agne*, Poona ed. *agre*) *yajñasya cetataḥ* (RV. *śocataḥ*) RV. KS. TB.

*vidyām yām u ca* (ŚŚ. *uta*) *vidmasi* AB. ŚŚ.

*jagdhā vitṛṣṭir* (HG. *vicaṣṭir*) . . . HG. ApMB. And others, see §634. Oldenberg on HG. assumes *vitṛṣṭi*, 'thirst'.

*divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vicaṣṭe* MŚ.: *devānāṁ viṣṭhām* (ApŚ.† *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vitasthe* VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.

*yat kṣureṇa marcayatā* (MG. *vartayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG. PG. HG. ApMB. *supeśasā*) AV. AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.—AVPpp. reads *varcayatā* (: *varcas*).

*vācaṁ* (RV. AV. *vātaṁ*) *viṣṇuṁ sarasvatīm* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *viṣṇuṁ vācaṁ sarasvatīm* KS. *vācam* is secondarily suggested by *sarasvatīm*; note that KS. places it next to that word. AV. comm. also has *vācam*.

*śraddhe kam indra carato vitarturam* (TB. *vicar*°) RV. TB. The latter is perhaps mechanically assimilated to the preceding *car-ato*. Comm. regards it as an intensive formation from root *tvar*! (*viśeṣeṇa tvarā yathā bhavati tathā*).

*yuktās tisro vimṛjaḥ sūryasya* PB.: *yunajmi tisro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ save*, or *savaḥ*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. Here *j* as well as *c* is involved, cf. next. See §57.

## *j* and *t*

**§157.** Besides the last variant quoted, we find several miscellaneous lexical variants; the phonetic aspects are faint:

*śabali prajānāṁ śaciṣṭhā vratam* (ApŚ. *śaviṣṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣaṁ svāhā* PB. ApŚ. *vrajam* hardly makes sense and is clearly secondary.

*tato yajñas tāyate viśvadānīm* KS. MŚ.: *tato yajño jāyate viśvadāniḥ* TB. ApŚ. *yajñas tāyate* is standard, cf. e.g. RV. 7. 10. 2, 9. 102. 7, 10. 90. 15. It is interesting that Knauer reports all mss. but one of MŚ. as reading *tyāyate*, a middle stage leading to the lect. fac. *jāyate*.

*devā no yajñam ṛtuthā* (TB. ApŚ. *ṛjudhā*) *nayantu* VS. TB. ApŚ. *yajñam ṛtuthā* is supported by RV. 1. 170. 5, 8. 44. 8; but in RV. 2. 3. 7 the two points of view blend in *ṛju yakṣataḥ . . . yajantāv ṛtuthā*. They are in fact nearly synonymous.

*saṁ bāhubhyāṁ dhamati* (etc., §853) *saṁ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

## *c* and *d*

**§158.** Four cases, all lexical, three with secondary *c* for *d*; in the first *ucyate* is due to assimilation of sense to the preceding *vacas*:

*somāya vaca udyatam* (SV. *ucyate*) RV. SV.

*girā-girā ca dakṣase* (KS. *cakṣase*) RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. PB. ApŚ.

*sadā* (MS. *śacyā*) *paśyanti sūrayaḥ* RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. NṛpU. and other Up. One ms. of KS. has *sadyā*!

*ajaiṣmādyāsanāma ca* (AV. °*sanāmādya*) RV. AV. *ca* and *adya*.

### *j* and *d*

**§159.** Here occurs the purely phonetic variant of *dy* and *jy* in the roots *dyut, jyut* (Wackernagel, I §140a). It is flanked by a pair of hyper-Sanskritic readings in which *jyām* and *jman* are displaced by *dyām,* and by another case or two in which similar tendencies have had influence:

*sahasriyo dyotatām* (TS. TB. *dīpyatām,* MS. °*rīyo jyotatām*) *aprayuchan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*ava jyām iva dhanvanaḥ* SV. Vait. Kauś. ApMB.: *ava dyām iva dhanvinaḥ* HG. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29.

*upa jmann upa vetase* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *upa dyām upa vetasam* AV. Vait. Kauś. The absurd AV. reading involves, like the preceding, a sort of hyper-Sanskritism; see Whitney's note.

*pavamānaḥ so adya naḥ* RV. VS.: *pav° svarjanaḥ* (*suvar°*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. HG. BDh. In a secondary lect. fac., *dy* becomes *j*.

*imaṁ* (MS. *imaṁ ca,* VS. TS. ŚŚ. *ya imaṁ*) *yajñaṁ svadhayā* (KS. AŚ. °*yā ca,* MS. *sudhayā*) *dadante* (AŚ. *yajante,* ŚŚ. *bhajante*) VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*daivyāya dhartre joṣṭre* (MS. *dhātre deṣṭre*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Note the palatal diphthong after *d,* which is however doubtless secondary.

*uccairvāji pṛtanāṣāṭ* (HG. °*sāham*; ApMB. °*vādi pṛtanāji*) RVKh. HG. ApMB. If ApMB. is correct (v. l. °*vāji* is recorded) it is a hyper-Sanskritic absurdity; no form of root *vad* can be concerned here.

*prati ṣma* (AV. *sma*) *rakṣaso daha* (AV. *jahi*) RV. AV.

*ichanto 'paridākṛtān* ApMB.: *īpsantaḥ parijākṛtān* HG. See critical notes on HG. 2. 3. 7. Both forms seem uninterpretable. Oldenberg on HG., 'visiting those who wake (?)', apparently understanding °*jāgṛtān*.

*eruṁ tundānā* (TS. *peruṁ tuñjānā*) *patyeva jāyā* AV. TS. Roots *tuj* and *tud* are practically synonyms. See Whitney on AV. 6. 22. 3, Keith on TS. 3. 1. 11. 8, and cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. 1. 45. 4. The AV. comm. reads *tuñjānā*.

*mā na āyuḥ param avaraṁ mānadonaiḥ* MS.: *mā naḥ param adharaṁ* (MŚ. †*adhanaṁ*) *mā rajo 'naiḥ* (MŚ. *naiḥ*) TA. MŚ. See §836.

### *j* and *dh*

**§160.** Only lexical variants:

*mātā yad vīraṁ dadhanad dhaniṣṭhā* (MS. *jajanaj janiṣṭham*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. Cognate verb and noun are both altered in MS. to suit a more familiar aspect of the mother function, tho the super-

lative *janiṣṭha* is not otherwise recorded: 'when the mother has borne a most prolific son'. Cf. the following similar variant.

*oṣadhībhyaḥ paśubhyo me dhanāya* (TS. *paśave no janāya*) TS. KS. ApŚ.† MŚ.

*athāsya madhyam ejatu* VS. LŚ.: *athāsyai* (TS. MS. TB. °*syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait. °*tu*, AŚ. LŚ. *ejatu*, ŚŚ. *ejati*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.: *adhāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA.

### *y* and *d*

**§161.** This seems a natural place to append two variants between *y* and *d*, in the first of which *y* seems to be secondary, while the second is dubious (*yaśo* seems to make better sense). The phenomenon may have phonetic meaning, continuing the relations between *j* and *d* on the one hand, and between *j* and *y* (below, §§192f.) on the other.

*sūyavasinī manave* (RV. TA. *manuṣe*, KS. *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA.° *sye;* TS. MS. KS. *yaśasye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*diśo* (TB. *yaśo*) *yajñasya dakṣiṇāḥ* (TB. °*ṇām*) TB. AŚ. Note that *d* is followed by *i*.

### 6. PALATALS AND LABIALS

**§162.** Only a few cases, hardly showing phonetic tendencies. We do not include here cases like *kakup* (TS. *kakuc*) *chandaḥ*, where the TS. reading represents *t* in sandhi, since they belong under dentals and labials, §178:

*tasyās te sahasrapoṣaṁ puṣyantyāś carameṇa paśunā krīṇāmi* TS.: *parameṇa paśunā krīyase* (MS. *krīyasva*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Corruption in TS.; see Keith. Yet *carama* is not far from *parama* in meaning.

*vīty arṣa caniṣṭhayā* (SV. *paniṣṭaye*) RV. SV. See §86.

*vāyosāvitra* (MS. *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyāṁ caruḥ* (MS. *payaḥ*) TS. MS. KSA.

### 7. LINGUALS AND DENTALS

**§163.** In the main, the Sanskrit linguals are derived from dentals, influenced by neighboring *r̥*, *r* (*l̥*, *l*) or *ṣ*, whether actually found or historically assumable (Wackernagel I §§145–7). There are also cases of analogical transfer of lingualization (ibid. §148a; cf. especially §133, note); and also of linguals due to dissimilation (ibid. §156a). In some cases, however, it seems that linguals are due to Prakritic influence. Namely: dentals are often replaced in Prakrit by linguals, without the

influence of any adjacent sound (Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen* §§218–25); some dialects show the reverse tendency. Especially *n* becomes *ṇ* in almost all Prakrit dialects (Pischel §224). The same spontaneous interchanges between dentals and linguals occur in Sanskrit and Vedic under the influence of popular speech, giving rise to Vedic variants with both sounds. Classification of the individual sounds is unnecessary since the entire series is subject to the same tendencies. We include also the nasals *ṇ* and *n*, except when *ṇ* is conditioned by the normal rules for lingualization of *n* (on which see §§945–54).

**§164.** We shall begin with cases in which there is no reasonable doubt of the lexical equivalence of the forms with dental and lingual, and in which we hold that the lingualization is spontaneous, that is, dialectic, in the same class with spontaneous lingualization in Prakrit. Here first we have three cases of *avaṭa* = *avata*, the latter each time in RV. We may remark that the derivation of this word from an adverb *avar* (Bartholomae, *IF* 3. 179, approved by Wackernagel I §146a), leaves *avata* unexplained and seems to us unlikely.

*avatasya* (SV. *avaṭasya*) *visarjane* RV. SV.

*iṣkṛtāhāvam avatam* RV.: *niṣkṛtāhāvam avaṭam* TS. ApŚ.

*gāva upāvatāvatam* (SV. *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV. SV. VS.

**§165.** Next, some demonic names in the Gṛhya Sūtras, in which no influence of liquid or lingual sibilant, and no dissimilation, are at all imaginable; it is simply a case of lingual for dental spontaneously:

*ṭekaś ca sasaramaṭañkaś ca* HG.: *tekaś ca sasaramataṇḍaś ca* ApMB.

*manthākako* (HG. *maṇḍākako*) *ha vaḥ pitā* HG. ApMB.

In the following doubtful word, the lingual of MS. KapS. may be due to the preceding *r*.

*aiḍamṛdā yavyudhaḥ* KS.: *ailabṛdā* (MS. °*mṛḍā*, KapS. *īlamṛḍā*) *āyuryudhaḥ* (TS. *yavyudhaḥ*; MS. *vo yudhaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. See §241.

Cf. also *ahar* (MS. *vahad*, v. l. *vahaḍ*, p.p. *vahaṭ*) *divābhir* (MS. *divyābhir*) *ūtibhiḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. See §§272, 272a.

Next an isolated variant concerning the root or roots *paṇ*, *pan*, which we think can best be explained as spontaneous (dialectic) lingualization, cf. Pischal, *Ved. St.* 1. 199ff. For attempts to explain *paṇ* as going back to an IE. root containing a liquid, see Wackernagel I §172b, note, d, note:

*sā me satyāśīr devān gamyāj juṣṭāj juṣṭatarā paṇyāt paṇyatarā* (KS. *panyāt panyatarā*) MS. KS. ApŚ. Cf. Durga on N. 6. 8 (Roth's Erläuterungen 76 foot).

**§166.** These are the only clear cases of 'spontaneous' lingualization.

The curious form *paḍbhis* which varies twice with *padbhis* has been explained in this way; this would be more likely if the lingualization were not restricted entirely to the instr. plural. Some obscure lingualizing influence may be suspected, but nothing so far proposed is very convincing. Cf. Bloomfield, *AJP* 11. 350ff.; *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, 1906, 15ff.; Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 63. 300ff.; Pischel, *Ved. St.* 1. 228ff.:

*uro vā padbhir* (Kauś. *paḍbhir*) *āhate* (Kauś. SMB. °*ta*, but Jörgensen °*te*) TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB.

*padbhiś* (ApŚ. *paḍbhiś*) *caturbhir akramīt* AV. ApŚ. One ms. at AV. 3. 7. 3 also *paḍbhiś*; but Ppp. *pad*°.

**§167.** In the case of one word the 'correct' form requires a lingual (final of root *vah*), and the dental is due to dissimilation from a preceding lingual; see Wackernagel I §156a, who quotes this form, noting that TS. has *ditya-vāṭ* and *turya-vāṭ* in the same passage where *paṣṭha-vāt* occurs. This proves that dissimilation is responsible for *t*:

*paṣṭhavāḍ* (TS. °*vād*) *vayaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*paṣṭhavāṭ* (TS. °*vāc*) *ca me paṣṭhauhī ca me* (MS. omits *me*, twice) VS. TS. MS. KS.

**§168.** Next come a few cases in which it appears that the lingual is or may be due to the original presence of an *r*-sound or *ṣ*; in the first variant the dental occurs in a different verb-form where the conditions causing lingualization were lacking, in the others it may be due to dissimilation, since the preceding syllables contain *r*:

*gṛhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam* (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. *vepiḍhvam*) VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. *vepiḍhvam* is an *iṣ*-aorist, *vepadhvam* present.

*purovāta* (KS. °*to*) *jinva rāvaṭ* (KS. *rāvat*) *svāhā* MS. KS.: *purovāto varṣañ jinvar āvṛt svāhā* TS. ApŚ. And similarly other formulas, beginning *tapati* etc.; all in TS. 2. 4. 7. 2, MS. 2. 4. 7, KS. 11. 9; all containing the sacrificial exclamations *rāvaṭ* etc. in the same forms. A natural assumption would be that the lingual *ṭ* in MS. is due to an originally preceding vocalic *ṛ*, as in TS. (which divides badly, *jinvar-āvṛt* for *jinva-rāvṛt*); the dental *t* of KS. might be due to dissimilation to the initial *r*. But cf. §632. The words are mere interjections and any form would pass.

*vikirida* (VS. °*dra*, KS. °*ḍa*) *vilohita* VS. TS. KS.: *vyakṛḍa vilohita* MS. Obscure epithets of Rudra; cf. TB. *ati-kiriṭa*. The original presence of an *r*-sound, before or after *d*, seems indicated by VS. and MS. The dental of TS. may again be due to the *r* of the preceding syllable, thru dissimilation.

**§169.** Finally we come to lexical variants, tapering off into mere

corruptions. First, the ritualistic root *īḍ* and its derivatives are confused several times with more or less similar but independent forms. Twice the SV. substitutes the more banal *indh*, 'kindle' (Agni is the object both times) for *īḍ* 'revere':

*agnim īḍīta* (SV. *indhīta*) *martyaḥ* RV. SV.

*yaṁ sīm* (SV. *sam*) *id anya īḍate* (SV. *indhate*) RV. SV.

The same *īḍ* figures along with the similar *vīḍ* (and adjective *vīḍu*) in exchange with other similar forms of different etymologies:

*tigmam anīkaṁ viditaṁ sahasvat* AV.: *tigmam āyudham vīḍitam* (KS. °*dham īḍitaṁ*) *sahasvat* TS. MS. KS. In AV. *viditam* 'found', is evidently a poor reading for *vīḍitaṁ*; certainly KS. *īḍitam* is equally secondary.

*dhiṣaṇe vīḍū* (VS. VSK. *vīḍvī*, KS. *vīte*, MS. MŚ. *īḍite*) *satī* (MS. KS. MŚ. omit) *vīḍayethām* (MS. MŚ. *īḍethām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. *vīḍū* or *vīḍvī* 'firm'; *vīte* 'pleasant'; *īḍite* 'revered'. KS. is the only one that has an adjective not related to the verb, which we take as proof of its secondariness. KapS. has *īḍite īḍayethām*.

**§170.** The rest are sporadic:

*pari ṇo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāḥ* (VSK. °*yāt*) RV. VSK.: *pari no heḍo varuṇasya vṛjyāḥ* RV. *heti* and *heḍas* are quasi-synonyms. See the list of very similar formulas, *RVRep.* 573.

*divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vicaṣṭe* MŚ.: *devānāṁ viṣṭhām* (ApŚ. †*niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vitasthe* VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. See §156.

*yajñaṁ* (KS. *yajñiyā*) *yajñaṁ prati devayadbhyaḥ* (KS.† ŚŚ.† °*yaḍbhyaḥ*) VSK. TS. KS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. The stem *deva-yaj* (in sandhi °*yaḍ*) varies with the denominative participle *devayat*, virtually a synonym, but probably secondary.

*sarasvatyā* (AV. °*yām*) *adhi manāv* (KS. *mānā*, v. l. *manā*; AV. *maṇāv*; SMB. Conc. *vanāva*, Jörgensen *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (KS. SMB. Jörgensen, *acakṛṣuḥ*, SMB. Conc. *carkṛdhi*, KS. v. l. *acark*°) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. The original reading is probably that of most texts (loc. of *manu*, 'on behalf of Manu'); but the AV. (loc. of *maṇi*) is capable of interpretation ('over a luckstone').

*aṣāḍhāya sahamānāya vedhase* (TB. *mīḍhuṣe*) RV. TB. N.

*ghṛtaṁ duhānā viśvataḥ prapītāḥ* (TB. ApMB. *prapīnāḥ*, AVPpp. *pravīṇāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. See §198.

*pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā* TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. See §838.

*nāvaś caranti svasica iyānāḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *nāvo viyanti susico na vāṇīḥ* MS. KS.

*mā no agniṁ* (p.p. *agniḥ*) *nirṛtir mā na āṣṭān* (p.p. *āṣṭhāṁ*) MS.: *mā no rudro nirṛtir mā no astā* TA. See §87.

In ŚŚ. 17. 12. 1 *sarvā vinuḍya saṁtṛḍyaḥ* (cf. critical note, top of p. 276) is suspicious as regards its linguals.

### 8. DENTALS AND LABIALS

**§171.** Interchanges of dentals and labials is rarely if ever purely phonetic. It is chiefly lexical, concerning in large part words which approach one another in meaning, but are etymologically unrelated. It is, however, noteworthy that a very large proportion of these variants concern the voiced aspirates. Possibly a specially close phonetic relation may exist between *dh* and *bh*; we may recall that both exchange with *h* (§§115ff., 122).

#### *dh* and *bh*

**§172.** We shall begin with these, and first of all with the considerable list of variants between the prepositions *abhi* and *adhi*. Both of these vary with other prepositions, but far oftener with each other, chiefly on account of their similarity in sound no doubt, tho in some aspects they are not far apart in meaning too:

*bhadrād abhi* (AV. Kauś. *adhi*) *śreyaḥ prehi* AV. TS. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

*svapnaḥ svapnādhikaraṇe* RVKh.: *svapna svapnābhikaraṇena* AV.

*brahmādhiguptaḥ* (PG. *brahmābhi°*) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG. *surakṣitaḥ syāṁ*) *svāhā* AG. PG.: *brahmābhigūrtaṁ svarākṣāṇaḥ* MG. See Stenzler's Translation of AG. 2. 4. 14 (p. 73, n. 2), and the critical note on MG. 2. 8. 6.

*tayor devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ* ApŚ.: *tasyāṁ devā adhi saṁvasantaḥ* TS. TB.: *yasyāṁ* (v. l. *asyāṁ*) *devā abhi saṁviśantaḥ* MŚ.

*viśvāvasur abhi tan no gṛṇātu* RV. TA.: *vīrebhir adhi tan no gṛṇāno* etc. MS.

*samānamūrdhnīr abhi* (PG. *adhi*) *lokam ekam* TS. MS. KS. PG.: *tā ekamūrdhnīr abhi lokam ekam* AV.

*tṛtīye ṭdhāmāny abhy* (VS. *dhāmann adhy*) *airayanta* VS. TA. Mahān U.

*idaṁ* (PG. *imaṁ*) *tam adhitiṣṭhāmi* (PG. MG. *abhi°*) ŚŚ. AG. MG. PG.

*ṛtasya nābhāv adhi* (AV. *abhi*) *saṁ punāmi* (AV. *punāti*) RV. AV.

*na vai śvetasyādhyācāre* (AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, HG. *śvetasyābhyācāreṇa*, MG. *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.

*mā rudriyāso abhi gur vṛdhānaḥ* (MS. *abhi gulbadhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ.

*adhi skanda vīrayasva* AV.: *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG.

*ṛṣīṇāṁ putro adhirāja eṣaḥ* (AŚ. *avirāja eṣaḥ;* AV. *abhiśastipā u;* VS.

ŚB. *abhiśastipāvā;* TB. *abhiśastipā ayam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. SMB. N.

*yamo rājābhitiṣṭhati* (KS. MŚ. *rājādhi°*) KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

**§173.** As the roots *skabh* and *stabh* were seen to interchange (§137), so the roots *śudh* and *śubh*, whose conjugations are parallel, interchange freely, without preference on the part of individual texts except that AV. seems to prefer *śubh* (five times); Whitney's *Index Verborum* confirms this tendency:

*tena mā saha śundhata* (AV. *śumbhantu*) RV. AV. See VV I p. 239.

*tāni brahmā tu* (AV. ApMB. *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV. *śumbhati;* ApMB. *śaṅsati*) RV. AV. ApMB.

*śumbhantāṁ lokāḥ pitṛṣadanāḥ* AV.: *śundhantāṁ* etc. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *śundhatāṁ lokaḥ pitṛṣadanaḥ* TS. ApŚ.

*śumbhaṁ mukhaṁ mā na āyuḥ pra moṣīḥ* AV.: *śunddhi* (*śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuḥ pra moṣīḥ* AG. PG. ApMB. MG.

*āpaḥ śundhantu* (AV. *viśve śumbhantu*) *mainasaḥ* AV. VS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*antaḥ śubhrāvatā* (SV. *śundhyāvatā*) *pathā* RV. SV.

**§174.** An interesting extension of the preceding correspondence appears in one case where *sūd*, instead of *śudh*, varies with *śubh;* this seems to be rooted in the rather standard relations of *śubh* and *śudh*, the latter being replaced by *sūd:*

*aśūśubhanta* (TS. TB. *asūṣudanta*) *yajñiyā ṛtena* TS. MS. KS. TB.

**§175.** In the remaining variants between *dh* and *bh* lexical similarity, to the point of synonymy, continues to enter in largely. Thus in two cases of the participles *dhita* and *bhṛta*, which must be appraised in the light of the relations of *hita* and *bhṛta*, §118:

*sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu* (Ppp. *pipartu*) AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitāṁ dadhātu* TB.

*garbha iva* (SV. KU., Poley's ed., *ivet*) *subhṛto garbhiṇībhiḥ* (RV. *sudhito garbhiṇīṣu*) RV. SV. KU.

**§176.** Some of the remaining examples show such a degree of synonymy that we might expect a larger number of variants:

*dhartāras* (ApMB. *bhar°*) *te* (MG. *te subhage*) *mekhale mā riṣāma* SMB. ApMB. MG.

*bhakṣīmahi* (TS. MS. KS. Vait. *dhukṣīmahi*) *prajām iṣam* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. PB. Vait.

*anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anibhṛṣṭā apasyuvo vasānaḥ* TS. Both mean 'undefeated'.

*saṁ bāhubhyāṁ dhamati* (AV. *bharati*, TS. TA. *namati*, KS. *namate*, MS. *°bhyām adhamat*) *saṁ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

*nikīrya* (MŚ. KŚ. *nigīrya*) *tubhyaṁ madhye* (MŚ. *madhvaḥ*, Vait. *tubhyam abhya āsam*, KŚ. *sarvā ādhīḥ*) KŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47.

*avikṣobhāya* (KS. °*kṣodhāya*) *paridhīn dadhāmi* KS. TB. ApŚ. 'For non-disturbance': 'for non-hunger'. KS. makes inferior sense.

*andha sthāndho vo bhakṣīya* VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *ambhaḥ* (TS. ŚŚ. *ambha*) *sthāmbho vo bha*° TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG. *andhaḥ* '(soma-) juice': *ambhaḥ* 'waters'.

*bhaṁsaso* (ApMB. *dhvaṁsaso*) *vi vṛhāmi te* RV. AV. ApMB. Here ApMB. is meaningless.

Aspirate and non-aspirate dentals and labials

**§177.** There are a few sporadic cases of *bh* and *d*, *t*, and *dh* and *p*: *vi senābhir dayamāno* (SV. *bha*°) *vi rādhasā* RV. SV. *bhayamāno* is absurd, since the word is an epithet of Indra. Benfey renders 'furchtbar', which it cannot mean.

*bhūrṇiṁ* (MŚ. v. l. *tūrṇiṁ*) *devāsa iha suśriyaṁ dadhuḥ* RV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*dhanaṁjayaṁ dharuṇaṁ dhārayiṣṇu* RVKh.: *bhūmidṛṁham acyutaṁ pārayiṣṇu* AV.: *bhūmidṛṁho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣṇuḥ* AV. Quasi-synonyms: 'establishing', 'saving'.

**§178.** Ultimately, tho not superficially, here belong the variants of *kakup* (representing stem *kakubh*) and *kakuc*, *kakut*, *kakud*, *kakun*, all by regular sandhi for *kakud*. Of these two stems, which are perfect equivalents tho of independent origin, TS. and TB. use *kakubh* only before vocalic endings (cf. Weber, *IndSt.* 13. 109, Keith, *HOS* 18. p. xxxviii):

*kakup* (and, *trikakup*) *chandaḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kakuc* (and, *trikakuc*) *chandaḥ* TS.

*kakup* (TB. *kakuc*) *chanda ihendriyam* VS. MS. KS. TB.

*apāṁ napād āśuheman ya ūrmiḥ kakudmān . . .* (MS. *ūrmiḥ pratūrtiḥ kakubhvān . . .*, KS. *ūrmiḥ pratūrtiḥ kakudmān . . .*) TS. MS. KS.: *devīr āpo . . . yo va ūrmiḥ pratūrtiḥ kakunmān . . .* VS. VSK. ŚB.

*bṛhaty uṣṇihā kakup* (TS. *kakut*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*d* and *b*

**§179.** A single variant between *dulā* and *bulā*, both obscure; applied to fire-bricks:

*ambā ca bulā ca . . .* MS. MŚ.: *ambā dulā . . .* TS.; cf. *ambāyai svāhā dulāyai svāhā* TB. 3. 1. 4. 1.

Another lexical variant:

*abaddhaṁ mano* . . . TS. KŚ BDh.: *adabdhaṁ mana* (MŚ. *cakṣur*) . . . MŚ. ŚG.

*t* and *p*

**§180.** These two sounds interchange in quite a number of cases, usually in words which are near-synonyms, and seldom showing phonetic tendencies:

*tiro rajāṁsi aspṛtaḥ* (SV. *astṛtaḥ*) RV. SV. Both mean 'unconquerable'. The RV. version occurs also with accusative *aspṛtam*, 8. 82. 9b.

*ye cit pūrva ṛtasāpaḥ* (AV. °*sātāḥ*) RV. AV. Cf. RV. 1. 179. 2a, *ye cid dhi pūrva ṛtasāpa āsan*, which confirms the RV. reading, if confirmation were necessary to condemn the unintelligent version of AV. ('won by *ṛta*', instead of the standard 'tending, loving the *ṛta*').

*matsarāsaḥ prasupaḥ* (SV. °*taḥ*) *sākam īrate* RV. SV. Epithets of Soma. The SV. rationalizes desperately a word it does not understand (comm. *prakarṣeṇa sutāḥ* [!], *abhiṣutāḥ*). Benfey, 'zeugend' = *pra-su(t)*, but the comm. is right to the extent of connecting SV.'s word with *su* 'press'. The RV. reading is obscure; cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on 9. 69. 6 (suggesting a derivative of *sup* = *svap*).

*vahniḥ saṁtaraṇo* (TA. *saṁpāraṇo*) *bhava* VS. TA. Practically synonyms; both 'rescuing'.

*devair nyuptā* (KS. *nuttā*, AV. *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV. °*tvam*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §139.

*yat kṣureṇa marcayatā* (MG. *vartayatā*) *supeśasā* (AV. MG. *sutejasā*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Nearly synonyms. See §156.

*upa* (MS. *utā*) *no mitrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam* (MS. °*ṇā ihāgatam*) MS. TB. TA.

*mitro* (VS. *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA.

*sacetasāv* (VSK. °*sā*; delete 'MS.' in Conc.) *arepasau* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *sacetasau saretasau* TB.: *samokasau sacetasā arepasau* MS.: *samokasāv* (KS. °*sā*) *arepasau* TS. KS. Kauś. The TB. has a lect. fac. to match *samokasau* which immediately precedes *sacetasau* (comm. *ekakarmapravartakau bhūtvā*).

*yo gopā api* (TB. ApŚ. *gopāyati*) *taṁ huve* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ. The denominative verb makes the same sense as the noun with copula 'understood.'

*suśevaṁ somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.: *suśīmaṁ somasatsaru* AV.—Ppp. (Roth) *suveśaṁ* (intending *suśevaṁ*) *somapitsalam*. For *suśīmaṁ*, Whitney 'well-lying', but

it is a mere corruption. Whitney and Keith regard the TS. reading as the correct one; in that case the reading °*pitsaru* would contain dissimilation. But it is improbable that the isolated TS. has the original reading. With Mahīdhara, *somapi* may be taken as 'soma-drinker'; and *somasa* as 'soma-winner' (cf. *paśu-ṣá*, *priya-sá*, both RV.); both would refer to the *yajamāna*, and the cpd. would mean 'having a handle (ready) for the *yajamāna*' (or perhaps AV. 'having a soma-winning handle').

*dhipsyaṁ vā saṁcakara janebhyaḥ* MS.: *aditsan vā saṁjagara janebhyaḥ* TA. 'Intending to deceive': 'not intending to give'. Others, §45.

*āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS. KSA. MS. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV. The latter is wholly secondary; see §820.

*ṛṇān no narṇam ertsamānaḥ* AV.: *nen na ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānaḥ* TA.: *nem na ṛṇān ṛṇavān īpsamānaḥ* MS. In AV. desid. of *ā* + *ṛdh;* but comm. *ecchamānaḥ*, which suggests that TA. intends *iccha*° (phonetic confusion of *ts* and *ch*). MS. has a synonym, likewise with phonetic confusion of *ps* and *ch*.

*tato na* (*na tato, na tadā*) *vicikitsati* (*vijugupsate*) VS. VSK. ŚB. BṛhU. KU. IśāU. See §45. Here the variation between *ts* and *ps* is connected with the approach of both of them to the Prakritic *ch;* see §182.

### *n* and *m*

**§181.** There are finally some cases of interchange between the dental and labial nasals. Sometimes this concerns the indicative and subjunctive personal endings *mi* and *ni;* these concern verbal inflection and may be found recorded in VV I §§104c, 118, 119, 124; to §119 should be added the following, omitted there:

*pratilāmīti* (AŚ. °*nīti*, TS. KSA. TB. *pra sulāmīti*) *te pitā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The verbs concerned are obscure, and evidently taken from popular (vulgar) language.

The rest are scattering:

*agdhād eko 'hutād ekaḥ samasanād ekaḥ* TS.: *adhvād eko 'ddhād eko . . . sanāsanād ekaḥ* MŚ. TS., 'eater of what is gathered' (Keith). Knauer takes the MŚ. form as *sana* + *a-sana* + *ad*. Both uncertain. Assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned.

*mademendraṁ* (MS. *maden*°) *yajamānāḥ svarkāḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Von Schroeder emends KS. to *maden*°, without justification; the opt. *madema* is probably the original form. The other, with instr.

sg. *madena*, is however construable, the pāda being then made dependent on the verb of the preceding sentence. Assimilation or dissimilation in MS.?

*kad va ṛtaṁ kad anṛtam* (SV. *amṛtam*) RV. SV. See Benfey's note in his translation of SV., which is obviously secondary.

*jīvaṁ* (ApMB. *jīvāṁ*) *rudanti vi mayante* (AV. *nayanty*) *adhvare* (AV. °*ram*) RV. AV. ApMB. Clearly a secondary effort in AV. to make an obscure passage 'sensible'.

*abhīmaṁ* (TS. °*māṁ*, MS. MŚ. v. l. °*mān*) *mahinā* (VS. MŚ. v. l. °*mā*) *divam* (MS. *divaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. In the original the subject is Mitra, who encompasses 'this heaven by his greatness'; in the secondary VS. *mahimā* (acc. to Mahīdhara, Agni's 'greatness') is made the subject.

*jāmiṁ* (KS. †*cami*) *mā hiṁsīr amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB. MŚ.: *mā jāmiṁ moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV. The MŚ. is clearly secondary.

*akṣāṇāṁ vagnum* (MS. †*vagmum*, AV. *gaṇam*, read *gatnum*) etc., AV. MS. TB. TA. See §832.

*piteva putraṁ jarase nayemam* (MS. *ma emam*) MS. KS. ApMB. HG. See §835.

*nen na ṛṇān* . . . TA.: *nem na ṛṇān* . . . MS. See §180. Particles *id* and *īm*.

*śūro nṛṣātā śavasaś* (SV. MS. *śra*°) *cakānaḥ* (SV. *ca* †*kāme*) RV. SV. TS. MS.

## CHAPTER V. INTERCHANGES CONCERNING PALATALS

**§182.** Here we group a rather miscellaneous assortment of interchanges concerning palatal mutes, and the palatal semi-vowel and sibilant, which do not seem to fit well elsewhere. The regular correspondences between palatal mutes and those of other series (§§126–34, 154–61) contain some similar phenomena; and for the palatal sibilant and semi-vowel exchanging with other sibilants and semi-vowels, see the appropriate sections below. Notably the variations between *c* and *t* (§156), and still more those between *d* and *j* (§159) and *d* and *y* (§161), contain matters similar to the shift between *j* and *y* (below, §192). Also the exchange between *kṣ* and *ts* (§140), *kṣ* and *ps* (§153a), and *ts* and *ps* (§180, end) belong with the exchange of all these sounds with *ch*, as in the next following sections.

### 1. *ch* varying with *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps*

**§183.** These changes are distinctly Prakritic; cf. above, §26; and note the references mentioned in the last paragraph. The shift occurs in both directions; when *kṣ* etc. are secondarily substituted for *ch*,this is to be regarded as hyper-Sanskritism. Confusion often occurs in the mss., so that it is sometimes not certain what a particular text really read in a given passage. As examples of pure blunders in mss. we may mention *etatsaṁdaḥ* for *etac chandaḥ* MS. 3, p. 22, n. 3; *āvṛchata* for *āvṛtsata*, ibid. 1, p. 18, n. 7; *itsata* for *ichata* Kauś. 73. 15; *patsaḥ* for *pacchaḥ* Kauś. 82. 29. See further BR., s. vv. *kapṛtsala*, *ucchādana* etc. The pāda *parivādaṁ parikṣavam*, AV. Nakṣ., is read *parichavaṁ* in many AV. mss.; see Lanman's note ap. Whitney; and the Berlin ed. reads *uchantūnnā maruto ghṛtena* in 3. 12. 4, with all of R-Wh.'s mss. and most of SPP.'s, tho SPP. reads (correctly) *ukṣantūdnā* with three mss. and comm. (Ppp., Barret *JAOS* 32. 366, has *ukṣantūnā*, emended by Barret to °*ūdnā*). Finally—altho the list might easily be extended further—for the pāda *tena yo 'smat samṛchātai*, TA. 2. 4. 1c, the mss. at MS. 4. 14. 17c read twice (247. 1 and 3) corruptly *samṛtsātām*, which von Schroeder emends to the TA. reading.—Mention may also be made of Bloomfield's generally accepted etymology of RV. *kṣṇu*, as for **pśu* (:*paśu*), *IF* 25. 185ff., which implies the same phonetic law.

**§184.** Most of the genuine variants, which are less numerous than one

might expect from the great confusion shown in the mss., concern *kṣ* and *ch:*

*vācaspate vāco vīryeṇa saṁbhṛtatamenāyakṣase* (TA. °*yakṣyase*, ŚŚ. °*yachase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. Tho *āyachase*, 'procure', is a possible alternative for the other reading, derived from *ā-yaj* 'obtain by sacrifice', it is doubtless a mere phonetic corruption. See VV 1 p. 29.

*somī ghoṣeṇa yachatu* (SV. *vakṣatu*) RV. SV. The preposition *ā*, found in the preceding pāda, goes with the verbs; *ā-yam* and *ā-vah* are here synonyms, 'bring hither'. SV. is of course secondary, with a sort of hyper-Sanskritic change in phonology.

*tāṁ pūṣānu yachatu* (AV. *pūṣābhi rakṣatu*) RV. AV. *anu-yam* 'guide'; *abhi-rakṣ* 'protect'. Quasi-synonyms; but since the object is the furrow in plowing, AV. is obviously slipshod and secondary, again with hyper-Sanskritic phonetics. The RV. original is much more neat and pointed.

*achalābhiḥ* (KSA. *acharābhiḥ*, MS. *atsarābhiḥ* in p.p., *matsarābhiḥ* in s.p., VS. *ṛkṣalābhiḥ*) *kapiñjalān* VS. MS. TS. KSA. In AV. 10. 9. 23 occurs the form *ṛcharā*, with v. l. *ṛtsarā*, which is supported by Ppp. The word is a name for a part of the horse's body; its original form is quite unknown. Note that *ts* as well as *kṣ* and *ch* occurs. Either *ts* or *kṣ*, or both, must be hyper-Sanskritic. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29f.

**§185.** For *ts* and *ch*, besides the variant last quoted, we find:

*namaḥ kṛchrebhyaḥ kṛchrapatibhyaś ca vo namaḥ* MS. KS.: *namo gṛtsebhyo gṛtsapatibhyaś ca vo namaḥ* VS. TS. See §45.

In AV. 19.34.2a the mss. read mostly *jāgṛtsyas tripañcāśīḥ* (v. l. *yā gṛ°*; Berlin ed. *akṣakṛtyās*, certainly wrongly). For this Ppp. reads (with slight corruption, Barret, *JAOS* 44. 262) *yāḥ kṛcchrās*. For the true Śaunakīya reading see §192.

**§186.** For *ps* and *ch* we have noted only this:

*ichanto 'paridākṛtān* ApMB.: *īpsantaḥ parijākṛtān* HG. The two words are of course perfect synonyms. One is reminded of the false identification of the two stems *icha-* and *īpsa-* by Goldschmidt, *Gott. Nachr.* 1874, 525, note.

### 2. *sy* exchanging with *ś-c* or *s(ḥ)* plus sibilant

**§187.** In an interesting little group of variants we find a genitive singular noun form in *-sya* varying with another form, generally the nominative case of the same noun, ending in a sibilant or *ḥ*, the last

syllable of the genitive ending being represented by the first syllable of a different word (several times the conjunction *ca*, at other times a longer word beginning in a sibilant). All these cases, of course, involve different word divisions, and so belong to our later chapter on False Divisions. Either reading may be at times the older.

**§188.** We quote first the cases containing the conjunction *ca*, varying with *-sya:*

*stomo yajñaś ca* (TB. *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB. *°taḥ*) RV. TB. The TB. awkwardly detaches *stomo* from the rest of the pāda, and makes *rādhyo* agree with Viṣṇu, with genitives dubiously depending on it; comm., *yajñena tvam ārādhanīyaḥ*.—Here the nominative is the original form; in the next two it is secondary to the genitive:

*na vai śvetasyādhyācāre* (AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, HG. *śvetasyābhyācāreṇa*, MG. *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. In AG. the epithet *śveta* is attracted to the noun *ahir* in the next pāda. Tho the majority reading is undoubtedly original, AG. makes good sense; a snake-king is appealed to, to drive out snakes.

*ubhāv indrā* (ŚB. *indro*) *udithaḥ sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB.: *aya(ḥ)sthūṇam* (TS. *°ṇāv*) *uditā* (TS. MS. KS. *°tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. The Conc. unjustly stigmatizes *indro* of ŚB. as an error; it is a nom. sing., replacing the elliptic dual *indrā* (=Indra and Sūrya) of VS. to match the complementary nom. sing. *sūryaś* which follows; cf. Edgerton, *KZ* 43. 110ff.

*yad uttaradrāv uparaś ca khādataḥ* AV.: *yad apsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ. *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS. ApŚ.

**§189.** In the rest the genitive *-sya* varies with a nominative in *ḥ* followed by another, usually a longer word beginning in a sibilant; again the movement may be in either direction:

*dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoḥ* (AV. *supratīkaḥ sasūnuḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The AV. secondarily alters the construction, making the epithets nominative to agree with the following, instead of genitive to agree with the preceding. Agni is meant both times. See Whitney on AV. 5. 27. 1.

*dhiyā martaḥ śaśamate* (SV. *martasya śamataḥ*) RV. SV. The SV. has an unintelligent and far-reaching revision of the whole half-stanza; see VV I p. 164.

*yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat* (MG. *riṣat*, mss. mostly *riṣak*) PG. MG.: *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS. Conc. suggests *bhagaś ca* for ArS. No doubt PG. is original ('let glory and fortune find me'). But ArS. makes *yaśo* object; and since *bhagaś* cannot be accusative, changes it to a dependent genitive: 'let him find glory of fortune'.

*viprasya dhārayā kaviḥ* RV.: *vipraḥ sa dhārayā sutaḥ* SV. In SV. the stem *vipra* is attracted into agreement with the epithet *sutaḥ*, for RV. *kaviḥ*, which is a synonym of *vipra* and which SV. contains in the preceding pāda.

*somaḥ sutasya madhvaḥ* RV.: *somaḥ sutaḥ sa madhumān* SV. Like the prec.; the genitives are (so naturally!) made to agree with *somaḥ*.

*yunajmi tisro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ save*, or *savaḥ*) TS. ApS. MŚ.: *yuktās tisro vimṛjaḥ sūryasya* PB.—MŚ. is clearly corrupt.

*mānasya patni śaraṇā syonā* AV.: *mā naḥ sapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā* HG. The latter is hopelessly corrupt; Oldenberg follows AV. in translating.

### 3. Interchanges of *kṣ*, *kś*, and *khy*

**§190.** The closely analogous phenomenon of interchange between *kh* and *ṣ*, *kṣ*, is treated by Wackernagel I §118. Our variants, however, are concerned with the combination *khy* in variation with *kṣ* or *kś*. For the most part the forms involved are derived from the root *khyā* 'see', which regularly in MS., and once in KS., is spelled *kśā*; cf. von Schroeder, Introduction to MS., p. XLIII. In fact the mss. vary greatly; but von Schroeder has generalized the spelling in his edition. This writing is also known to the grammarians.

*anukhyātre* (KS. °*kśātre*) *namaḥ* KS. GB. Vait. KŚ. The *kś* of KS. (both mss.) is the more remarkable since it is immediately preceded by two parallel forms written *-khyā-*.

*vy akhyan* (MS. *akśan*) *mahiṣo divam* (AV.* TS. *mahiṣaḥ s(u)vaḥ*) RV. AV. (bis) SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The mss. of MS. vary; p.p. *akhyat*. AVPpp. agrees with RV.

*indra ṛbhukṣā marutaḥ pari khyan* (MS. *kśan*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. All mss. of MS. here *kṣyān*; p.p. *khyan*.

*anv agnir uṣasām agram akhyat* (MS. MŚ. *akśat*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. All mss. of MS. *akṣat* or *akṣyat*; p.p. *akhyat*. But most mss. of MŚ. *akśat*.

*vikhyāya* (MS. *vikśāya*) *cakṣuṣā tvam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*svar abhivyakhyaṁ* (MS. MŚ. °*kśaṁ*) *jyotir vaiśvānaram* MS. KS. MŚ.: *svar* (KhG. *sur*) *abhivyakhyam* KS. ApŚ. GG. KhG.

*nṛcakṣasaṁ tvā deva soma sucakṣā ava khyeṣam* (MŚ. *kśeṣam*) TS. MS.

*duścakṣās te māvakśat* (KS. text with one ms. °*kṣat*, v. l. °*khyat*) MS. KS.: *taṁ te duścakṣā māva khyat* TS.† (so read). Whatever be the writing of KS., the meaning can only be that of *ava-khyā*.

**§191.** In the following the reverse condition is found; the readings with *khy* are secondary to *kṣ*:

*yas te agne sumatiṁ marto akṣat* (AV. *akhyat*, v. l. *akṣat*) RV. AV. If *akhyat* is the true reading, it makes quite good sense ('has seen', for the original 'has attained', a more recondite and difficult form).

*viśvākṣaṁ* (MahānU. °*khyaṁ*) *viśvasaṁbhuvam* TA. MahānU. No doubt *viśvākṣaṁ* 'having eyes all over', is the original; but *viśvākhyaṁ* is felt as a synonym, 'all-seeing'.

*idhmasyeva prakṣāyataḥ* (ŚŚ. *prakhyā*°) TB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Both TB. and TA. comms. derive from root *kṣi* with intransitive meaning(!), 'of him perishing like fuel (in the fire)'; and similarly Caland on ApŚ. Better from *pra-kṣā* (*kṣai*) 'burning up'. In any case the ŚŚ. (all mss.) form shows phonetic decay; it makes no independent sense.

### 4. *j* and *y* exchanging

**§192.** The interchanges of these sounds are common enough to prove conclusively the genuine phonetic instability between them in the Vedic language, as in Prakrit. Cf. Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b; and above, our §§156, 159, 161. The change goes in either direction, and often appears in corruptions of the mss.; e.g. in AV. 3. 11. 6 several mss. read *javam* for *yuvam*, and the comm. evidently had this reading before him. Some of our variants may perhaps fairly be called mere corruptions, and indeed some are eliminated in more recent editions of their respective texts. But when is a corruption a true variant? Note the first case:

*uto* (ŚŚ. and GB. Gaastra, *uta*) *padyābhir yaviṣṭhaḥ* (AB. *ja*°) AV. AB. GB. ŚŚ. The Berlin ed. of AV. also reads *javiṣṭhaḥ*, against all mss. There is no doubt that this is the 'correct' form; the word can only mean 'swiftest'. But only AB. reads so in the mss., while not only AV. and its Brāhmaṇa, GB., but the independent ŚŚ., have the 'corrupt' reading! Under these circumstances it seems more conservative to keep the reading of the mss., regarding it as a case of dialectic phonology. Similarly in the next:

*jajñā* (*yajñā*) *netasann* (read, *ned asann*; GB. Gaastra *netar asann*) *apurogavāsaḥ* (*avicetanāsaḥ*); *yajñād eta sann apuro*°; see §62. Again there is no doubt that *yajñā* is the 'correct' reading, but *j* for *y* occurs persistently in the tradition of various texts.

*tato ha jajñe* (MŚ. *tato 'haṁ yajñe*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* (MŚ. *goptā*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *te ha jajñe bhu*° *gopāḥ* PB. Here the reverse change has occurred; MŚ. is clearly secondary.

*śataṁ yo naḥ śarado ajītān* (SMB. Conc. *ajījāt*, comm. *ajījanat*; PG. *jījān*) TS. SMB. PG. But Jörgensen reads for SMB. *ajīyāt*; comm. *ajīyād ajyāt, aja gatikṣepaṇayoḥ, . . . gamayatv ity arthaḥ.* Three mss. of the text read *ajyāt*. See VV I p. 92f.

*saujāmim* (ŚG. *sauyāmim*), sc. *tarpayāmi*, AG. ŚG. Here *saujāmim* (so v. 1. of ŚG.) is doubtless original. It is a n. pr.

*yajñasya hi stha ṛtvijā* (TB. ApŚ. *ṛtviyau*) RV. SV. KS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *yajñasya ṛtvij-* is established from RV. 1. 1. 1 on.

*tisro yahvasya* (MS. MŚ. *jihvasya*, v. l. *yah°*) *samidhaḥ parijmanaḥ* RV. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. *jihvasya* probably corrupt, and certainly secondary.

*īśāno vi ṣyā* (=*ṣiyā*; TS. *sṛjā*) *dṛtim* AV. TS. MS. KS. The two forms are synonyms; TS. is secondary.

*jāgṛtsyas tripañcāśīḥ* AV. 19. 34. 2a, mss. (v. l. *yā gṛ°*); R-Wh. *akṣakṛtyās*, a bad emendation abandoned by Whitney, see his note. Read either *yā gṛtsyas*, or better *yāḥ* (or *yāś ca*) *kṛtyās*. Cf. §185.

*añjanti suprayasaṁ pañca janāḥ* RV. MS., 'the five tribes anoint him (Agni), possessed of good regalement': *yuñjanti suprajasaṁ* etc., AVPpp. 2. 74. 1 (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 244), 'the five tribes employ him of good offspring' (secondary but not bad Vedic sense).

**§193.** Somewhat remoter are the following:

*hṛdo astv antaraṁ taj jujoṣat* (TA. *tad yuyota*) RV. KS. TA.—TA. secondary.

*saṁvatsarasya dhāyasā* (AV. VS. *tejasā*) AV. VS. TS. KSA. HG.

*ramayata* (KS. *°tā*) *marutaḥ śyenam āyinam* (MŚ. *°taḥ pretaṁ vājinam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*āśuṁ tvājau* (ApŚ. *ākhuṁ tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantaḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Corrupt in ApŚ.; Caland translates the KS. reading. Explained in §296.

*ya ṛte* (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad ṛte*, P.B. †*yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. † 9. 10. 1a, TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG.: *jari cetīd* (mss. *cetid*, p.p. *cya iti, it*) *abhiśiṣaḥ* MS. (corrupt).

### 5. Palatal stops and *ś*(*ṣ*)

**§194.** There are next a number of cases of palatal stops varying with the palatal sibilant, or once with the lingual sibilant (which varies frequently, as we shall see, with the palatal sibilant, so that this variant may represent the same tendency). But in all cases the lexical element is so marked as to make uncertain the degree to which real sound change enters. The single case of *ṣ* is:

*abhy arṣata* (AV. Vait. Kauś. *arcata*) *suṣṭutiṁ gavyam ājim* RV. AV. VS. KS. Vait. ApŚ. Kauś. For the favorite formula *abhy-arṣ* with *suṣṭutim* see *RVRep.* 523ff. The AV. variant is a lect. fac. (root *stu* suggests the synonym *arc*).

**§195.** The rest concern *ś*:

*pratyañ janān saṁcukośāntakāle* N. in Durga (Roth, Erläuterungen 12, n. 4); *pratyañ janās tiṣṭhati sarvatomukhaḥ* (ŚvetU. and ŚirasU.* *tiṣṭhati saṁcukocāntakāle*) VS. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. Dhātup. has a root *kuś* 'embrace, enfold', with which Durga's form seems connected.

*ayasmayaṁ vicṛtā* (KS. *viśṛtā*, v. l. °*dṛtā*) *bandham etam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayasmayān vi cṛtā bandhapāśān* AV. The original *vicṛtā* means 'loosen thou'. KS. seems felt as 2 plur. from *vi-śṛ* 'destroy', but there is no explanation of the plural.

*viśvasya devī mṛcayasya* (ŚŚ. *mṛśa*°) *janmanaḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *mṛcayasya* is rendered 'perishable'; perhaps better with causative force, 'injurious'. ŚŚ's *mṛś*° may well be a corruption, but the word is obscure in either form.

*pṛthivyāḥ saṁpṛcaḥ* (MS. MŚ. °*cas*, VS. ŚB. *saṁspṛśas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Also: *divaḥ saṁspṛśas* (MS. *saṁpṛcas*) *pāhi* VS. MS. ŚB. The two words are synonyms.

*śvitro* (MS. *citro*) *rakṣitā* AV. MS. TS. ApMB. Also: *śvitra* (MS. *citra*) *ādityānām* VS. MS. Again the two words are synonyms. Some AV. mss. have *citro* in the first variant; Ppp. ms. *śattro*, Barret *JAOS* 32. 370 em. *śvitro*.

*yat kṣureṇa marcayatā* (MG. *vartayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG. PG. HG. ApMB. *supeśasā*) AV. AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.

*agre* (TB. *agne*, Poona ed. *agre*) *yajñasya cetataḥ* (RV. *śocataḥ*) RV. KS. TB.

*ūrdhvacitaḥ* (MS. KS. °*śritaḥ*) *śrayadhvam* (VS. text †*śna*°, doubtless misprint tho repeated in comm., which glosses *sevadhvam*; ŚB. correctly *śra*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Assimilation to *śrayadhvam* in MS. KS.

*mṛśase* (SV. *mṛjyase*) *pavase matī* RV. SV. The change from (*pari-*) *mṛś* 'thou dost embrace', to *mṛjyase* 'thou art purified', is suggested by the following *pavase*, or by recollection of *mṛjyase soma sātaye* RV. 9. 56. 3.

*chlilīpu chlilīṣate* ŚŚ.: *aślilīpu ślilīṣate* AV. (mss.; R-Wh. em. *aśiślikṣuṁ śiślikṣate*). Unknown words.

*tanūpāś* (TB. Conc. *tanūpāc*, Poona ed. text and comm. †*tanūnapāc*) *ca sarasvatī* VS. KS. TB. The TB. (which obviously reads *tanū-*

*napāc*) has repeated this word from the preceding pāda, where it occurs as a name of Agni. The other reading is clearly original.

### 6. Miscellaneous

**§196.** Finally, a couple of miscellaneous variants, in two of which *j* and *h* vary, in the other *kṣ* and *bj*:

*mahnā jinoṣi* (MS. *hinoṣi*) *mahini* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N. Synonymous rime-words.

*āyurdā* (*āyuṣmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasaṁ* (*haviṣo, haviṣā*) *vṛṇānaḥ* (etc.), see §854.

*divyaḥ kośaḥ samukṣitaḥ* MS.: *daivyaḥ kośaḥ* (AV. *devakośaḥ*) *samubjitaḥ* AV. TS. KS. The MS. reading is a riming corruption.

## CHAPTER VI. LABIAL MUTES AND V AND M

**§197.** The variants in this chapter are in large part genuinely phonetic. Especially the section on *b* and *v* is related to the almost complete confusion between these sounds in the later dialects; and the interchanges of *v* and *m* also are rooted deeply in phonetic relations between these sounds. But morphological relations, as for instance the parallel noun suffixes in *v* and *m*, are also concerned; and merely graphic corruptions likewise have no doubt played an important part, especially as between *v*, *b*, and *p*.

### *p* (once, *ph*) and *v*

**§198.** Here we have undertaken to separate the cases in which *p* is the more original; they are listed in the following:

*yas tāni* (TA. MahānU. *tad*) *veda sa pituḥ* (AV. *sa pituṣ*, most mss. *pituḥ*, TA. *savituḥ*) *pitāsat* AV. VS. TA. MahānU.: *yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ* (TA. *savituḥ*) *pitāsat* RV. AV. TA. N. 'He shall be Savitar's father' is an absurd but persistent mouthing over of 'he shall be the father's father'; cf. Bergaigne 2. 104, 108.

*abhiśaster avasparat* (SV. *avasvarat*) RV. SV. 'Fight away': 'sound away'; in either case 'protect' (SV. comm. *pālayatu*). But *ava-spar*, and not *ava-svar*, is elsewhere used in this sense; see e.g. RV. 10. 39. 6, 8. 66. 14.

*ṛtasya goptrī tapasaḥ paraspī* (SMB. °*vī*, MG. *tarutrī*) SMB. ApMB. MG. *paraspī* 'protectress (of *tapas*)'. *parasvī* (also in some mss. of ApMB.) may be a case of dissimilation from initial *p* (comm. *utkṛṣṭadhanarūpā*).

*spārhā* (TB. *svāruhā*) *yasya śriyo dṛśe* RV. KS. TB. And:

*spārho* (TB. *svāruho*) *deva niyutvatā* RV. SV. VS. TB. The TB. reading is of course secondary, and unmetrical. Comm., wobblingly, once *suṣṭhu ratham ārūḍhaḥ*, once *svasmād eva prarūḍhāḥ*.

*hiraṇyaparṇa śakune* PG.: *hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ* MU.: *hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ* HG. Practically synonyms. Contrast *darbhaiḥ stṛṇīta* etc. under §200.

*jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV.: *jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān* TA. The AV. original: 'may I, going to my kin, not fall from heaven'. Poona ed. of TA. reads *jāmi mitvā mā vivitsi lokāt* (v. l. *lokān*).

Its comm. regards the second person as addressed to the *yajamāna* (gloss, *lapsyasi*). But neither reading of TA. really makes sense, tho they may contain a mechanical assimilation of *p* to preceding *v*.

*nākro makaraḥ kulīpayas* (TS. *kulīkayas*, MS. *pulīkayas*, KSA. *pulīrayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA.† *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Von Schroeder suggests *kūvārasya*; certainly rightly. *kūvāra* and *kūpāra* are quoted lexically as equivalents for *akūpāra* 'ocean'.

*nāpa vṛñjāte na gamāto antam* AV.: *nāvapṛjyāte na gamāte antam* TB. *ava-pṛj* is the original; it seems to be a technical term for bringing to an end the warp in weaving. Note *apa: ava* also (§201).

*yatrāspṛkṣat* (HG. *yatrā vṛkṣas*) *tanuvaṁ* (AV. *tanvo*, HG. *tanuvai*) *yatra vāsaḥ* (AV. *yac ca vāsasaḥ*) AV. ApMB. HG. 'Wherever (defilement) has touched my body or my garment.' HG's corruption seems primarily due to the preceding line, *yadi vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam.*

*yamasya dūtaś ce vāg vidhāvati* MS.: *yamasya dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvasi* TA. See §145.

*yunajmi tisro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *tisro vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ savaḥ*, or *save*) TS. ApŚ. MS. See §57.

*ajāśvaḥ paśupā vājapastyaḥ* (TB. °*vastyaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. Comm. on TB., *vastyaṁ gṛham* (=*pastyam*, see *RVRep.* 58). This, and the lexical statements that *vastya* means 'house', may be based on corruptions of *pastya*, but thoughts of the root *vas* 'dwell' doubtless helped.

*yat paśur* (Kauś. *yad vaśā*) *māyum akṛta* (Kauś. *akrata*) TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. GG. Kauś. A synonym is substituted in Kauś.

*sarpadevajanebhyaḥ* (AŚ. *sarva*°) *svāhā* AŚ. AG. Tho the context is different, AŚ. looks suspiciously like a lect. fac.

*śatāpāṣṭhādya* (read, °*ṣṭhā gha*, with both Poona edd.) *viṣā pari no vṛṇaktu* TB. TA.: *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇaḥ* MS. See §86.

*ghṛtaṁ duhānā viśvataḥ prapītāḥ* (TB. ApMB. *prapīnāḥ*, AVPpp. *pravīṇāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. Barret, *JAOS* 35. 88, would keep *pravīṇāḥ;* but since this is a late word, it is probably only a corruption.

**§199.** The one case of *ph:v* concerns a senseless substitution of *śavam* for *śapham*, some sort of implement:

*īṣāṁ khṛgalyaṁ śavam* MS.: *īṣāṁ khagalyaṁ śapham* ApŚ. Tho corrupt in *śavam*, MS. seems to be correct in *khṛgalyam* (cf. *khṛgala*, RV.), for which ApŚ. has a Prakritic ἅπ. λεγ.

**§200.** The *v* reading seems to be original in the following:

*vṛṣṭiṁ* (SV.* *pṛ*°) *divaḥ parisrava* RV. SV. (bis). *pṛṣṭiṁ* can mean nothing but 'rain', as Benfey translates; perhaps the root *pruṣ* (which also appears as *prṣ*, §680) may have infected the word.

*mahyaṁ dattvā vrajata* (TAA. *prajātuṁ*) *brahmalokam* AV. TAA. The TAA. reading, at best a poor infinitive from *pra-jan*, is an untranslatable corruption. Comm. takes it for *prajātam* by Vedic license!

*yathāpaḥ pravatā yanti* TA. TU. Kauś.: *yathā yanti prapadaḥ* SMB. See §60.

*iheha vaḥ svatavasaḥ* (TA. *svatapasaḥ*) RV. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. Significant of the growth in importance of *tapas*, which here crowds out *svatavas*, a standard epithet of the Maruts.

*tve kratum api vṛñjanti viśve* (AV. *api pṛñcanti bhūri*) RV. AV. SV. VS. AA. ApŚ. MŚ. See §57.

*divyaṁ suparṇaṁ vāyasaṁ* (AV. *payasaṁ*, KS. VS. TS.* ŚB. *vayasā*, MS. TS.* *vayasaṁ*) *bṛhantam* RV. AV. VS. TS. (bis) MS. ŚB. AŚ. Suparṇ. There is no point in calling the eagle 'milky'; but Ppp. agrees on *payasaṁ* (twice). Once the AV. comm. has the hardihood to say that *payasaṁ* is for *va*° by Vedic license.

*payasvan māmakaṁ vacaḥ* (AV.* *payaḥ*) RV. AV. (bis) KS. In AV. assimilation to preceding *payasvan*, obviously secondarily. But TS. TB. MŚ. have a further alteration: *payasvad vīrudhāṁ payaḥ*.

*amba niṣpara* (TS. ApŚ. *niṣvara*, KS. KapS. *nisvara*, MS. *nismara*, p.p. *niḥ, smara*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The majority (in which we count MS. with *m*) points to *v* rather than *p*; but the word is obscure in all forms.

*suvarṇapakṣāya* (MahānU. *suparṇa*°) *dhīmahi* TA. MahānU. 'Golden-winged' is doubtless original; see under next.

*darbhaiḥ stṛṇīta haritaiḥ suparṇaiḥ* (KS. †*suvarṇaiḥ*) KS. MŚ.: *hotṛṣadanaṁ haritaṁ hiraṇyayam* AV.: *hotṛṣadanā haritāḥ suvarṇāḥ* TB. ApŚ. *suvarṇa-* is certainly original, as AV. shows; cf. preceding, and, for the reverse change, *hiraṇyaparṇa śakune* etc., §198.

*parivādaṁ parikṣavam* (mss. mostly *parichavam*) AV. Nakṣ.: *parīvādaṁ parikṣapam* ApMB. The variant word must mean 'sneezing', see Lanman ap. Whitney. The ApMB. can hardly be anything but a corruption; one ms. has °*vam*.

*tvaṁ rājāsi pradivaḥ* (VS. VSK. *pratipat*) *sutānām* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. N. See §64.

*tam ajarebhir vṛṣabhis tava* (ApŚ. *tapa*) *svaiḥ* RV. KS. ApŚ. Followed by: *tapā tapiṣṭha tapasā tapasvān* RV. KS., *tapa tapasva tapasā tapiṣṭha*

ApŚ., which has clearly changed *tava* under the influence of this pāda. Caland understands *tapa* as a voc., 'O Brennender.'

*sa bhūmiṁ viśvato* (ArS. *sarvato*) *vṛtvā* (VS. *sarvata spṛtvā*) RV. AV. ArS. VS. TA. Comm. on VS. *vyāpya* 'pervading', which is not far from *vṛtvā* 'encompassing'.

*anupauhvad* (ApMB. *anu po 'hvad*) *anupahvayet* (ApMB. *anuhvayaḥ*) HG. ApMB. In ApMB. *po* intends *vo* (pronoun); HG. is corrupt and obscure. See §732. There is no real variant here, both forms having *p*.

*āñjanena sarpiṣā saṁ viśantu* (AV. *spṛśantām*, Ppp. [acc. to Roth] *viśanta*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.

*jakṣivāṅsaḥ papivāṅsaś ca viśve* VS. etc.; the text of VS. is misprinted as *papipāṅsaś*; corrected, p. XXII.]

**§201.** In a class by themselves and of notable bulk are the variants between the prepositions *apa* and *ava*. So close are they in meaning that it is sometimes hard to decide the relative originality, except in so far as it is indicated by general usage, by the preponderance of one form among the variants, or by the historic relations of the texts in general:

*nāpa vṛñjāte* (*nāvapṛjyāte*) . . . see §198.

*ava* (AV. *apa*) *tasya balaṁ tira* RV. AV. Note that RV. has only *ava-tṛ*, never *apa-tṛ*.

*apa* (TA. ApŚ.† *ava*) *bādhatāṁ duritāni viśvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. Both familiar.

*dviṣantaṁ me 'vabādhasva* (Poona ed. °*dhāsai*, but v. l. and comm. °*sva*) TA.: *dviṣantam apa bādhasva* SMB. If the Poona ed. text is right, this should be added to VV I §152.

*dhātā samudro apa* (AG. *'va*) *hantu pāpam* AG. PG.

*yat tatraino apa tat suvāmi* AV.: *yad atraino ava tat suvāmi* TA.

*idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasya pāpmānam ava* (ApMB. *apa*) *gūhāmi* HG. ApMB.

*yad avāmṛkṣac* (ApŚ. *apā*°) *chakuniḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*yenāpāmṛśataṁ* (SMB. v. l.°*mṛṣataṁ*) *surām* ŚŚ. SMB.: *yenāvamṛśatāṁ surām* PG.

*apa* (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apaḥ śvetepad āgahi* MG.

*ābhur anyo 'pa* (ApMB. *'va*) *padyatām* ApŚ. HG. ApMB.: *mātur anyo 'va padyata* ŚG.

*sarvān ava yajāmahe* KS.† TB. TA. ApŚ.: *sarvāṅ apa yajāmasi* Kauś. *ava-yaj* is more archaic.

*indur indum avāgāt* (KS. *avāgan*, MŚ. *upāgāt*, v. l. *apāgāt*) KS. PB. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ava dīkṣām asṛkṣata* (ApMB. *adāstha*) *svāhā* AV. ApMB.: *iyam apa* (v. l. *ava*) *dīkṣām ayaṣṭa* SMB.

*apa kṣudhaṁ nudatām arātim* TB.: *ava sediṁ tṛṣṇāṁ kṣudhaṁ jahi* Kauś.

**§202.** To these obviously belong two interchanges of *avāñc* and *apāñc*, both of which are contrasted with *prāñc*, which makes it certain that *apāñc* is intended; and indeed this should probably be assumed as the true reading in TB. in the first case:

*apāpāco* (TB. °*vāco*) *abhibhūte nudasva* RV. AV. AB. GB. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *apāpāco*, clearly correctly.

*āyuś ca prāyuś ca . . . prāñ cāpāñ* (ApŚ. *cāvāñ*) *ca* MS. ApŚ.

## *p* and *m*

**§203.** The few variants under this head are dubious or obscure, except for several cases of exchange between the roots *tap* and *tam*. A certain phonetic fluidity (or perhaps graphic confusion?) seems suggested by all of them.

**§204.** The roots *tap* and *tam* are quasi-synonyms since early times. They interchange three times, in two passages, so that *tap* occurs exclusively in RV. texts, *tam* in Tait. texts:

*tapasas* (TB. *tamasas*) *tan mahināj̄āyataikam* RV. TB.

*mā tamo* (AŚ. *tapo*) *mā yajñas tamat* (AŚ. *tapat*); followed by:

*mā yajamānas tamat* (AŚ. *yajñapatis tapat*) TB. ApŚ. AŚ.

**§205.** The rest are sporadic:

*kṣumāsi* VS.: *kṣupāsi* VSK. An arrow is addressed obscurely. Comm. on VS. 'shaker', thinking of the Dhātup. root *kṣmā(i)*, perhaps confused with *kṣubh-*. Is VSK. influenced partly by *kṣip*?

*amba niṣpara* (*nismara*, etc.), see §200.

*yuktās tisro vimṛjaḥ . . .*: *yunajmi tisro vipṛcaḥ* (*vivṛtaḥ*) . . ., see §57.

*namo 'gnaye pṛthivikṣite* (ChU. MU. *pṛthivī°*) *lokaspṛte* (MU. °*smṛte*, ChU. °*kṣite*) TS. KSA. ApŚ. ChU. MU. And similarly *namo vāyave 'ntarikṣakṣite . . ., nama ādityāya* (*namaḥ sūryāya, nama ādityebhyaś*) . . ., each time with MU. alone reading *lokasmṛte*. All in the same passage. There is no doubt that *lokaspṛte* is original; Deussen renders MU. 'Weltgewährer', seemingly having °*spṛte* in mind.

*āñjanena sarpiṣā saṁ viśantu* (AV. *spṛśantām*, Ppp. [Roth] *viśanta*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.

*apāma edhi mī mṛthā na indra* SMB.: *amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ. †*ma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG. See §78.

*viśvā spṛdho* (AV. *mṛdho*) *abhimātīr jayema* RV. AV. TA.

*b* and *v*

**§206.** This wide-spread interchange, tho partly graphic, is largely phonetic, and very common in later times. But it occurs also extensively in early times, applying both to original *b* and original *v*; see Wackernagel I §161. The mss. are unstable and inconsistent in their writing of the two sounds. There are indeed words like the prepositions *vi* and *ava*, or the roots *vid* and *vad*, or the noun *vīra*, which are presumably never, or at most very rarely, written with *b*. On the other hand there is scarcely any original *b* which is not ocasionally written *v* (*pivāmi*, for instance, for *pibāmi*). This elusive theme (cf. Grassmann, *KZ* 12. 123) is, perhaps, rather illustrated than cleared up by the Vedic variants. The divergent readings of the printed texts are not to be regarded as 'school' differences, but as illustrations of the total of an unstable and largely untrustworthy tradition.

**§207.** Nearly all cases are purely phonetic variations, in so far as they are not, possibly, graphic. There are only a few which involve real lexical change. These are:

*carmevāvādhus* (TB. °*bādhus*) *tamo apsv antaḥ* RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. The original *avādhus* = *ava* + *adhus* 'they have put away'. TB. understands it as an anomalous root-aorist from *bādh* 'they have overcome'. Poona ed. of TB. has indeed *avādhus* in its text, but the comm. even there has *abādhus*, glossing *vināśitavantaḥ*.

*devīm ahaṁ nirṛtiṁ bādhamānaḥ* (TS. *vandamānaḥ*) TS. KS. ApŚ. 'Subduing' or 'praising' the Goddess Destruction. TS. doubtless secondary, since its own sūtra agrees with KS.; but it is natural enough, since the preceding passage ends with 'Homage to Destruction'.

*yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS. *bibhrato*) *jātavedāḥ* AV. KS.: *yatra-yatra jātavedaḥ saṁbabhūtha* (TB. *saṁbabhūva*, but Poona ed. text and comm. °*tha*) TB. ApŚ. The form is dubious. The text tradition of AV. (19. 3. 1) supports *bi-*, not *vi-*; mss. almost all *bíbhṛto* or *bíbhrato*, tho the comm. reads *vi-*, and so both editions. All three mss. of KS. *bi-* (vv. ll. *bíbhṛto* and *bíbhyato*). In spite of all this, it seems hardly possible to construe anything but *vi-bhṛtó* (note that the accent must be also changed in both texts). Cf. next.

*atandrāso yuvatayo* †*vibhṛtram* (TB. Conc. *vibhartram*, Poona ed. text and comm. *bibh*°) RV. TB. Cf. preceding; here we have adjective epithets of Agni (TB. comm. *poṣakam*, understanding a reduplicated form of *bhṛ*).

*sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva* (ApMB. °*padā babhūva*) ApMB. HG. The

absurd form of most ApMB. mss. is retained for reasons explained by Winternitz, Introd., xvi.

*usrā* (MŚ. *usrāv*) *etaṁ dhūrvāhau* (KS. *dhūrbādhā*) . . . VSK. KS. MŚ. Others, §122.

*yāv* (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS.† °*tho*, AV. *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (AV. KS. °*thaḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

[*tujo yujo vanaṁ* (ŚŚ. text, *balaṁ*) *sahaḥ* AA. ŚŚ.: *tuje janā* (ArS. *jane*) *vanaṁ svaḥ* AV. ArS. This difficult passage only seemingly concerns our theme, since *balaṁ* is Hillebrandt's emendation in ŚŚ.]

§208. All the remaining cases concern the same word which appears now with *b*, now with *v*, the meaning being precisely the same. There are no school customs governing the sounds as a whole, tho there are some as regards individual words. The variation is about equally common with original *b* and original *v*, and in not a few cases it is impossible to be sure which was original. Among indications of greater originality three criteria may be considered, aside from the number and relative antiquity of the texts concerned. First, general prevalence of one spelling in the language as a whole. Second, such prevalence in the older texts. Third, the evidence of etymology. When all are combined, the case becomes quite clear. But especially *b* is for the most part doubtful historically and etymologically (cf. Wackernagel I §§158b, 162), so that the variant words whose etymology is certain nearly all contain *v*.

## Original *v*

§209. We begin with forms in which *v* is certainly or probably original. There are no less than nine variants (not all textually certain) containing forms of the root *vadh* or *badh*, of which the former seems older (*badh* not in RV.) and remains commoner thru the language. The occasional *b*-forms met with from AV. on are probably in part due to the suggestion of the root *bādh* (and perhaps of *bandh*). In several variants, VS. texts (particularly VSK.) seem to favor *badh*; but contrary instances occur:

*dviṣato badho* (MŚ. *vadho*) *'si* VS. KŚ. MŚ.

*mā tvā samudra ud vadhīn* (VSK. *badhīn*) *mā suparṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*tvayāyaṁ vṛtraṁ vadhyāt* (VSK. *ba*°, VS. ŚB. *badhet*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*mā me dīkṣāṁ mā tapo nir vadhiṣṭa* (KŚ. *ba*°) TS. KŚ. MŚ.

*abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum asau hataḥ* (VSK. *rakṣo 'muṣya tvā badhāyāmum abadhiṣma*) VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ.: *avadhiṣma rakṣaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*vīrān mā no rudra bhāmito* (SMB. ŚvetU. °*mino*, Jörgensen °*mito* for SMB.) *vadhīḥ* (TAA. SMB. *badhīḥ*; but Poona ed. of TAA. and Jörgensen's of SMB. both *va*°) RV. TS. MS. KS. TAA. ŚvetU. SMB.: *mā no vīrān rudra bhāmino vadhīḥ* VS.

*avaṛtyai badhāyopamanthitāram* (TB. *avartyai* †*vadhā*°) VS. TB. (so Poona ed.)

*nātārīd* (TB. °*rīr*) *asya samṛtiṁ vadhānām* (TB. *ba*°, but Poona ed. *va*°) RV. TB.

*ayanaṁ mā vivadhīr* (TAA. *viba*°, but Poona ed. text and comm. *viva*°) *vikramasva* TA. TAA.

Cf. also the following, in which MS. is surely corrupt (see §260). Apparently MS. MŚ. understand forms of *vadh*, *badh*, while TA. has a form of *vṛdh*:

*mā rudriyāso abhi gur vṛdhānaḥ* (MS. *abhi gulbadhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhi gur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ.

**§210.** Another group of seven variants contains the name of the demon Vala, also written Bala from AV. on (under the influence of *bala* 'strength'?). Aside from the fact that Vala is the exclusive form in RV., the word is probably connected with root *vṛ*:

*indro valaṁ* (MS. *balaṁ*) *rakṣitāraṁ dughānām* RV. AV. MS.

*tvaṁ valasya* (AŚ. *balasya*) *gomataḥ* RV. †1. 11. 5, SV. AŚ.

*bibheda valaṁ* (AV. AŚ. *balaṁ* but many AV. mss. *valaṁ*) *bhṛgur na sasāhe* (AV. *sasahe*) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*ud valasyābhinat* (but all mss. °*nas*, which read) *tvacam* ApŚ.: *ud balasyābhi nas* (read *balasyābhinas*) *tvacam* MŚ. The form *abhinas* is for *abhinat*, 2d person imperf., with *s* for *t* by analogy with 2d persons in *s*. This curious and interesting form might be recorded in VV I §262; but there is no real variant, the true reading of both texts being *abhinas*.

*yo gā udājad apa* (MS. *api*) *hi valaṁ* (MS. *balaṁ*) *vaḥ* RV. MS.

*indro yad abhinad valam* (GB. *balam*, but Gaastra *valam* with most of his mss.) RV. AV. SV. AB. GB.

*sa bibheda balaṁ* (VS. and Poona ed. of TB. *valaṁ*) *magham* (MS. *madyam*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

**§211.** There is no doubt that the words for fat, *pīvas* etc., have original *v*, as shown by the cognate languages as well as by the preponderance of *v* in Sanskrit. Nevertheless there are a few *b* forms, some of them of doubtful textual authenticity:

*pīvo vṛkka udārathiḥ* RV. KS.: *pībasphākam udīrathim* AV. In AV. Shankar Pandit prints *pībaspākam* (comm. *pīvaspākam*, explained

as 'fat-cooking'), and declares this to be the unanimous reading of his authorities, which is at variance with Whitney's mss. Ppp. has *pivassākam* (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 191, em. *pīvaspākam*) *udāhṛtam*. Cf. Whitney on AV. 4. 7. 3, 3. 17. 3, and Index Verborum of AV. under *pīb*° and *pīv*°.

*prapharvyaṁ ca pīvarīm* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.: *pībarīṁ ca prapharvyam* AV. (comm. *pīv*°; Ppp. according to Roth reads like VS. etc. except *prapharvyāṁ*).

*neva māṁse na pībasi* AV.: *naiva māṁsena pīvari* PG.—SPP. with some mss. and comm. reads *pīvasi* in AV.; so also Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 26. 205). PG., tho with correct *v*, is corrupt otherwise (as if voc. sing. fem. of *pīvan*).

§**212.** In the root *vṛh* or *bṛh* 'tear', the original consonant is uncertain. It has no known etymology, and both *b* and *v* are traditionally recorded in RV. Wackernagel I §161 regards *v* as original, on not very substantial grounds. He also points out that confusion between this and the other root *bṛh* 'be great' etc., has helped the variation in spelling (cf. §215). Later, *bṛh* seems to be commoner in the sense of 'tear'. The two variants recorded amount practically to only one, as they are modulations of the same formula in the same passage. In them *vṛh* is the real reading of all texts; Weber erroneously prints *bṛh-* in TS. against nearly all his mss.

*ādityās tvā pra bṛhantu* (most mss. *vṛh*°) . . . TS.: *viśvebhyas tvā devebhyaḥ pra vṛhāmi* . . . KS.: *ādityebhyas tvā pra vṛhāmi* . . . MS. Add to VV I §312.

*vasavas tvā pra vṛhantu* (TS. ed. *bṛh*°, most mss. *vṛh*°) *gāyatreṇa chandasā* TS. ApŚ.

§**213.** There are five examples, mostly dubious, of *vandhura* (*vandhur*): *bandhura*; RV. always spells the word with *v*. Connexion with root *bandh* is therefore unlikely. Bloomfield, *RVRep.* 236, analyzes the word as *van* + *dhura* (*dhur*) 'board at the head of the wagon pole':

*trivandhuro* (TB. *triban*°; Poona ed. *trivan*°, comm. *triban*°) *manasā yātu yuktaḥ* RV. TB. (in Conc. by error, TS.) MS.

*ā yāhy arvāṅ upa vandhureṣṭhāḥ* (GB. AA. *ban*°; but Gaastra and Keith in both *van*°) RV. AB. KB. GB. AA. ŚŚ.

*pra nūnaṁ pūrṇavandhura* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. °*ban*°) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB, LŚ.

*rathaṁ hiraṇyavandhuram* (TA. *sahasraban*°; but Poona ed. text and comm. °*van*°, with v. l. °*ban*°) RV. TA.

*trivandhureṇa* (KS. *triban*°) *trivṛtā rathena* RV. KS.

**§214.** In the following isolated cases *v* is also probably original:

*vahiṣṭhebhir* (MS. *ba°*) *viharan yāsi* (TB. *pāhi*, but comm. and Poona ed. text, *yāsi*) *tantum* RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. The word can only mean 'swiftest', root *vah*.

*etad brahmann upavalhāmasi* (AŚ. *apa°*, LŚ. *upabalihāmahe*) *tvā* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. The root is *valh*, apparently always except here in LŚ. It is perhaps a form of *vṛh*, §212.

*capyaṁ* (TB. Poona ed. *cappaṁ*) *na pāyur bhiṣag asya vālaḥ* (KS. *vāraḥ*, TB. *bālaḥ*, Poona ed. *vālaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. The word means 'sieve' and is regularly *vāla*, or in the older language *vāra*. The converse of this in the variant *kūrkuro bālabandhanaḥ* (*vāla°*), where properly *bāla* 'child'; §215.

Original *b*

**§215.** In the following the *b* form is certainly or probably original. The VS. texts seem to show a tendency towards *v*, in spite of their seeming (?) preference for *b* in forms of *vadh* (§209). First, three cases in which etymology proves *b* the older::

*savitṛprasūtā bṛhaspataye* (PB. LŚ.* †*vṛh°*) *stuta* GB. PB. Vait. LŚ. Twice in LŚ., once printed *vṛ°* and once *bṛ°*, but comm. both times *vṛ°* which must be correct (since quoted from PB. which has *vṛ°*).— On the other root *vṛh*, 'tear', see §212.

*kūrkuro bālabandhanaḥ* (ApMB. *vāla°*) PG. ApMB. Both must intend *bāla*, 'child', probably connected with Russian *balovat'* 'spoil' (treat as a child).

*ya ābabhūva* (PB. *āva°*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB. *viśvāḥ*!, comm. *viśvāni*) VS. JB. PB. ŚŚ. Vait. Tho PB. comm. repeats the incredible *āvababhūva*, it is doubtless corrupt.

**§216.** In the following *b* forms are older or more usual, tho the etymologies of the words are unknown:

*yad dhastābhyāṁ cakṛma* (MS. TB. TA. *cakara*) *kilbiṣāṇi* (TA. *kilv°*, but Poona ed. *kilb°*) AV. MS. TB. TA.

*viśvasmād devakilbiṣāt* AV. MS.: *sarvasmād devakilbiṣāt* (VS. *°kilv°*, LŚ. *eva kilb°*) RV. VS. MS. LŚ. ApŚ.

*kṛte yonau* (KS. *kṛto yonir*) *vapateha bījam* (VS. ŚB. *vījam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*basto* (VS. *vasto*) *vayaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*dhamanti bākuraṁ* (JB. *vā°*) *dṛtim* RV. JB.

### Original *b* or *v* uncertain

**§217.** In the rest there seems to be no decisive evidence as to the originality of *b* or *v*. The VS. texts again seem to favor *v*. First, three cases of *paḍbīśa* or °*vīśa* 'fetter'. It is always spelled with *b* in RV., which is not favorable to its connexion with Latin *vincio* (Wackernagel I §161); cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30, and on the false form °*viṅśa*, *JAOS* 51. 170:

*atho* (LŚ. ApŚ. *nir mā*) *yamasya paḍbīśāt* (VS. °*vīśāt*, LŚ.† *ṣaḍviṅśāt*) RV. AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ.

*saṁdānam arvantaṁ paḍbīśam* (VS. MS. °*vīśam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*yac ca paḍbīśam* (VS. MS. °*vīśam*) *arvataḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. Here the sole ms. of KS. has °*vīśam*.

**§218.** Two variants contain the word *bāṇa* or *vāṇa* 'arrow', both Rigvedic. In later Sanskrit the *v* form is commoner:

*yatra bāṇāḥ* (VS. *vāṇāḥ*) *saṁpatanti* RV. SV. VS. TS. AG.

*viśalyo vāṇavāṅ* (TS. *bā*°, MS. *bāṇavaṅ*, KS. *bāṇavān*, NīlarU. *vāṇavān*) *uta* VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU.

**§219.** The rest are sporadic, and all concern words of obscure origin:

*māgadhaḥ punścalī kitavaḥ klībo . . .* (VSK. *puṅścalī klīvaḥ kitavo . . .*) *te prājāpatyāḥ* VS. VSK. *klība* appears to be commoner.

*digbhyo vaḍabe* (KSA. *vaḍave*) TS. KSA. *baḍabā* and *vā*° are also found.

*dṛvāsi* VS.: *dṛbāsi* KŚ.: *drubāsi* VSK. An arrow is addressed; said to mean 'piercing' (root *dṝ*).

*kṣatrasyolbam* (VS. TB. °*vam*, but TB. Poona ed. °*bam*) *asi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Both common; RV. knows only *b* (once).

*viśvarūpā śabalīr* (KS. *śavalyo*) *agniketuḥ* TS. KS. PG. *b* is commoner.

*marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo* (MS. °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkihān* (MS. *vaṣ*°, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*) VS. MS. ApŚ. Rare and obscure.

*subīraṇa* (HG. *suvīriṇaḥ*) *sṛja-sṛja* (ApMB. adds *śunaka*); and,

*śunām agraṁ subīraṇaḥ* (HG. *suvīriṇaḥ*) HG. ApMB. Anomalous name of a dog-demon. The ApMB. mss. are discordant.

*aulaba* (HG. °*va*) *it tam upā hvayatha* (HG. °*ta*) HG. ApMB. In same context as the preceding.

### *bh* and *v*

**§220.** These variants, few in number, are never purely phonetic but always involve tolerable lexical shifts. From out of the facile interchanges of all prepositions come a small group involving *abhi* and *vi*, in most, probably all, of which the *abhi* forms are prior:

*viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe* (MS. °*nā vicaṣṭe*) RV. MS. TB.: *viśvānyo*

*bhuvanā vicaṣṭe* AV. Cf. *abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV, and *abhi viśvāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV.

*devānāṁ viṣṭhām* (ApŚ.† *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vi tasthe* VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vi caṣṭe* MŚ.

*mandrābhibhūtiḥ* (MŚ. *mandrā vibhūtiḥ*) *ketur* . . . TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*asṛāmukho rudhireṇābhyaktaḥ* (TA. °*āvyaktaḥ*) MS. TA. *abhyaktaḥ* 'smeared', is clearly original. TA. comm. understands *a-vyaktaḥ* (not *ā-*), explaining *īdṛgjātir iti niścetum aśakyaḥ*.

**§221.** The participles *ābhṛtam* and *āvṛtam* exchange in two pādas of the same stanza, the original form of which contained both; secondary texts variously assimilate each to the other; see Whitney on AV. 6. 125. 2:

*vanaspatibhyaḥ pary ābhṛtaṁ* (MS. *āvṛtaṁ*) *sahaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*apām ojmānaṁ pari gobhir āvṛtam* (AV. *ābhṛtam*), same texts. SPP. with some mss. and comm. *āvṛtam* for AV.

**§222.** The rest are sporadic:

*yamīr yamasya bibhṛyād* (AV. *vivṛhād*) *ajāmi* RV. AV. *vivṛhād* is unintelligible; it has intruded from the two preceding stanzas where it makes good sense. See Whitney's note.

*ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva* AV.: *yo no dveṣṭi tanūṁ rabhasva* MŚ.: *yo no dveṣṭy anu taṁ ravasva* ApŚ. See *AJP* 27. 413; Caland on ApŚ. 7. 17. 2.

*adṛṁhathāḥ śarkarābhis triviṣṭapi* (MŚ. *tribhṛṣṭibhiḥ*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The original means 'Thou hast made thyself firm over heaven with pebbles'. The MŚ. assimilates the last word in meaning to *śarkarābhis*, 'thou hast made thyself firm with three-pointed pebbles'.

*bhaṁsaso* (ApMB. *dhvaṁsaso*) *vi vṛhāmi te* RV. AV. ApMB. Cf. §176; *dhva°* has a sort of assonance to *bha°*.

### *v* and *m*, phonetic changes

**§223.** This theme is important both for text-variation, and for the history of Indian dialects. Much is here added to Bloomfield's paper *JAOS* 13. xcvii ff., and it may be remarked that grammatical treatises since that time (1886) hardly credit the phenomenon with the degree of importance that attaches to it. See Wackernagel I §177 note.

**§224.** The cases which seem most clearly phonetic, in the sense that they defy independent lexical interpretation, are presented first. They are, to be sure, often mere corruptions; but even these contribute their

mite of evidence to the proof of instability between these sounds. First, with original *v:*

*uc chvañcasva* (TA. *chmañ°*) *pṛthivi mā ni bādhathāḥ* (TA. *vi bādhithāḥ*) RV. AV. TA. And:

*ucchvañcamānā* (TA. *ucchmañ°*) *pṛthivī su tiṣṭhatu* (TA. *hi tiṣṭhasi*) RV. AV. TA. (To be added to VV I §§116 and 332.) See Wackernagel I §177.

*suśīmaṁ somasatsaru* AV.: *suśevaṁ somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh. Attempts are made to explain *suśīmaṁ* as *su-sīman*, or from root *śī* with suffix *ma*; but while some such influence may have contributed, probably the variant is essentially phonetic.

*jyog jīvema sarvavīrā vayaṁ tama* MG. (all mss.): *agne sakhye mā riṣāmā vayaṁ tava* RV. AV. SV. MS. SMB. HG. ApMB.: *mā riṣāmā vayaṁ tava* Vait. GB. AVPpp. (Barret, *JAOS* 26. 278). The formula *vayaṁ tava* 'we belong to thee' seems to have been mispronounced in MG.; was the latter vaguely felt as vocative of an impossible **vayaṁtama* (as if superlative to *vayas*!)?

*ā tvam* (GB. *ātmam*, Gaastra *ā tvam* with v. l. *ātmam*; LŚ. *ā svam*) *indrāya pyāyasva* VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. (Probably *ā tvam* is to be read in LŚ.; its edition is very untrustworthy.) The converse corruption in Kauś. 65. 15, where four of seven mss. read *devā tvā* for *devātmā*.

*anamīvāsa iḍayā* (MS. *anamīmāsā īḍayā*, but p.p. *°vāsaḥ, iḍayā*) *madantaḥ* RV. MS. TB. ApŚ. *anamīmāsa*, if correct, might perhaps be a case of assimilation; but it may be only a misprint which escaped the editor's attention. The pratīka occurs as *anamīvāsaḥ* later in MS. 4. 12. 6 (197. 8).

*ni dūraśravase vaha* (ŚŚ. *mahaḥ*, all mss.; ed. em. *vahaḥ*) AV. ŚŚ.

**§225.** On the other hand the *m* forms are original in the following, the *v* forms being often mere corruptions; cf. JB. *pratītaṁ devebhyo juṣṭaṁ ha vyavasthāt*, where *°havyam asthāt* is pretty certainly intended:

*ā galdā dhamanīnām* MŚ. N.: *ā galgā dhavanīnām* ApŚ. *dhamanī* 'vein' is correct; indeed the whole pāda is corrupt in ApŚ., see §144. Possibly thought of *dhav(dhu)* = *dhāv* 'run' may have flitted thru the mind of the ApŚ. redactor.

*agne yāhi dūtyaṁ mā riṣaṇyaḥ* (TB. *dūtyaṁ vāriṣeṇyaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. ApŚ. Comm. on TB. *vāriṣeṇyo mā rīriṣaḥ* (=*mā riṣaṇyaḥ*!).

*punar dātām* (TA. *dattāv*) *asum adyeha bhadram* RV. AV. TA. 'Let them (the two dogs of Yama) today give back happy life.' The

preceding pāda is *tāv asmabhyaṁ dṛśaye sūryāya*; perhaps TA's *dattāv* is contaminated by the preceding *tāv*. The comm., at any rate, feels it as 3 dual impv. act. = *dattām* (*dattau prayachatām*). There is no accent on *dattāv*.

*sa mā mṛta* (MG. *vṛtat*, one ms. *mṛtam*) AG. ApMB. MG.: cf. *taṁ mā mṛdhaḥ* ŚG. *mṛta* is required: 'may he not die'.

*sarasvatyā adhi manāv* (KS. *mānā*, SMB. Conc. *vanāva*, Jörgensen *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (*acakṛṣuḥ*, *carkṛdhi*, see §170) KS. TB. ApŚ.: *sarasvatyām adhi maṇāv acarkṛṣuḥ* AV. The mss. of SMB. which read *vanāva* have simply a phonetic corruption.

*bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvā* (TS. KS. ApŚ. °*tis tvā*) *sumne ramṇātu* (TS. ApŚ. *raṇvatu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. And:

*deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama* (TS. *raṇva*, MS. *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Here the verb stem *raṇva* of the Tait. school is based on the adjective *raṇva*, but surely promoted by the affinity between the sounds *m* and *v*. Comm. on TS. 1. 3. 7. 1, *raṇva ramaṇīyaṁ kuru*. See VV I p. 121.

### *v* and *m*, lexical variants

**§226.** Next we come to cases in which the lexical element is more prominent than the phonetic. That is to say, taken case by case, these interchanges might be regarded as involving synonymic pādas or formulas, in the sense in which they are dealt with in *RVRep.* 553ff. Yet, because a large number of such cases persist in showing variation between *m* and *v*, there is surely a phonetic basis for even these as a whole.

**§227.** Thus the roots *man* and *van*, and derivatives, interchange a number of times, beginning with the RV. itself:

*sīdantu manuṣo yathā* RV.: *sīdanto vanuṣo yathā* RV. SV. LŚ. In *RVRep.* 60ff. the first form is taken to be original. The mental operation at the bottom of the change reappears in the next variant (there discussed), in which, as in nearly all the cases in this paragraph, *m* is again prior:

*manuṣvad* (TB. *vanuṣvad*) *deva dhīmahi pracetasam* RV. TB.

*etat tvātra* (LŚ. *etat tān*) *pratimanvāno* (AŚ. °*vanvāno*) *asmi* (AŚ.† LŚ. *asmin*) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. 'Thinking in reply': 'offering, presenting in return'.

*purutrā te manutāṁ* (AV. *vanvatāṁ*) *viṣṭhitaṁ jagat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. 'Take note of': 'acquire'; *jagat* is subject in RV. etc., object in AV. See VV I p. 266.

*suvitasya manāmahe* (SV. *va*°) RV. SV. 'Have in mind, purpose': 'desire'.

*ūrjaṁ bibhrad vasuvaniḥ* (VS. LŚ. ŚG. ApŚ.* *vaḥ sumanāḥ*, ApŚ.* *vaḥ suvaniḥ*, ApŚ.* *vasumanāḥ*) *sumedhāḥ* AV. VS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. 'Winning wealth' or 'very acquisitive': 'well-minded' or 'minded to wealth'. Note three different readings in ApŚ. AVPpp. has *vasumatiḥ*. Epithet of an owner of a house; all epithets fit well enough, but the readings with *man* may be assimilated in meaning to the following *sumedhāḥ*.

**§228.** In three cases, somewhat dubious forms in *ūrm-* and *ūrv-* (*urv-*) interchange; perhaps this is partly a matter of genuine phonetics, and not lexical; cf. *ūrmilā*, in the Rāmāyaṇa personified as sister of Sītā, probably connected with Vedic *urvarā* 'field of grain', which is associated with *sītā* 'furrow' among the geniuses of the field PG. 2. 17. 9; see *JAOS* 13 p. xcvii:

*nama ūrvyāya* (MS. *namā ūrmyāya*) *ca sūrvyāya* (TS. MS. *sūrmyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS.: *namas sūrmyāya cormyāya ca* KS. Mahīdhara on VS. derives from *urvī* 'earth' with *ū* by Vedic license, or alternatively from *ūrva* 'submarine fire'. Keith adopts the first interpretation. Neither is plausible, and *ūrmya* is probably the true form; *ūrvya* possibly merely a phonetic equivalent.

*utsaṁ juṣasva madhumantam ūrva* (KS. MŚ. *ūrmim*, VS. *arvan*, VSK. °*sva śatadhāram arvan*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The combination *ūrmi madhumat* 'honeyed flood' is frequent: RV. 4. 57. 2, 58. 1, 7. 47. 2, 96. 5. The vocative *ūrva* in TS. is, as Keith remarks, probably incorrect (he renders 'ocean'). This vocative seems further corrupted into the common adjective *arvan* in VS. VSK.

*rudrāṇām urvyāyāṁ* (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyāṁ*, ŚŚ. *omyāyāṁ*) *svādityā aditaye syāmānehasaḥ* (ApŚ. *aditaye 'nehasaḥ*, ŚŚ. *ādityā anehasaḥ*) ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚB., 'in the vastness of the Rudras'; ŚŚ., 'in the favor of the Rudras'. ApŚ. seems secondarily to blend the forms of the other two; *ūrmyā* 'night' (RV.) gives no chance for intelligent interpretation.

**§229.** In two variations of the roots *mand* 'rejoice' and *vand* 'extol', each is once prior:

*mandadvīrāyendave* RV.: *vandadvīrāyendave* SV.

*maghavan vandiṣīmahi* (TS. MS. KS. LŚ. *mand*°) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

**§230.** The noun *medhā* (*medhas*) 'hymn' and its derivative adjective *medhya*, vary with *vedhā* (*vedhas*) 'pious', or with *vedya* 'well-known': *vedhām aśāsata* (SV. *medhām āś*°) *śriye* RV. SV.†

*avocāma kavaye medhyāya* RV. VS. TS. MS.: *pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya* (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *medhyāya*) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *śrutkarṇāya kavaye vedyāya* AV. KS. ApŚ.

**§231.** Somewhat similarly, the word *medin* 'ally' is replaced by a slovenly *vedin*, if Scheftelowitz's ms. of RVKh. is to be trusted (note also the corruption *kṛṇvo* for *kṛṇmo* in the ms. of AVPpp.):

*asya* (KS. and RVKh. Scheftelowitz, *iha*) *kurmo* (RVKh. *kulmo*, Scheft. em. *kurmo*; KS. *kṛṇmo*; AVPpp. ms. *kṛṇvo*, for *kṛṇmo*) *harivo medinaṁ* (RVKh. Scheft. *vedinan*) *tvā* RVKh. TS. KS. TB. AVPpp. (Barret, *JAOS* 37. 263f.): *asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī* AV. Cf. §263.

**§232.** The words *mayas* and *vayas*, practically synonyms, exchange in two associated formulas:

*hayo dātra edhi vayo* (VSK.† ŚŚ. *mayo*) *mahyaṁ pratigrahītre* (ŚŚ. °*gṛhṇate*) VS. VSK.† ŚB. ŚŚ. And, in same passage:

*prāṇo dātra edhi vayo* (VSK. ŚŚ. *mayo*) *mahyaṁ pratigrahītre* (ŚŚ. °*gṛhṇate*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ. In two accompanying formulas all texts read *mayo;* VS. ŚB. vary the expression with *vayo.*

**§233.** In two cases the syllables *sama* are changed to *sava* on faint lexical suggestions issuing from the root *su* in the context:

*sahasrasamaṁ prasutena yantaḥ* PB. TB. ApŚ.: *sahasrasavaprasavena yantaḥ* MŚ.

*tasmā u adya samanā* (SV. *savane*) *sutaṁ bhara* RV. AV. SV.

**§234.** The rest are sporadic:

*śrīṇānā apsu mṛñjata* (SV. *vṛñjate*) RV. SV. Subject is *somāḥ*: 'are purified in the waters'. It is hard to see other than phonetic reasons for the SV. alteration of this pāda, which occurs twice in RV. Possibly, however, SV. means 'are worked, operated', assimilating the idea to the sphere of the *barhis;* cf. Bloomfield, *JAOS* 35. 273ff.

*achā ma* (SV. Svidh. *va*) *indraṁ matayaḥ svarvidaḥ* (SV. *svaryuvaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Svidh. Change of person as in *indro vaḥ* (AV. *me*) *śarma yachatu* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS., or in the persons of the verb, VV I §§290, 307. For others of this sort see our future volume on Pronouns.

*amba niṣpara* (*niṣvara, niṣvara, nismara*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.; see §200.

*ṛdhag ayā* (TS. MS. KS. *ayāḍ*) *ṛdhag utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* (MS. KS. °*ṣṭa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: *dhruvam ayā* (AV. *ayo*) *dhruvam utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* (AV. *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV. AV. The AV. is clearly a phonetic variant or corruption (comm. and Ppp. *utāśamiṣṭhāḥ*). See §86.

*yat kṣureṇa marcayatā* (MG. *vartayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG. PG. ApMB. HG. *supeśasā*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. 'Injuring': 'moving'. In AVPpp. we find *varcayatā*, a sort of *vox media*, perhaps with thought of *varcas*, but really of course corrupt.

*yuktās tisro vimṛjaḥ . . .*: *yunajmi tisro vipṛcaḥ* (*vivṛtaḥ*) . . ., see §57.

**§235.** In some of the preceding, other changes than this one are made in the words. In the remainder these changes are rather more drastic, so that the phonetic resemblance between the two words becomes much fainter; the variation in these is presumably almost purely lexical, with only the slightest phonetic tinge:

*ā raśmīn* (RV. *raśmiṁ*) *deva yamase* (TB. *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV. TB. *svaśvaḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. Tho TB. is secondary, it makes about as good sense as the others; comm. *raśmīn pragrahān āyuvase ādāya miśrīkuru.*

*drapsaś caskanda pṛthivīm anu dyām* (RV. *prathamāṅ anu dyūn*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Interesting case of the spread of *dyu* in the sense of 'heaven', producing its opposite *pṛthivī* in all later texts against RV.

*kauberakā viśvavāsaḥ* HG.: *miśravāsasaḥ kauberakāḥ* ApMB. (probably original).

*avimuktacakra* (v. l. °*rā*) *āsīran* PG.: *vivṛttacakrā āsīnāḥ* HG. ApMB.

*sa me mukham pra mārkṣyate* (ApMB. *vekṣyati*) PG. ApMB. 'He will cleanse (enter) my mouth.' Probably PG. is original.

*āñjanena sarpiṣā saṁ viśantu* (AV. *spṛśantām*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.—Ppp. (Roth) *viśanta.*

*adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā* ApMB.: *adharo vad asau vadā svāhā* HG.†: *adho vadādharo vada* HG. ApMB. certainly original; the first form of HG. unquestionably intends the same, and *vad* is a corruption or phonetic variant for *mad.*

*vṛtrasyāsi* (KS. *mitra*°) *kanīnikā* (VS. ŚB. °*nakaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK. °*nakāsi*) VSK. TS. ApŚ. Secondary change in KS.

*anu tvā hariṇo vṛṣā* (ApŚ. *mṛgaḥ*) AV. ApŚ.

*aṣādhāya sahamānāya vedhase* (TB. *mīḍhuṣe*) RV. TB. N.

*mitro* (VS. *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA.

*pra haṁsāsas tṛpalaṁ manyum* (SV. °*lā vagnum*) *acha* RV. SV.

*kalpantāṁ te* (TA.* *me*) *diśaḥ sarvāḥ* (TA.* *śagmāḥ*) VS. ŚB. TA. (both)

**§236.** Deserving separate rubrication are a few cases which involve differences in word-division, or in division of parts of compound words. Here the partially phonetic character of the change seems particularly clear, even if the secondary reading yields good sense:

*utem anamnamuḥ* TS. MS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ: *uteva namnamuḥ* KB. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ.

*athem ava sya* (AV. *athemam asyā*) *vara ā pṛthivyāḥ* AV. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. The original is *ava sya* 'set free'; AV. secondarily brings in the familiar notion of *iyam . . . pṛthivī* (in genitive form).

*tuvi-ṣvaṇasaṁ* (TS. JB. *tuviṣ-maṇasaṁ*) *suyajaṁ ghṛtaśriyam* RV. TS. JB. ŚB. MŚ. The RV. supports its reading by numerous instances of *tuvi-ṣvan* (*-i, -as*), whereas *tuviṣ-* does not occur in compounds.

*viśvavidaṁ* (AV. °*vido*) *vācam aviśvam-invām* (AV. *aviśva-vinnām*) RV. AV. The AV. change is due to preceding *viśva-vido*; see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 128.

*manmā dīdhyānā utā naḥ sakhāyā* MS.: *anvādīdhyāthām iha naḥ sakhāyā* TB. See the context, quoted VV I p. 163; note that the preceding pāda ends in *m*.

*dame-dame suṣṭutir* (AV. KS. °*tyā*, TS. °*tīr*, MS. °*tī*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV. °*nau*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iyānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. The sūtra texts mouth over the passage into a sort of nonsensical sense: 'good praise (is) going to you two in every house'.

*bharatam uddharem anuṣiñca* (MŚ. *uddharema vanuṣanti*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The TB. comm. says that *īm* (in *uddhara-īm*) is for *imam: chāndaso 'yaṁ mavarṇalopaḥ*. The corrupt MŚ. reading then seems to have a phonetic substitution of *v* for *m*.

*vatso virājo vṛṣabho matīnām* AV.: *pitā virājām ṛṣabho rayīṇām* TB. See §359.

### *v* and *m* in inflectional endings

**§237.** Variations in nominal and verbal inflection elicit interchange between acc. sing. and nom.-acc. dual; between nom.-acc. dual and gen. plur.; between 1st person dual and plural, and so on. Similar cases occur among corruptions of the mss.; thus in Kauś. 60. 19 two mss. read *manthantām* for *manthantāv*; and in Kauś. 71. 1 all mss. *aṅśo rājā vibhajatīmām agnī*, where the ed. emends *imām* to *imāv*.

*ṛtena* (MG. *ṛte 'va*) *sthūṇām* (ApMB. HG. *sthūṇāv*, MG. *sthūṇā*) *adhi roha vaṅśa* (MG. *vaṅśaḥ*) AV. AG. ApMB. HG. MG. Kauś. Roth quotes Ppp. as *sthŭṇā dhi*.

*aya(ḥ)sthūṇam* (TS. °*ṇāv*) *uditā* (MS. TS. KS. °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. For the VS. ŚB. form see §188.

*putraḥ pitarāv* (AV. °*ram*) *avṛṇīta pūṣā* RV. AV. The original dual refers to the Aśvins; AV. has a stupid simplification.

*yena striyam* (PG. *śriyam*, ŚŚ. *striyāv*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. °*tām*, ŚŚ. *akurutam*) ŚŚ. PG. SMB. GG. The ŚŚ. is secondary and poor.

*apsarasāv anu dattām ṛṇaṁ yat* (TB. TA. *ṛṇāni*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsarasām anudattānṛṇāni* MS. (p.p. *anu, dattāni, ṛṇāni*). MS. is hopeless; see VV I p. 282.

*idaṁ vatsyāvaḥ* (AG. *vatsyāmo bhoḥ*) AG. HG. See VV I p. 249; others on the same page and on pp. 263, 276.

*adhṛṣṭaṁ dhṛṣṇvojasam* (SV. *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV. AV. SV. 'Having terrible strength': 'terrible in strength'.

### *v* and *m* in noun-suffixes

**§238.** On this subject cf. Bender, *Suffixes mant and vant,* Baltimore, 1910. The variation between *mant* and *vant* is there shown to depend on the next preceding vowel, without regard to intervening consonants. If that vowel was an *a*-vowel, the *v* form is regular; otherwise the *m* form. In prehistoric times perhaps the *m* form occurred only after *u*-vowels; cf. Sturtevant, *AJP* 50. 360ff., *TAPA* 60. 33ff. The difference between this and Bender's formula would concern practically only preceding *i*-vowels; and Bender's work shows that after them *v* is much commoner than after *u*-vowels, which looks towards Sturtevant's position. In any case the original conditions are, of course, much confused in the historic texts, and much more so in the later than in the earliest texts. Our variants, however, show one or two cases in which an irregular form in an older text is replaced by a regular one later. The same conditions appear to apply to other *m* and *v* suffixes that are found with *mant* and *vant*. Variants occur in the readings of individual mss.; thus at AV. 19. 42. 3 *sutrāmṇe* for *sutrāvṇe,* and at Kauś. 89.1 four out of seven mss. *manvabhiḥ* for *manmabhiḥ*. We shall return to this subject in our volume on Noun Formation.

**§239.** We begin with variations of *mant* and *vant* (or, once, *vin*; once, *varī*):

*udyan nakṣatram arcivat* (TB. °*mat*) RV. SV. TB. Note that RV. also knows *arcimat*.

*tapur yayastu carur agnivāṅ* (AV. KS. °*māṅ*) *iva* RV. AV. KS. N. *agnivāṅ* is read by AVPpp.; *agnimant* not in RV. This may perhaps be used in support of Sturtevant's theory.

*pūṣā jñātimān* . . . ŚG.: *pūṣā jātivin* (read *jñāti*°) . . . Kauś.

*tṛtīyasya savanasya ṛbhumato* (ApŚ. °*syarbhu*°) . . . *bṛhaspativato* (KŚ. °*mato*) . . . KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The majority show *vat* after *i*.

*indram ādityavantam* . . . *vājavantaṁ bṛhaspatimantaṁ* (AŚ. °*vantam*) *viśvadevyāvantam āvaha* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Here only AŚ. has *vant,*

and it is doubtless secondary, since the Brāhmaṇa text has *mant*; *vant* may be due to the influence of the surrounding forms in *vant*. But cf. next.

*tāsv adhvaryo* (ŚŚ. °*yav*) . . . *vājavate bṛhaspativate* (ŚŚ. °*mate*) *viśvadevyāvate* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Here again we might suggest the surrounding *vant* forms as source of *bṛhaspati-vate*; but this time the older Brāhmaṇa text reads *-vate*. Note that AŚ. belongs to the school of AB., and ŚŚ. to that of KB. (cf. prec); the two schools seem to have affected different forms.

*puṣpavatīḥ* (TS. ViDh. *puṣpā*°) *prasūvarīḥ* (AV. KS. °*sūmatīḥ*, TS. °*sūvatīḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ViDh. The original form has suffixal *varī*, fem. of *van*; according to any theory it must be judged as unhistoric. It is replaced in later texts by the more regular *matī*, or in TS. by the still irregular *vatī*, which looks like a blend of the other two.

*apāṁ napād* . . *kakudmān* (MS. *kakubhvān*) . . . TS. MS. KS.: *devīr āpo* . . . *kakunmān* . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. See §178.

*hiraṇyavad annavad dhehi* (ApŚ. [read] *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS. ApŚ. See *AJP* 27. 415.

*tveṣaṁ cakṣur dadhire codayanvati* (RV. °*mati*) RV. TB. ApŚ. Psychologically, tho not formally, this variant belongs here; *codayanmati* in RV. is a compound with the noun *mati*: 'they made (thee, Agni) a bright eye that inspires devotion'. Later texts conceive the word as containing a suffix, allowing it the *v* form required after an *a*-vowel. TB. comm., accordingly, *vidhāyakavākyayukte* (*karmaṇi*).

**§240.** The rest concern *man* and *van* or related suffixal forms:

*nṛṣadvā* (SV. °*mā*) *sīdad apām upasthe* (SV. *apāṁ vivarte*) RV. SV. *sadman* (also RV.) is in the mind of SV.

*kṣipreṣave devāya svadhāvne* (TB. °*mne*) RV. TB. N. The otherwise unquoted form of TB. plays upon *dhāman* (*sva-dhāman: svadhāvan*).

*ādityānāṁ patvānv* (PB. °*mānv*) *ihi* (KSA.† *ehi*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. PB. ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApMB. Both forms are Rigvedic; cf. next.

*āyoḥ patmane svāhā* KS.: *āyoṣ patvane svāhā* ApŚ. Cf. prec.

*kavīn pṛchāmi vidmane* (AV. *vidvano*) *na vidvān* RV. AV. Assimilation to *vidvān* in AV.

*mitajñavo varimann* (TB. °*vann*, but Poona ed. *mitajmavo varimann*) *ā pṛthivyāḥ* RV. MS. TB. *varivan* is not recorded, unless here.

*varṣmā* (VS. *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS. *drāghuyā*, KS. *drāghvā*, MS. *drāghmā*, KapS. *drāghīmā*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. The curious TS. form seems to contain in its *u* a relic of suffixal *van*.

[*āpataye tvā parịpataye gṛhṇāmi*] *tanūnaptre* (KS. adds *śakmane*) *śākvarāya śakvana* (KS. *śakmann*) *ojiṣṭhāya* VS. KS. ŚB.: *tanūnaptre śakmane śākvarāya śakmanā ojiṣṭhāya* MS.: *tanū° śākvarāya śakmann ojiṣṭhāya* VSK. In KS. the stem *śakman* is first used as an adjective 'strong', then as a noun 'strength'.

*abhikhyā bhāsā bṛhatā śuśukvaniḥ* RV.: *dṛśe* (MS. *dṛśā*) *ca bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvaniḥ* (KS. *°vabhiḥ*, MS. *suśikmanā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The MS. form owes its *i* to dissimilation or thought of the word *śikvan* 'able' (RV.); the change to *m* may be due to the feeling that *m* should occur after a non-*a* vowel.

*avavyayann asitaṁ deva vasma* (TB. ApŚ. *vasvaḥ*) RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Comm. on TB. explains *vasvaḥ* as acc. sing. of an agent noun, *vāsayitāram ācchādakam*. The form is very difficult, but one may think of *vasvaḥ* as voc. of a stem *vasvan* 'wealthy', agreeing with *deva*, in which case the accent in TB. must be deleted.

*prathamāya januṣe bhuvaneṣṭhāḥ* (ŚŚ. *bhūma neṣṭhāḥ*, AŚ. ed. *bhūmaneṣṭhāḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Ppp. has *bhūm°*. The ŚŚ. reading makes good sense: 'thou shalt lead the world'. AVŚ. has *bhuvane-ṣṭhāḥ*.

## *m* and *b*

**§241.** The few variations of *m* and *b* are related to those of *m* and *v* thru the medium of the unstable conditions that govern the relation of *b* and *v*. A large number of interchanges between *mahat* and *bṛhat* are not included here, as being too simply and obviously lexical; see, provisionally, the Conc. under these words.

*parā dehi śāmulyam* (ApMB. *śābalyam*) RV. AV. ApMB. The bridal garment, defiled after the wedding night, is named here alone *śāmulyam*, which at least suggests *śamala* 'stain'. Apparently ApMB. is influenced by *śabala* 'spotted'. See §607.

*asaṁbādhaṁ badhyato* (many AV. mss. *ma°*) *mānavānām* (Ppp. *°veṣu*) AV. Kauś.: *asaṁbādhā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ* MS. Sense and text tradition require *madhyato*. The form *ba°* is probably due to assimilation to the preceding *-bādhaṁ* (so Whitney); it is in any case a corruption. This is immediately followed by:

*yasyā udvataḥ pravataḥ samaṁ bahu* (MS. *mahat*) AV. MS. Synonyms; cf. *bṛhat: mahat*, referred to above. But the occurrence of *b* for *m* twice in one stanza suggests phonetic moments.

*aiḍamṛdā yavyudhaḥ* KS.: *ailabṛdā* (MS. °*mṛḍā*; KapS. *īlamṛḍā*) *āyuryudhaḥ* (TS. *yavyudhaḥ*, MS. *vo yudhaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. The belongings of the word in question are entirely obscure; Mahīdhara on VS. desperately, 'bringers of food' (:*bhṛtaḥ*!).

*anuṣṭub* (°*tum*) *mitrasya*, see §412.

*m* and *bh*

**§242.** The equally small group of *m* and *bh* variants is in general purely lexical:

*indra ukthebhir mandiṣṭhaḥ* (ŚŚ. *bhand*°) SV. ŚŚ. Cf. next; the roots are quasi-synonyms.

*divas* (*divaḥ*) *pṛṣṭhaṁ* (PB. *pṛṣṭhe*) *bhandamānaḥ* (PB. *mand*°) *sumanmabhiḥ* RV. PB. TA. ApŚ. Cf. prec.

*tāsām īśāno bhagavaḥ* (MS. *maghavan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Practically synonyms.

*sarvaṁ taṁ* (AV. *sarvān ni*, MS. KS. TA. *sarvāṁs tān*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS. ŚB. *masmasā*, MS. †*mṛsmṛsā*, v. l. *mṛśmṛśā*, VS. *bhasmasā*) *kuru* (AV. *-karam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The onomatopoetic word found in various forms in the others is made into *bhasmasā*, as if 'to ashes', in VS.

*savitā bhṛtyām* (KS. ms.† *manyām*) TS. KS.; von Schroeder emends to *bhṛtyām*.

*aciṣyāma* (p.p. *ami*, for *abhi*, *syāma*) *vṛjane viśva ūtī* MS.: *abhi ṣyāma vṛjane sarvavīrāḥ* RV. KS. Corruption if not misprint.

*yuktās tisro vimṛjaḥ* (*vibhṛjaḥ*) . . ., and others, see §57.

## CHAPTER VII. INTERCHANGES OF Y, R, L, V, AND H

**§243.** Most of the sections included in this chapter are small and of little phonetic importance. That on *y* and *v*, however, is extensive, and while largely dealing with matters of noun formation (suffixes) or with lexical interchanges, contains also some curious and interesting phonetic shifts. And the large group of variations between *r* and *l* is almost purely phonetic in character, as is also the smaller group concerning *l* and *ḍ* which we add at the end of the chapter.

### *y* and *r*

**§244.** Under this head occur chiefly variations between lexically different words, more or less close in meaning, and as usual often under suspicion of corruption:

*dviṣas taradhyā* (ApŚ. °*yai*) *ṛṇayā na īyase* (SV. *īrase*) RV. SV. KS. AB. ApŚ.: *dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveneyase* AV. Roots *īr* and *ī* (intensive), both 'go'.

*śāṇḍīkera* (PG. *śauṇḍikeya*) *ulūkhalaḥ* PG. HG.: *śaṇḍerathaś śaṇḍikera ulūkhalaḥ* ApMB. Fanciful names of demons.

*vāyosāvitra* (MS. *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyāṁ caruḥ* (MS. *payaḥ*) TS. MS. KSA.

*saṁvatsarāya paryāyiṇīm* (TB. *paryāriṇīm*) VS. TB. Fanciful epithets of doubtful meaning.

*ny aśvinā hṛtsu kāmā* (ApMB. *kāmāṅ*) *ayaṅsata* (AV. *araṅsata*) RV. AV. ApMB. *ni-yam* 'settle', and *ni-ram* 'rest'.

*prāṇasya vidvān samare na dhīraḥ* TS. MS.: *yajñasya vidvān samaye na dhīraḥ* AV. Both *samara* and *samaya* mean something like 'juncture'.

*apo* (RV. AŚ. *āpo*) *adyānv acāriṣam* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. LŚ. MŚ. ApMB. MG.: *apo anv acāriṣam* (JB. †*acārṣam*) TS. TB. JB. ApŚ.: *apo divyā acāyiṣam* AV. *anu-car* 'follow after': *cāy* 'fear, revere'.

*vasūni cārur* (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, HG. *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhṛjāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. Stönner on SMB. understands *ca ārye*, 'O lady'. Is HG. Prakritic for *ca āryo*? (cf. Pali *ayyo*.) One ms. of ApMB. also *cāyyo*. All very doubtful.

*yasyedam ā rajo yujaḥ* AV. ArS.: *yasyedam ā rajaḥ* AA.: *yasyedam oja*

*ārujaḥ* ŚŚ. Obscure in all. SŚ's *ārujaḥ* looks as if blended of *ā rajo* and *yujaḥ*, whereas AA. seems to have lost (haplographically) two syllables, *āra(jo-yu)jaḥ*. Or ŚŚ. may be regarded as showing a sort of metathesis of *r*; *ojaḥ* vaguely = *ā(y)ujaḥ*.

*gohya †upagohyo marūko* (PG. *mayūkho*) *manohāḥ* PG. SMB. See §81.

*sadā yācann ahaṁ girā* (SV. *jyā*) RV. SV. N. See §134.

*rudra yat te krayī* (*krivi, kravi, giri-*) . . . see §47.

*tāṁ pūṣānu yachatu* (AV. *pūṣābhi rakṣatu*) RV. AV. See §184.

*antaḥ śubhrāvatā* (SV. *śundhyāvatā*) *pathā* RV. SV. See §173.

*vijye †vivye vikṣipet* (p.p. *vi-kṣepe*) MS.: *vijre vikṣipe vidhame* MŚ. (Read *vikṣipe* in MS.) According to Knauer (note on MŚ.) these words are vocatives of cow-names. No etymology for **vijyā* or **vijrā* suggests itself which would seem appropriate to a cow.

*vaniṣṭhor hṛdayād* (AV.* *udarād*) *adhi* RV. AV. (both) ApMB.

*agor arir* (SV. *nāgo rayir*) *ā ciketa* RV. SV. Wholly different words and constructions.

*yena bhūyaś carāty* (MG. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. *bhūyaś* and *bhūriś* are different suffixal formations from the same root.

*śukraṁ te* (TA.* *vām*) *anyad yajataṁ* (TA.* *raj°*) *te* (TA.* *vām*) *anyat* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. TA. (both) AŚ. Svidh. N. The Poona ed. of TA. reads *yajataṁ* for *raj°*, but with v. l. *raj°*, which the comm. also reads; he has a labored and worthless explanation.

### *y* and *l*

**§245.** Under this head we find only partly synonymous variants concerning the roots *yup* on the one hand, and *lubh* or *lup* on the other. The two instances of *yup: lubh* have been quoted in §113, which see. The other is:

*mṛtyoḥ padaṁ* (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV. *°ta*, MG. *lopayante*) *yad* (AV. omits) *eta* (RV. *aita*, TA. *aima*) RV. AV. TA. MG.

### *y* and *v*

**§246.** Both *y* and *v* appear very frequently in suffixal and inflectional elements; among these must be included cases in which the *y* and *v* represent the vowels *i* and *u* under conditions required by morphology. There are, besides these, not a few variants of the kind which we call purely lexical, that is concerning radically different words. Not infrequently either the *y* or *v* form of a given variant is suffixal or inflectional while the other is radical. Indeed the rather numerous

variations in this section are unusually hard to classify. They present an aspect of great heterogeneity, suggesting in the large that the phonetic relations between the sounds *y* and *v* must have played some part in the matter, even tho in individual instances the precise extent of that influence is extremely hard to determine. It was probably most marked in the cases where a suffix containing *y*, such as *yin*, exchanges with one in *v*, such as *vin* (see the next paragraph). In the aggregate, these numerous variants form an important bulwark for the theory of interchange between the two sounds in Sanskrit and Prakrit, as recognized by Wackernagel I §188c, Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen* §254.

**§247.** We begin with cases which seem most clearly to contain noun suffixes in both *y* and *v* forms. Prominent among them is a group of forms in suffixal *yin* and *vin*, found, as far as the variants are concerned, collectively only in YV. texts, and that too so that the *v* forms occur only in Taittirīya texts, the *y* forms in those of other YV. schools. We must associate this fact first with an apparent tendency of Tait. texts to prefer *v* in other suffixal forms (§248), and further with the preference of the same school for the vowel *u* in place of *i* (§622). The relation between *yin* and *vin* seems to be this. The *yin* forms contain really suffixal *in*, added to stems in *ā* (all the variants noted concern such stems). The *y* bridges euphonically the gap between *ā* and *i* (cf. §§338ff.), precisely as e.g. in aorist passives from roots ending in *ā* (*adhāyi* etc.) The *vin* of Tait. texts is best explained as a blend of *vant* or *van* with this *in*; e.g. *svadhā-vin*, product of *svadhā-vant* (RV.) and *svadhā-van* with *svadhā-y-in*. It is therefore likely that these *vin* forms are secondary to those in *yin*. See Whitney, *Grammar* §§258a, 1230e; Brugmann, *Zur Geschichte der hiatischen Vokalverbindungen*, *BKSGW* 65 (1913), part 3, pp. 211ff.; Wackernagel I §188c (where, however, it is represented that the *y* and *v* forms exchange at random). Besides the forms noted in the following list, note *yāyin*, *sthāyin*, *ṛṣabha-dhāyin*, in addition to Whitney's list §1230e:

*nama iṣumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaś* (TS. °*vibhyaś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*namaḥ sṛkāyibhyo* (TS. °*vibhyo*, MS. *sṛgāyi*°) *jighāṅsadbhyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*namo rudrāyātatāyine* (TS. °*vine*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

*pitāmahebhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ* (TB. ApŚ. °*vibhyaḥ*) *svadhā namaḥ* VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Also with *pitṛbhyaḥ* and *prapitāmahebhyaḥ*.

*ūrjasvatīḥ svadhāyinīḥ* (TS. °*vinīḥ*) TS. KS.

**§248.** Besides these we find a considerable number of miscellaneous

cases in which *y* and *v* are in some sense suffixal; it is hard to classify them more precisely, and the degree of phonetic influence at work is likewise hard to determine. But it is to be noted that in not a few of them, also, Tait. texts seem to prefer the *v* forms, altho instances of the contrary are not lacking:

*araṁgamāya jagmaye* (TB. ApŚ. *jagmave*) RV. SV. TB. Ap., Note stem *jagmu*, otherwise unknown, in Tait. texts, for regular *jagmi*.

*duvasyave* (TA. *duvasvate*) *tvā vātāya svāhā* MS. TA. Stems *duvasyu* and *duvasvant*; but MS. has v. l. *duvasvate*.

*ojasvinī nāmāsi* TS. ApMB.: *ojasyā nāmāsi* MS. Again Tait. texts with *v*.

*atharya pitum me pāhi* VS. ŚŚ.: *atharva pituṁ me gopāya* (AŚ. †*pāhi*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *atharva* looks like a phonetic variant, suggested by *atharvan*, for *atharya* (cf. RV. *athari*, *atharyu*), epithet of Fire. Note *v* in Tait. texts (to be sure also in AŚ.).

*tapyatvai svāhā* TS.: *tapatyai svāhā* KSA. TA. Stems *tapyatu* (RV.) and *tapatī*. Poona ed. of TA. *tapyatvai*, v. l. *tapatyai*.

*ye te agne meḍayo* (KS. °*vo*) *ya indavaḥ* TS. KS. Here TS. has the regular *i*-stem *meḍi*, while KS. substitutes an otherwise unknown *meḍu*.

*puṁse putrāya vettavai* (ŚB. [so, for Conc. ŚG.] BṛhU. *vittaye*, MG. *kartavai*, KS.† and v. l. of MG. *kartave*) KS. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApŚ. ApMB.

*tvaṁ no devatātaye* (AV. *deva dātave*) RV. AV. N. See §61.

*śrudhi śruta śraddhivaṁ* (AV. *śraddheyaṁ*) *te vadāmi* RV. AV. The anomalous RV. form is, as it were, explained in AV.

*viśvacarṣaṇiḥ sahuriḥ sahāvān* (AV. *sahīyān*) RV. AV. MS. Again AV. eliminates a rare hieratic form.

*svā tanūr baladeyāya mehi* (AV. *baladāvā na ehi*) RV. AV. 'Come to me unto strength-giving' (RV. p.p. *mā, ā, ihi*): 'come to us, giving strength'.

*namo hradayyāya* (KS. *hradavyāya*) *ca niveṣyyāya* (KS. *niveṣyāya*) *ca* TS. KS.: *namo nīveṣyāya* (p.p. *ni*°) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS.: *namo hṛdayyāya ca niveṣyāya ca* VS. Anomalous forms seemingly from *hṛd* and *hṛdaya* (but cf. §658), or from *hrada* (Keith, 'of the lake'). Stem *hradavya* quoted Pāṇ. 6. 1. 83, Vārtt. 2, Pat.

*iḍā manuṣvad* (AV. mss. *manuṣyad*) *iha cetayantī* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. The mss. reading of AV. is supported by APr. 4.65 (comm. *manuṣyavat*) and adopted by Whitney. The APr. comm. looks in the right direction; it is a blend of *manuṣvat* and *manuṣya-*.

*namaḥ sūtāyāhantyai* (TS. °*hantyāya*, MS. KS. °*hantvāya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. *a-hanti*, 'not smiting': *a-hantya* = *a-hantva* 'not to be smitten'.

*arāyo †asmāṅ abhiduchunāyate* TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *arāvā yo no abhi duchunāyate* RV. TAA. Vait. MŚ. The stem *a-rāy-a* (:*rai*) is bahuvrīhi, *a-rā-van* karmadhāraya. Caland would read *arāvā yo 'smāṅ* in ApŚ.; it seems indeed that the syllable *yo* is inherited from the RV. form of the pāda.

*vasuraṇvo* (MahānU. °*ṇyo*) *vibhūr asi* TA. MahānU. *raṇya* is from root *raṇ*; as to *raṇva* we must remember the quasi-root *raṇv* (see last variant in §225). Both comms. have fatuous explanations; that on MahānU. divides *vasur aṇyo* (=*stutyaḥ*!).

*etena tvam atra śīrṣaṇvān* (MŚ. *tvaṁ śīrṣaṇyām*, Conc., but Van Gelder's ed., 6. 1. 2, *śīrṣaṇyān*) *edhi* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The KS. ApŚ. reading alone makes sense: 'by this be thou headed' = 'let this be thy head'. The MŚ. form, if Van Gelder is correct, can only be a phonetic variant for °*vān*.

*unnetar un non* (read *no*) *nayonnetar vasvo abhy un nayā naḥ* AŚ.: *unnetar vasīyo na un nayābhi* (KS. *vasyo 'bhy un nayā naḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ. The AŚ. form may be felt as acc. pl. of Vasu (n. pr.), but is really only a phonetic variant or corruption for *vasyo* (*vasīyo*): 'lead us unto welfare'.

§**249.** In a little group of three cases, AV. substitutes the more popular *varīyaḥ* for *varivaḥ*, of which the *v* is certainly connected with the *u* of *uru*:

*asmabhyam indra varivaḥ* (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *sugaṁ kṛdhi* RV. AV.: *asmabhyaṁ mahi varivaḥ sugaṁ kaḥ* RV.

*sakhā sakhibhyo varivaḥ* (AV.* *varīyaḥ*) *kṛṇotu* RV. AV. (both) TS. KS. GB. Here Ppp. has *varivaḥ*; one ms. of GB. *varīyaḥ*, which, it seems, ought to be read in GB. in accord with AV., unless GB. quoted from Ppp.

*tvaṣṭā no atra varivaḥ* (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *kṛṇotu* AV. TS.

§**250.** In another small group the *y* is definitely part of a case-ending, while the *v* remains suffixal or is a stem final:

*yābhir indro vāvṛdhe vīryāya* (AV. *vīryāvān*) RV. AV. N. 'Increased unto heroism': 'increased, (so as to be) full of heroism'.

*gārhapatyaḥ* (ŚŚ. °*tyāt*) *prajāyā* (VSK. *prajāvān*) *vasuvittamaḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Objective gen. varying with possessive adjective.

*prajananaṁ vai pratiṣṭhā loke sādhu prajāyās* (MahānU. *sādhuprajāvāṅs*) *tantuṁ tanvānaḥ* . . . TA. MahānU. But most mss. of MahānU. agree with TA.; the ed. follows one ms. and the comm.

*namaḥ śaṁgave* (TS.† *śaṁgāya*) *ca paśupataye ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Wackernagel, II. 1 p. 315, plausibly takes *śaṁgāya* for *śaṁgayāya*.

*sa ghā* (TB. *sadyā*, read *sa ghā* with Poona ed.) *no devaḥ savitā sahāvā* (TB. *savāya*) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

**§251.** In alternating verbal endings the same change between *y* and *v* occurs repeatedly. It is especially common in 3d person indicative-imperative variations; see VV I §§116, 104. We quote a single example here:

*pra stomā yanty* (SV. *yantv*) *agnaye* RV. SV.

Another stray variant concerning verbal inflection has been noted:

*brahmaitad upāsvaitat* (MahānU. °*syaitat*) *tapaḥ* TA. MahānU. The reading of TA. is uncertain; see VV I pp. 45, 125.

[*madhye poṣasya* (AG. °*sva*) *tṛmpatām* (MG. *puṣyatām*, AG. *tiṣṭhantīm*) AG. ŚG. MG. For *poṣasva* read °*sya* with Stenzler's Translation.]

And in different present stem-formations of verbs:

*manve* (ArS. *manye*) *vāṁ dyāvāpṛthivī* (ArS. adds *subhojasau*) AV. ArS. Vait. See VV I p. 125.

**§252.** We now come to the more strictly lexical variants, in which at least one of the two sounds *y* and *v* is not in any sense suffixal or inflectional (usually both are not). They are fairly numerous, but so miscellaneous that it is hardly profitable to try to group most of them. There are several interchanges of the pronoun forms *tyam* (*tyat*) and *tvam*:

*tam u tvaṁ* (SV. *tava tyan*) *māyayāvadhīḥ* RV. SV.

*tvaṁ* (KS. *tyaṁ*) *hy agne agninā* RV. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. JB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.

*imam ū* (MS. *u*, p.p. *ū*[*ṁ*]) *ṣu tvam asmākam* (TA. ApŚ. *tyam asmabhyam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

**§253.** Another little group concerns real or specious derivatives of the root *i* 'go' in variation with *av*. They tend to confirm the use of *av* as a verb of motion; see Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV* 123ff.:

*āpo agre viśvam āvan* AV.: *āpo ha yad bṛhatīr* (TS. MS. KS. *yan mahatīr*) *viśvam* (TA. *garbham*) *āyan* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA. 'Went (rushed?) into the all'; AV. is of course secondary but perhaps intends substantially the same as the rest, rather than the banal 'helped all'.

*ati setuṁ durāvyam* (SV. *durāyyam*) RV. SV. The derivation of the RV. form is uncertain, see Oldenberg, *Noten* on 9. 41. 2. The SV. form, at least, is clearly meant to be taken from root *i* ('hard to cross').

*ayebhyaḥ* (TB. *ave°*) *kitavam* VS. TB. *aya* 'dice-throws' is of course original; note that *av-* occurs in a Tait. text (see §247); is it a mere phonetic variant for *ay-*? (comm. 'to helpers'). Tho *aya* may not be derived from root *i*, the variant belongs to this group.

**§254.** Another group of cases is united by the circumstance that differences of word division produce different words in one form of the variant. In the instances first mentioned the *v* (or, once, the *y*) is suffixal, the other sound belonging to a separate word (particle or light monosyllable):

*ṛṣīṇām putro abhiśastipā u* (VS. ŚB. *°pāvā*, TB. *°pā ayam*) AV. VS. ŚB. TB.

*tanūpāvānas* (AV. *tanūpā ye nas*) *tanvas tapojāḥ* (AV. *tanūjāḥ*) AV. AB. AŚ. *tanūpāvan = tanūpā.*

*svarvaj* (AV. *svar yaj*) *jyotir abhayaṁ svasti* RV. AV. KB. TB.

*satyaṁ* (SV. ApŚ. *sa tvaṁ*) *vṛṣan vṛṣed asi* RV. SV. ApŚ. The RV. original is less commonplace than the later substitute, which opens countless Vedic pādas.

*utānyo asmad yajate vi cāvaḥ* (TB. *vicāyaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. N. The original has *vi-ca-āvaḥ; vicāyaḥ* (comm. *viśeṣeṇa pūjāyuktaḥ*) is ἅπ.λεγ., corrupt, and untranslatable. See Kaegi, *Festgruss Roth* 159, 165.

*yena bhūyaś carāty* (MG. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. The PG. reading is clearly secondary.

*nāvaś caranti svasica iyānāḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *nāvo vi yanti susico na vāṇīḥ* MS. KS. The passage is mystical and obscure, tho the individual words are simple enough; VS. etc. may have a lect. fac.

*pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā* TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. See §838.

*praty eva* (ŚŚ. *pra tveva*) *gṛbhāyata* AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

**§255.** The rest we shall not attempt to classify; note that in some of them one or the other form still contains suffixal *y* or *v* (tho not both):

*ghṛtaṁ ghṛtayone* (MS. *ghṛtavane*) *piba* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Home of ghee': 'rich in ghee'; *ghṛtavani* is a secondary blend of the common epithets *ghṛta-vant* and *ghṛta-yoni* (both RV.).

*anuvāsi* (VS. *anuyā*, MS. *anuvāya*, GB.† Vait.† *ahnāṅsi*, em. Vait. ed. to *anuvāsi*) *rātriyai* (VS. *rātryā*, MS. KS.† Vait.† *rātryai*) *tvā* (VS. MS. omit) *rātrīṁ* (VS. MS. KS.† *rātrīṁ*) *jinva* VS. TS. MS. KS. Vait. (pratīka in GB.) The two forms are quite uncertain and may be phonetic variants. The lexicons take them as containing the

roots *vā* and *yā*. But note that MS. presupposes a stem *anuva*, with short *a*.

*trātāram indram akṛṇor avadhyam* (VSK. *ayudhyam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Synonyms; note the *u*, preserving a trace of original *v*. Something like the reverse process in Pāli *āvudha* = Skt. *āyudha*.

*āvitsi* (MS. *āyukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Roots *ā-vid: ā-yuj*. Other interchanges of *vi: yu* in §805.

*nādya śatruṁ nanu* (ŚB.† *na nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŚB. *yuyutse*) RV. ŚB. Metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*vi: yu*).

*rāyaḥ syāma rathyo vayasvataḥ* (TB. *vivasvataḥ*) RV. MS. TB. The startling change in TB. is probably suggested by *su-yamasya* in the prec. pāda. Vivasvant goes well with Yama!

*śaṁgayī* (MS. ŚB. °*gavī*, TB. °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB. *jīvadānū*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *gaya* 'chattels': *go* 'cow'.

*somī ghoṣeṇa yachatu* (SV. *vakṣatu*) RV. SV. Substantially synonyms.

*spardhante dhiyaḥ* (TS. KSA. *divaḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA. See §109.

*sarasvatyai yaśobhaginyai* (KS. *veśabha*°) *svāhā* VS. KS.

*bṛhann asi bṛhadravā* (TS. KS. °*dgrāvā*, MS. °*drāyāḥ*, MŚ. °*drāyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. The Maitr. texts obviously secondary.

*malmalābhavantīṁ tvā* (N. °*tītyā*, corrupt) *sādayāmi* TS. MS. KS. TA. N.

*rudra yat te krayī* (*krivi*, *kravi*, *giri*-) . . . see §47.

*dhuñkṣāgneyī* (VSK. vv. ll. *dhuñkṣyā*° and *dhuñkṣvā*°) VS. VSK. MS.: *agnaye dhūñkṣṇā* (KSA.° *ṣā*) TS. KSA. Wholly obscure words.

*nikīrya* (MŚ. *nigīrya*) *tubhyam abhya āsam* (ApŚ. *tubhyaṁ madhye*, MŚ. *tubhyaṁ madhvaḥ*) Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.: *nigīrya sarvā ādhīḥ* KŚ. A desperate passage; see §47.

*duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha* TA. Bibl. Ind.; *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA. Poona ed., text and comm.: *duḥsvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU. Comm. on TA. *duruṣṣaha duḥkham utkarṣeṇābhibhava*; comm. on MahānU. *duruṣvahā tvam, duṣṭam uṣvaṁ* (!) *dāhaṁ hanti*. The word seems to be *durasyuha* (°*hā*) 'killing him who plans evil (*durasyu*)'.

*aśvān anaśśato* (KS.† ApŚ. *anaśyato*, MŚ. Van Gelder *anaśvato*, without v. l.) *dānam* KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Poona ed. of TA. reads *anaḥśa'o*, v. l. *anaśyato*; the comm. *ayaḥśaphān*, with v. l. *anaśato*. Obscure.

*revatī ramadhvam* (MS.* °*tīr amedhyam*) VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. The variant of MS. is corrupt; see *AJP* 27. 403. But the reading of the ed. is an emendation; mss.°*ramadhyam*.

*ayuktāso abrahmatā vidasāma* (RV. *yad asan*) RV. VS. ŚB. *vi-dasāma*, taken by Mahīdhara as from *vi* + *das* 'fail'.

### *y* and *h*

**§256.** A very few cases of miscellaneous character, consisting of easy lexical substitutions or corruptions. Cf. Weber, *ISt.* 4. 224:

*dyutāno vājibhir yataḥ* (SV. *hitaḥ*) RV. SV.

*saṁ sravantu diśo mahīḥ* (HG. *mayi*) ApMB. HG.

*endraṁ vagnunā vahata* PB.: *vagnunendraṁ hvayata* TB. ApŚ. Note the metathesis of *h* from the beginning of the original *hvayata* to the middle in *vahata*. PB. comm. glosses *āhvayata*.

*yamīr yamasya bibhṛyād* (AV. *vivṛhād*) *ajāmi* RV. AV. See §222.

*tam ahaṁ punar ādade* KŚ. PG.: *imaṁ taṁ punar ādade 'yam* (read *'ham*) HG. (plainly corrupt).

*hinvāno hetṛbhir yataḥ* (SV. *hitaḥ*) RV. SV.

*snuṣā sapatnā* (TB. comm. and Poona ed. text °*nāḥ*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ. *'ham asmi*) TB. AŚ.

### *r* and *l*

**§257.** Nearly all the numerous variants under this heading are purely phonetic; the same word is spelled with *r* or *l*. The number in which lexical or other real difference is even conceivable is quite negligible. While the variants can hardly be said to establish any new principle, they furnish a large amount of new evidence for facts which have, on the whole, been fairly well recognized.

**§258.** There is a tendency towards *l* noticeable in younger and less hieratic texts. The RV., especially in its oldest stratum, has a marked fondness for *r*. In the RV. itself are found doublets such as the roots *pru:plu, mruc:mluc, car:cal, pruṣ:pluṣ;* the words *puru:pulu, aram:alakam* [despite Wüst, in *Ehrengabe W. Geiger* 185ff., which does not convince me—F. E.], *sahamūra:sahamūla,* and the intensive stems *jargur:jalgul.* Such instability continues after the Mantra period thru the history of the two sounds in Sanskrit and the medieval dialects, until in Māgadhī Prakrit, and sporadically elsewhere, *l* stands for any and every *r*. The reverse is also found, tho only sporadically in the Prakrit dialects recorded: Pischel §259, and cf. Wackernagel I p. 215f., Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30f. This confusion is reflected in the earliest language and thruout the Vedic period, not only in the variations of parallel texts, but in the ms. readings of one and the same text.

**§259.** The variants confirm and extend by further examples the scope of these known facts. A few other stray instances which have come to our notice and are not included in Wackernagel: MS. 3. 7. 9 has *aśvavāra* and *āśvavāra* against *aśvavāla* and *āś°* in the corresponding passages of KS. 24.8 and KapS. 38. 1 (see Von Schroeder, MS., p. xv). PG. 1. 15. 4 has *grapsa* 'tuft of grass' for AG. 1. 14. 4 *glapsa* (GG. 2. 7. 4 *grathna*). The variant *pleñgha for preñkha* 'swing' occurs in ApDh. 1. 11. 31. 16. Later on, similarly, derivatives of the roots *jvar* and *jval* figure on the same page of the Kathāsaritsāgara (5. 118, 122). In Aufrecht's edition of AB., p. 428, it has been pointed out that this text has a number of cases of *r* for more usual *l* (*urūka, bahura*, etc.). Such a thing is not surprising in a Rigvedic Brāhmaṇa; and certainly AB's *bahura* goes RV. one better, for that form is unknown in RV., where *bahula* is common. In fact, the AB. passage in question, 2. 20. 14 (also in AŚ. 5. 1. 15), containing *bahuramadhyam*, imitates RV. 10. 42. 8, which contains *bahulāntāsa(ḥ)*.—The statement was made by Von Schroeder, *ZDMG* 33. 196, that MS. has a general preference for *l* over *r*. But this is not repeated, so far as we can see, in his edition of the text; we gather that it was tacitly withdrawn. In fact, the variants do not show any such preference for *l* in MS. While Maitr. texts sometimes show *l* for *r* of other texts, one of these cases is a lexical variant (§260), and in most of the others the *l* form is more usual thruout the language generally. Per contra, note MS. *aśvavāra* above in this section, and *kharvāś* (to be sure with v. l. *khal°*), the only recorded occurrence of this word with *r* (§265).

**§260.** The very small group of lexical variants is now given first; one of them, even (the last), may possibly be purely phonetic—if not that, it is certainly corrupt:

*te no 'gnayaḥ paprayaḥ pārayantu* (MŚ. MG. *pāla°*) TS. TB. PB. ApMB. MŚ. PG. MG. The two words are practically synonyms, tho unrelated; both mean in effect 'preserve'. Note the adjacent *paprayaḥ*, related to *pārayantu*.

*adhi skanda* (Ppp. *kranda*) *vīrayasva* AV.: *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG. 'Play the hero': 'be strong' (*vīl°* for *vīḍ°*). See §272.

*dhik tvā jāraṁ parasya janasya nirmārjmi . . .* MŚ.: *dhik tvā jālmi . . .* LŚ. The words are quite different in meaning and construction.

*mā rudriyāso abhi gur vṛdhānaḥ* (MS. *abhi gulbadhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ. See §209. *gulbadhānaḥ* is not divided in p.p.; it can only be a corruption (or phonetic variant) for *gur* (etc.) = *guḥ*, 3 pl. aorist.

**§261.** The rest are all purely phonetic in character. We begin with a group in which *r* is regular in RV., but *l* is regular in later or less hieratic texts. The *r* forms are either Rigvedic, and in later texts copied from RV., or conscious archaisms imitating Rigvedic diction, like *bahura* in AB. (§259):

*aśrīrā* (AV. ApMB. *aślīlā*) *tanūr bhavati* RV. AV. ApMB. The *r* form is not recorded outside of RV., which is the more remarkable because of its obvious connexion with the common word *śrī*. For this the suffix *ra* is responsible, first by dissimilation of one of the liquids, then by reassimilation of the remaining *r* to *l*.

*aśrīraṁ* (TB.† *aślīlaṁ*, both edd.) *cit kṛṇuthā* (TB.† °*thāt*, comm. and Poona ed. text °*thā*) *supratīkam* RV. AV. TB.

*samūḍham* (VSK. *samūlham*) *asya pāṁsure* (SV. °*le*) RV. AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The *l* form is regular after RV.; the *r* form in RV. only in this passage, directly repeated in all later texts.

*mā tad bhūmyām ā śriṣan* (VSK. v. l. *śliṣan*) *mā tṛṇeṣu* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA. Cf. *aśleṣā* (*āśreṣā*) . . . below, §265.

*andhāhīn* (TS. °*he*, KSA. °*heḥ*, em., ms. °*he*) *sthūragudayā* (TS. KSA. °*gudā*, VS. *sthūlagudayā*, and so MS. p.p.) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The RV. knows only *sthūra*, but *sthūla* is regular later (cf. however *sthavira*).

*anu no mārṣṭu* (VS. TS. ŚB. TA. *anu mārṣṭu*) *tanvo yad viriṣṭam* (VS. TS. KS.† ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. *viliṣṭam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. *riṣ* is Rigvedic, rare later.

*capyaṁ* (TB. Poona ed. *cappaṁ*) *na pāyur bhiṣag asya vālaḥ* (KS. *vāraḥ*, TB. *bālaḥ*, Poona ed. *vālaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. The *r* form is almost limited to RV.; cf. however *aśvavāra* in MS., §259.

*devāñśo yasmai tveḍe tat satyam upariprutā* (ApŚ. *apariplutā*) *bhaṅgena* (ApŚ. *bhaṅgyena*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ. The root is commonly *pru* in RV., only very rarely so later.

*aśloṇā*ˀ (comm. *aśroṇā*) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ svarge* AV.: *aśloṇāṅgair ahṛtā* (read *ahrutāḥ* or °*tā* with Poona ed.) *svarge* TA. *śroṇa* chiefly RV.

**§262.** Next, a group concerning words in which both *r* and *l* are common in most periods of the language, but RV. as a rule has *r* almost or quite exclusively. Here are included two variants in which AV. goes RV. one better in its hieratic *r*; but both RV. passages are from the largely popular Book 10. Both cases, adjacent to each other, concern the root *rabh: labh*, which in RV. always has *r* except in a few passages of the tenth book, of which these are two. Both forms are common later:

*utālabdhaṁ* (AV. *utārabdhān*, Ppp. *utāl°*) *spṛṇuhi jātavedaḥ;* followed by: *ālebhānād ṛṣṭibhir yātudhānāt* (AV. *utārebhāṇāṁ ṛṣ° yātudhānān*) RV. AV. The AV. is secondary and corrupt in its construction; see Whitney's note.

The other variants in this section do not involve RV. Two concern *śukla* and *śukra*, both fairly common later, but the former not in RV. Another concerns *rohita: lohita*, of which again RV. has only the *r* form. The case of *kṣudra: kṣulla*, where the *l* form is clearly Prakritic (with assimilated consonant group), also concerns words both of which are well known in the language as a whole:

*śukrāya svāhā* VS. MS. ŚB.: *śuklāya svāhā* VS. MS.

*peśo na śukram* (KS. TB. *śuklam*) *asitaṁ* (MS. samh. mss. *aś°*) *vasāte* VS. MS. KS. TB.

*varuṇāya rājñe trayo rohitalalāmāḥ* (TS.† misprinted *rohito-la°;* KSA. *lohita°*) TS. KSA.

*atho ye kṣullakā iva* AV.: *hataḥ krimīṇāṁ kṣudrakaḥ* SMB.: *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāḥ* TA. (perhaps consciously hieratic as regards both adjectives).

**§263.** Next, words in which *r* forms (all prehistoric) are more common in all periods, the *l* forms being largely problematic or textually uncertain (Wackernagel I §192b). In this group might perhaps have been placed *gulbadhānaḥ* of MS., see §260:

*asya kurmo* (RVKh. *kulmo*, AVPpp. ms. *kṛṇvo*) *harivo medinaṁ tvā* RVKh. TS. TB. AVPpp. (Barret, *JAOS.* 37. 263f.): *asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī* AV.: *iha kṛṇmo harivo medinaṁ tvā* KS. Scheftelowitz p. 112 reads for RVKh. *iha kurmo ha° vedinaṁ tvā.* But his *kurmo* is an emendation of a ms. reading *kutso*, which is probably a graphic corruption for *kulmo.*

*upapravada* (RVKh. *upapla°*) *maṇḍūki* RVKh. AV. N. Again Scheftelowitz reads *upapra°* in RVKh., this time with his ms. The form intended is *upa-pra-vada*, cf. *ā-vada* in next pāda. The reading with *pla*, if it is anything more than a ms. corruption, is mechanically assimilated to *plavasva* in the second half stanza.

*antarikṣaṁ purītatā* (TS. *purī°*, MS. *pulī°*, KSA. *pulī°*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA. The *r* forms are commoner.

*satataṁ tu śirābhis tu* MahānU.: *saṁtataṁ śirābhis* (Poona ed. *śil°*, but v. l. and comm. *śir°*, gloss *naḍībhiḥ*) *tu* TA. No *l* form of this word is otherwise recorded.

**§264.** Words in which *l* is regular, *r* rare. Here, first, eight passages containing *sarira* or *salila* 'ocean'. That MS. invariably has *salila*

cannot be considered significant (cf. §259, end), since this is the regular form in all periods, even RV.; neither RV. nor AV. knows *sarira*, which is practically restricted to YV. texts and, along with many other *r* forms, may be regarded as a conscious hieraticism:

*aśvaṁ jajñānaṁ sarirasya* (MS. *salilasya*) *madhye* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*prapīnam* (MŚ. v. l. °*tam*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ. *salilasya*) *madhye* VS. KS. MŚ.: *prapyātam* etc. TS. ApŚ.

*vibhrājamānaḥ sarirasya* (MS. *salilasya*) *madhye* (TA. °*yāt*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*vyacyamānaṁ salilasya* (VS. KS. ŚB. *sarirasya*, TS. TA. *bhuvanasya*) *madhye* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*sariraṁ chandaḥ* VS. KS. ŚB.: *salilaṁ ch*° TS. MS.

*sarirāya svāhā* VS.: *salilāya tvā* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *salilāya svāhā* ŚB.

*sarirāya* (MS. TA. *salilāya*) *tvā vātāya svāhā* VS. MS. ŚB. TA.

*sarire tvā sadane sādayāmi* VS. KS. ŚB.: *salile* etc. MS.: *salile sadane sīda* TA.

**§265.** The rest are miscellaneous:

*kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāṭe* (MS. *lalāṭe*) *purastāt* VS. MS. The *l* form is commoner.

*aśleṣā* (TS. *āśreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. In MS. p.p. *aśl*°; KS. may intend either *a*- or *ā*-. The word regularly has *l*. Cf. *mā tad bhūmyām* etc., §261.

*adhorāma* (HG. text *atho*°) *ulumbalaḥ* (HG. †*ulumbaraḥ*) ApMB. HG. The word (usually *udum*°, probably related to *udumbara*, *uḍ*° 'fig-tree') appears in RV. AV. etc., always with *l* in the last syllable, except here in HG., which may show dissimilation to preceding *l*. Cf. §273.

*mudgāś ca me khalvāś* (MS. *kharvāś*, v. l. *khal*°) *ca me* TS. MS. KS. A kind of grain; the *r* form not found elsewhere. Note that it occurs in MS. (cf. §259).

*achalābhiḥ* (KSA. °*rābhiḥ*, MS.[*m*]*atsarābhiḥ*, VS. *ṛkṣalābhiḥ*) *kapiñjalān* VS. TS. MS. KSA. See §184.

### *r* and *v*

**§266.** These interchanges, with the yet more scanty groups concerning *r* and *v* and *h*, are sporadic and of slight phonetic importance. We record them on the chance that there may be a quasi-phonetic glide from one to the other in words that are lexically similar, which are regularly involved. In fact, so far as they do not concern corruptions

(as is often the case), they mean substitution of one word for another similar in sound. Thus the very hieratic word *jīra-dānu* is twice replaced by *jīva-dānu* at a time when the former is no longer understood:

*udādāya pṛthivīṁ jīradānum* (TS. TB. ApŚ. °*nuḥ;* VS. ŚB. *jīvadānum*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*śaṁgayī* (TB. °*ye,* MS. ŚB. °*gavī*) *jīradānū* (ŚB. *jīva*°) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

**§267.** The rest are individual cases of more or less close synonymy, tapering off into doubtful or corrupt readings:

*avakrakṣiṇaṁ vṛṣabhaṁ yathājuram* (SV. *yathā juvam*) RV. AV. SV. 'Ageless': 'swift'.

*ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā riśantām* (KSA. *viś*°) RV. TS. KSA.† 'Graze on': 'enter', the latter an evident lect. fac.

*purū reto dadhire sūryaśvitaḥ* (AV. °*śritaḥ*) RV. AV. KS. The AV. is secondary and not very intelligent; 'sun-shining' and not 'sun-resorting' is original. Yet KapS. (see note on KS.) has °*śṛtaḥ*, evidently intending °*śritaḥ*.

*rudra yat te krayī* (*krivi, kravi, giri-*) . . . see §47.

*pāti priyaṁ ripo* (and *rupo*) *agraṁ padaṁ veḥ* RV. (bis): *pāty agnir vipo agraṁ padaṁ veḥ* ArS.

*dūredṛśaṁ gṛhapatim atharyum* (SV. *athavyum*) RV. SV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. N. The SV. form is desperate. Benfey suggests *atharv-yum* with simplification of the group of three consonants (cf. §§419ff.). In some way the *v* of *atharvan* seems to be concerned.

*aśvinā gharmaṁ pātaṁ hārdvānam* (TA. *hārddivānam,* read *hārdi*° with Poona ed.; LŚ. *pātam aharvyānam,* MS. *pibataṁ hārdrānum*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. The MS. corruptly mouths over an obscure form. Note that the *v* of the original, by a kind of metathesis, reappears as the vowel *u*.

*hitvī* (SV. *hitvā*) *śiro jihvayā vāvadac* (SV. *rārapac*) *carat* RV. SV.

*tatra rayiṣṭhām anu saṁbharaitam* (MŚ. °*retām;* AŚ. corruptly °*bhavatām*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*rathe akṣeṣv ṛṣabhasya* (KS. TB. °*ṣu vṛ*°) *vāje* AV. KS. TB.: *ratheṣv akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāḥ* ViDh. See §359.

*miśravāsasaḥ kauberakāḥ* ApMB.: *kauberakā viśvavāsaḥ* HG.

*āyurdā* (*āyuṣmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasaṁ* (*haviṣā,* °*ṣo*) *vṛṇānaḥ* (etc.), see §854.

*asmāṅ* (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣv ā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *asmān devāso* †*'vatā haveṣu* AV.

*varuṇāya riśādase* (KSA. *vidase*) . . . TS. KSA. So the ms. of KSA.: but von Schroeder emends to *riśādase*.

**§268.** In several cases assimilation or dissimilation is concerned:
*ugram ojiṣṭhaṁ tavasaṁ* (SV. *tarasaṁ*) *tarasvinam* RV. AV. SV. Assimilation to *tarasvinam* in SV.
*vātajavair* (HG. *vātājirair*) *balavadbhir manojavaiḥ* MS. HG. Either assimilation in MS., or avoidance by dissimilation in HG. of the banal sequence *vātajavair . . . manojavaiḥ*. Since the latter process seems almost too clever for a sūtra text, probably MS. is secondary.
*dhanaṁjayaṁ dharuṇaṁ dhārayiṣṇu* RVKh.: *bhūmidṛṁham acyutaṁ pārayiṣṇu* AV.: *bhūmidṛṁho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣṇuḥ* AV. The last, unquestionably secondary, changes to *cyāv°* after *acyutaḥ*, 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)', an enticing mode of expression in the Veda (e.g. *ajuryaṁ jarayantam*, RV. 2. 16. 1).

### *r* or *v* and *h*

**§269**. These cases are yet fewer and slighter in phonetic significance; cf. §266:
*areḍatā* (KS.* *aheḍ°*, so ed., but ms. *īḍatā*; read probably *areḍ°* with v. Schr. on KS. 32. 3, n. 3) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ. *gamyāt*, TS. *manasā tac chakeyam*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.: *aheḍatā* (ŚŚ. *aheḷ°*) *manasedaṁ juṣasva* AŚ. ŚŚ. The root *reḍ* in Naigh. 2. 12 is followed immediately by *heḍ* in a list of ten words for 'be angry'.
*sahamānā sahasvatī* (PG. *sarasvatī*) PG. ApMB. HG. *sarasvatī* is a blunder.
*taṁ tvā bhrātaraḥ suvṛdhā* (ApMB. *°dho*, HG. *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV. ApMB. HG. See §109.
*tā* (*tāv*) *ehi* (*eha*, *iha*, MG. *eva*) . . ., see §§578, 888.
*sa ghā* (TB. *sadyā*, Poona ed. *sa ghā*) *no devaḥ savitā sahāvā* (TB. *savāya*) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

### *l* and *ḍ*

**§270.** It is a familiar fact (Wackernagel I §222) that every *ḍ* and *ḍh* between vowels is changed in the Śākala and Bāṣkala recensions of the RV. to *ḷ* and *ḷh*. This variation is ignored in the Conc., because it is carried out with mechanical completeness. Clearly related to it is the change between vowels of the same sounds to dental *l* and *lh* in later Vedic texts; Wackernagel I §194. This alteration is carried thru, with as absolute completness as in RV., in two texts, VSK. and ŚŚ.; and also in the twentieth book of AV. These cases are recorded in the Conc., but we deem it a waste of space to list here the variants which concern VSK. and ŚŚ. alone. Elsewhere the same change occurs sporadically.

It is clear that ms. tradition in this regard is untrustworthy, and that editors have exercized their discretion to some extent. Thus N. seems to intend to write *l* thruout. In the following list all the variants with *l* in AV. occur in Book 20, and mainly in those parts of it which are copied from RV. So far as we have observed, these are the only variations from the text of RV. in those parts of AV. 20.

§**271.** The list follows:

*iḍāsmān anu vastāṁ ghṛtena* ApŚ. MŚ.: *iḍaivāsmāṅ* (RVKh. *ilaiva vām*) *anu vastāṁ vratena* RVKh. AV. Vait. But Scheftelowitz reads *iḍaiva . . . ghṛtena* for RVKh.

*aiḍamṛdā yavyudhaḥ* KS.: *ailabṛdā* (MS. °*mṛḍā*, KapS. *īlamṛḍā*) *āyur-yudhaḥ* (TS. *yavyudhaḥ;* MS. *vo yudhaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. See §241.

*ādityā rudrā vasavas tvelate* (AB. *tveḷ*°, for *tveḍ*°; GB. Gaastra †*tenute,* with all mss.) AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

*aṣṭrāṁ tāḍaṁ pratīnāhā* (ApŚ.† *tālaṁ pratīnāham*) MS. ApŚ.

*yad devī devaheḍanam* (VSK. TA.* °*helanam,* but TA. Poona ed. both times °*heḷ*°, with v. l. °*heḍ*°) AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. (bis) Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. BDh. GDh.

*nahy anyaṁ baḍākaram* (AA. *balā*°) RV. AA. AŚ. But Keith reads AA. *baḷā*° (as is read in RV.).

*aśrathnan dṛḍhāvradanta vīḍitā* RV.: *avradanta vīlitā* (fragment) N.

*indraś ca mṛḍayāti* (AV. ŚG. *mṛl*°) *naḥ* RV. AV. ŚG.

*īḍe* (ŚŚ. VHDh. *īle*) *dyāvāpṛthivī pūrvacittaye* RV. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. VHDh.

*īḍenyo* (AV. ŚŚ. Vait. *īlenyo*) *namasyaḥ* RV. AV. SV. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Vait.

*krīḍantau* (N. *krīl*°) *putrair naptṛbhiḥ* RV. AV. N.

*yad vīḍāv* (AV. *vīlāv*) *indra yat sthire* RV. AV. SV. Svidh.

*vīḍu* (AV. Vait. *vīlu*) *cid ārujatnubhiḥ* RV. AV. SV. Vait.

*vīhi śūra* (TB. *sūra*) *puroḍāśam* (AV. °*lāśam*) RV. AV. KS. TB. N.

*vauṣaṭ* (ŚBK. ŚŚ. *vauṣal*) AB. GB. ŚB. ŚBK. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. ApŚ.

*vy āṇaḍ* (AV. *ānal*) *indraḥ pṛtanāḥ svojāḥ* RV. AV.

### *ḍ* and *r*

§**272.** The same change occurs sporadically also between *ḍ* and *r*. Twice this concerns the word *iḍā, ilā,* or *irā;* the other cases are lexical or corrupt. Cf. also *ahar divābhir ūtibhiḥ,* §360; here MS. has (for *ahar*) *vahad* (cf. next §), but one ms. *vahaḍ* and p.p. *vahaṭ*.

*irāvatī* (KS. *iḍā*°) *dhenumatī hi bhūtam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*iḍa* (ŚŚ. *ila,* MS. MŚ. *iḍā,* ApŚ.* *ira,* in the same passage with **iḍa*) *ehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. (both) MŚ.

*dṛṅhasva vīḍayasva* (MS. *vīr°*) *su* TS. MS.: *adhiskanda vīrayasva* AV.; *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG. See §260.

*vīruc chapathayopanī* AV.: *vīḍu chapathajambhanīḥ* ApŚ. The latter is a clear corruption of the AV. reading, which Caland adopts.

*vareṇyakratūr* (AV. *°tur*, ApŚ. *īḍenya°*) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ.: *vīreṇyaḥ kratur indraḥ suśastiḥ* RV. See §§383, 554.

*d* and *r*

**§272a.** On this subject see Hanns Oertel's helpful review of VV I, in *GGA* 1931 236ff., especially 239f., and his article in *Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger* 136f. He refers to Patañjali (Introd. to Mahābhāṣya, on Vārtt. 9, p. 11, 11, Kielhorn), who mentions the mispronunciations *yarvāṇas, tarvāṇas,* for *yadvānas, tadvānas;* and to Wackernagel I p. 212. Oertel would see in such variations as *nātārīd* (TB. *°rīr*) *asya samṛtiṁ vadhānām* (TB. *ba°*) RV. TB., where a difficult 2d person sing. is substituted for a 3d person (cf. VV I p. 237), traces of this phonetic tendency. (Cf. ChU. 4. 1. 2 *pradhākṣīr* for *°ṣīd*, Oertel, *ll. cc.*) It seems indeed possible that this has something to do with such variations, altho it should be remembered that there are many other equally curious variations in person of verbs which cannot be thus explained (VV I passim, especially p. 195f.). Other cases mentioned by Oertel (see also his note in *ZII* 8. 289f.) are:

*mayi rāyo mayi rakṣaḥ* MS. 4. 9. 13: 134. 5, for which the Conc. suggests *dakṣaḥ* for *rakṣaḥ: mayi dakṣakratū* TS. †2. 5. 2. 4, ApŚ. AG. HG.: *mayi dakṣo mayi kratuḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. ŚŚ.

*na me tad upadambhiṣar dhṛṣir brahmā yad dadau* MS. (originally *°dambhiṣad ṛṣir°*, Caland, *ZDMG* 72. 10 *infra*): *na ma idam upadambhiṣag* (once erroneously *udambhiṣag*) *ṛṣir brahmā yad dade* ApŚ. (bis). Here the ApŚ. form seems to stand for *upadambhiṣad*, with final *g* for *d* (=*k* for *t*), see our §142.

*yadā rāghaṭī varadaḥ* Vait.: *yadā rākhāṭyau vadataḥ* ApŚ.: *yad adyārādhyaṁ vadantaḥ* MŚ. See §70.

To these materials collected by Oertel may be added the following:

*ahar* (MS. *vahad*) *divābhir* (MS. *divyābhir*) *ūtibhiḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. One ms. and p.p. of MS. *vahaḍ* (*vahaṭ*); see §360, and the preceding §272. The MS. is secondary, and may be considered hyper-Sanskritic.

*dadhir* (SV. *dadhad*) *yo dhāyi sa te* (SV. *sute*) *vayāṅsi* RV. SV.

*balim ichanto vitudasya* (AG. *vi tu tasya*, v. l. *vidurasya*) *preṣyāḥ* (MahānU. AG. *preṣṭhāḥ*) TAA. MahānU. AG. See §65.

*dviṣas taradhyā* (ApŚ. °*yai*) *ṛṇayā na īyase* (SV. *īrase*) RV. SV. KS. AB. ApŚ.: *dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveneyase* AV.

## *l* and *d* and *ṇ*

**§273.** By way of appendix may be mentioned a few stray cases in which *l* varies with lingual *ṇ* and with dental *d;* these evidently show tendencies related to the preceding. (A couple of variations between *l* and dental *n* might perhaps also be recorded here; but because of the ease of graphic confusion between these letters we have quoted them in §878, q.v.) In two contiguous passages *harikṇikā*, fem. of the color-adjective *harita*, is changed in ŚŚ. to *hariklikā*, perhaps by partial assimilation to the preceding *r;* but the characters are graphically much alike:

*tāsām ekā harikṇikā* (ŚŚ. °*klikā*) AV. ŚŚ.

*harikṇike* (ŚŚ. °*klike*) *kim ichasi* AV. ŚŚ.

There remain a couple of partly phonetic variants between *d* and *l*:

*urūṇasāv* (TA. *uru*°) *asutṛpā* (AV. TA. °*pāv*) *udumbalau* (TA. *ulum*°) RV. AV. TA. AŚ. See Lanman apud Whitney AV. The TA. comm., fatuously, *prabhūtabalayuktau* (as if *uru-bala*!). See *adhorāma* etc., §265.

*ni nivartana vartayendra nardabuda* (KS. *nandabala*) TS. KS. ApMB. Both ἅπ. λεγ.; obscure epithets of Indra. KS. looks suspiciously like a case of popular etymology (as if 'rejoicing strength'), and is therefore probably secondary.

## CHAPTER VIII. THE SIBILANTS

**§274.** The general confusion of the sibilants, doubtless due to popular quasi-Prakritic influences (since they all become fused in the Prakrit dialects), goes back to a very early date. From the Veda down to modern times instability in this regard is habitual rather than exceptional in certain roots and words. The sibilants of such words as *koṣa: kośa* (cf. §289, end), *śrambh: srambh*, are really never determined; and even so clear a root as *sru* 'flow' threatens surprisingly to become *śru*, as we shall see (§275). See Bloomfield and Spieker, *JAOS* 13. cxvii ff.; Bloomfield, *Kauśika Sūtra*, p. lx; Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., xvi, and Wackernagel I §197e. The following variants are in large measure purely phonetic, due to this traditional instability. But real lexical changes also occur often. Our treatment tries to consider both elements.

### *ś* and *s*

**§275.** We begin with purely phonetic interchanges; and first those in which *ś* takes the place of regular or etymological *s*. In a number of cases the root *sru*, 'flow', of known etymology, appears as *śru*; the Pet. Lex. goes so far as to postulate a collateral root *śru* in that sense:

*śaṁ yor abhi sravantu* (MŚ. *śra°*) *naḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. HG. So Conc. from Knauer's report of mss.; but Van Gelder's ed. reads *sra°* for MŚ. without v. l.

*vi srutayo* (AŚ. *visru°*, ŚŚ. *viśru°*) *yathā pathaḥ* SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. One ms. of ŚŚ. *visru°*.

*dadhi manthaṁ pariśrutam* (ŚŚ. *manthāṁ parisrutam*, one ms. *°śrutam*) AV. ŚŚ.

*ā tvā parisrutaḥ* (MG. *°sṛtaḥ*, mss. *°sṛtaṁ*; AG. *°śritaḥ*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB.† *°āḥ*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.: *emāṁ* (ŚG. *enaṁ*) *parisrutaḥ kumbhaḥ* (ŚG. *kumbhyā*) AV. ŚG.—AVPpp. *ā tvā pariśṛtaḥ*, for which Barret *JAOS* 32. 366 *°śritaḥ*. The readings of AG. MG., tho certainly secondary, make sense.

*pratyañ* (VS. TS. ŚB.* TB. *°yañk*, MS.†* and KS. v. l. *°yak*) *somo atidrutaḥ* (AV. text *ati hrutaḥ*, VS.†* MS. *atisrutaḥ*, KS. v. l. *°śrutaḥ*) AV. VS. (bis) VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (bis) TB. ApŚ. The true reading of AV. is *°drutaḥ*, see Whitney's note.

**§276.** The small words *śam* 'weal', and *sam* 'together', interchange reciprocally; see §§278 and 280 for cases in which *śam* is original or both are justified:

*śam ūdho romaśaṁ hathaḥ* ApMB.: *sam ūdho romaśaṁ hataḥ* RV. Comm. on ApMB. takes *śam* as 'Vedic' for *sam*; see Winternitz, p. xx.

**§277.** The rest are sporadic:

*indrāya tvā sṛmo* '*dadāt* (ŚG. *śramo dadat*) MS. ŚG. MŚ. SMB. Sṛma is a name of an Asura; in the adjoining Brāhmaṇa of MS. it is explained by a myth which says that the earth, full of cattle, belonged to Sṛma, and that Indra got the cattle from him. There is no reason to question this myth; cf. Sṛpa, Sṛmara, and Sṛmala, names of Asuras (Harivaṅśa, see Pet. Lex.). ŚG. has a secondary or corrupt reading ('dem Indra gebe dich die Ermüdung', Oldenberg). The theme of the passage is branding cattle.

*āstāṁ jālma* (KS. *jalma*) *udaraṁ śraṅśayitvā* (KS. *sraṅs*°) AV. KS. Both edd. of AV. read thus; some mss. *śraṅs*° and some *sraṅś*, none the 'correct' *sraṅs*°.

*śaṁ te hiraṇyaṁ śam u santv* (ApMB. *sam u śantv*) *āpaḥ* AV. Kauś. ApMB. Metathesis of *ś* and *s* in ApMB.; see Winternitz, p. xvi.

*somaś caturakṣarasyāsrīvīr* (MS. °*śrīvīr*) *nakṣatrāṇi* MS. KS. A rare word, which however seems always to be written *asrīvī* except here in MS.

*peśo na śukram* (KS. TB. *śuklam*) *asitaṁ* (MS. all saṁhitā mss. *aśitaṁ*, ed. em. *asitaṁ* with p.p.) *vasāte* VS. MS. KS. TB.

*ā śīrṣṇaḥ śamopyāt* AV.; comm. and Ppp. *samopyāt*, which is probably right and is assumed by Whitney. Cf. however Bloomfield, *SBE* 42. 255 (*keśam opyāt*?).

*śvāvṛt tat* HG. Kirste suggests *sv-āvṛt*; the context gives no help in interpretation.

*madhu vaṅśiṣīya* AV. Read *vaṅs*°: cf. *JAOS* 13. cxviii, and Whitney on AV. 9. 1. 14.

**§278.** In the following *s* takes the place of regular or etymological *ś:*

*śaṁ te hiraṇyaṁ śam u santv* (ApMB. *sam u śantv*) *āpaḥ* AV. Kauś. ApMB. See §277; and for other *sam: śam*, §§276, 280.

[*agniṁ ca viśvaśaṁbhuvam* RV.† AV†. KS. TB†. ApŚ.†. No variant; correct Conc.]

*śimāḥ* (VS. *simāḥ*) *kṛṇvantu* (VS.* *śamyantu*) *śimyantaḥ* (VS. *śamyantīḥ*) VS. TS. KSA.† The word can only be a form from *śim* = *śam*,

occurring in the same pāda; is the *s* of VS. due to dissimilation? Mahīdhara = *sīmāḥ*, glossed *rekhāḥ* or *maryādāḥ*.

*parṇaśado* (ŚŚ. °*sado*) *jaritaḥ* (AV. Vait. °*daḥ*, om. *jar*°) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Original certainly *śad-*, 'the fall of a leaf'. ŚŚ. possibly understands 'settling down of a leaf' (root *sad*).

*viśve devā nātividhyanti sarve* (KS. *śūrāḥ*, ApŚ. *sūrāḥ*) AV. KS. ApŚ. The latter can only intend *śūrāḥ*. Other cases of these two words, capable of lexical explanation, §284.

*yam eva vidyāḥ śucim* (VāDh. *sucim*) *apramattam* ViDh. VāDh. N.

*śukeṣu me* (AV. *sukeṣu te*) *harimāṇam* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ. 3 of SPP.'s mss., comm., and Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 26. 228) read *śukeṣu*.

*mṛgasya sṛtam* (HG. *śṛtam*) *akṣṇayā* ApMB. HG. (vv. ll. *srutam* and *śrutam* in ApMB.) Kirste says 'probably *sṛtam*'. More likely *śrutam* is intended in both texts. It is a question of ill-omened sounds (*śakunai ruditaṁ ca yat* is the preceding pāda of HG.). 'Whatever (cry) of an animal is heard (that is) amiss.' For *śru: sru* cf. §§275, 283.

*pred u harivaḥ śrutasya* (SV. *sutasya*) RV. SV. TS. The word refers to Indra; SV. is perhaps thinking of Soma. Benfey abandons it and translates the RV.

*namaḥ śaṣpiñjarāya* (TS. *sasp*°) *tviṣīmate* VS. TS. MS. †KS. See next.

*ye vaneṣu śaṣpiñjarāḥ* KS.: *ye vṛkṣeṣu śaṣpiṇjarāḥ* (TS. *sasp*°) VS. TS. MS. MG. See prec. Except in TS. the word is always written *śaṣp*°, and it is doubtless connected with *śaṣpa* (with haplology, Wackernagel I p. 279). Perhaps TS. gets its *s* by confusion with *sasya* 'grain', which is itself sometimes written *śasya*, cf. Wackernagel l. c., Keith on TS.

*yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte* (AV. °*ti*, ApMB. HG. *visrayātai*) RV. AV. ApMB. HG. Comm. on ApMB., *śakārasya sakāraḥ*; cf. Winternitz p. xvi.

*krīḍī* (VSK. °*lī*) *ca śākī cojjeṣī* (ApŚ. *sākī* †*corjiṣī*, v. l. °*jīṣī*, *ca*) VS. VSK. ApŚ. Name or epithet of one of the Maruts. Doubtless 'mighty', root *śak*; so Mahīdhara; and *sākī* seems incapable of other intepretation.

*jīmūtān hṛdayaupaśābhyām* (VS. °*śena*; VSK. v. l. °*sena*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA.

*na jyotīṅṣi cakāsati* Suparṇ.: *jyotiṣaṁ na prakāśate* RVKh.

*tṛṣṭaṁ piśitam asyate* AV. 5. 19. 5b. Whitney accepts Zimmer's emendation *aśyate*.

*yad asravan paśava udyamānam* AV. 7. 66. 1. Read or understand *aśravan* with SPP., comm., and Whitney.

*sarau parṇam ivādadhat* AV. 5. 25. 1. Read or understand *śarau* with Whitney.

**§279.** In a couple of phonetic variants the words are so obscure that it is impossible to say which is original:

*ṛkṣo jatūḥ suṣilīkā* (MS. *śuśulūkā*) *ta itarajanānām* VS. MS. The p.p. of MS. reads *suṣilīketi suṣi-līkā*, suggesting that VS. has the true reading. But *śuśulūkā* occurs once in RV. Both meaning and original form are obscure; folk-etymology may have been at work; Sāyaṇa thinks of *śiśu* and *ulūka*; in RV. it is associated with *ulūka*.

*grāmyamañkīradāśakau* ApŚ.: *grāmyaṁ mañgīradāsakau* MŚ.: *vyāghraṁ mañgīradāsa gauḥ* Vait. Obscure proper names; see §49.

**§280.** In some of the preceding there are perhaps possibilities of lexical variation, tho they seem to us too faint to be important. While the line is not hard and fast between the two groups, it seems to us that the following cases are lexically defensible in both forms. Thus the words *sam* and *śam* each make sense in these passages; cf. §§276, 278:

*śam abdhyaḥ* TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *sam adbhyaḥ* (supplying *śundhasva* from the preceding) KS.

*maṇḍūkyā su saṁ †gamaḥ* (TA. *gamaya*) RV. TA.: *maṇḍūky apsu śaṁ bhuvaḥ* AV. The latter reconstructs the passage secondarily.

*yat ta āsthitaṁ śam u tat te astu* TB.: *yat te viriṣṭaṁ sam u tat ta etat* Vait. 'That shall be all right for thee': 'that which was torn shall be (put) together for thee'.

**§281.** When other changes accompany the alteration of the sibilant, the lexical element becomes clearer. Thus in three cases of the roots *saṁ-vas* and *saṁ-viś*, which are practically synonyms, we are evidently dealing with a primarily lexical substitution, affected by phonetic moments:

*teṣv ahaṁ sumanāḥ saṁ viśāmi* (AŚ. *viśāti*, for °*ni*; MG. *vasāma*) AŚ. ApŚ. HG. ApMB. MG. See Knauer's note on MG.

*amāvāsye saṁvasanto* (MŚ. °*viśanto*) *mahitvā* AV. TS. MŚ.

*tasyāṁ devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ* TS. TB.: *tasyāṁ devaiḥ saṁvasanto mahitvā* AV.: *tayor devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ* ApŚ.: *yasyāṁ* (v. l. *asyāṁ*) *devā abhi saṁviśantaḥ* MŚ.

**§282.** The root *ās* 'sit' varies thrice with augmented forms of *aś* 'attain'; they are practically synonyms in these passages. The *ās* forms all occur in RV., the *aś* forms in SV., which is contaminated from such expressions as *barhir āśāte* RV. 8. 31. 6 and 1. 144. 6:

*sahasrasthūṇa āsāte* (SV. *āś*°) RV. SV.

*samīcīnāsa āsate* (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.
*yatrāmṛtāsa āsate* (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.

**§283.** The particle *su* varies with the reduplicating syllable *śu*; in the first variant also the roots *sru* and *śru*, cf. §§275, 278:

*nṛcakṣāḥ soma uta suśrug* (comm. and Poona ed. text *śuśrug*) *astu* TB.: *sucakṣāḥ soma uta sasrud astu* MŚ. See §145. *sasrud* is an em. for mss. *sasrad, saśrud, suśud*; Conc. suggests *suśrud*, but *sasrut* occurs in RV., and 'flowing' fits Soma as well as 'hearing'. Perhaps *susrut* should be read in MŚ.

*dṛśe ca* (MS. *dṛśā ca*, RV. *abhikhyā*) *bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvaniḥ* (RV. *śuś°*, KS. *suśukvabhiḥ*, MS. *suśikmanā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §240.

**§284.** The words *sūra* and *śūra* interchange twice; cf. *viśve devā* etc., §278:

*śūro* (TB. *sūro*) *na mitrāvaruṇā gaviṣṭiṣu* RV. TB. The Maruts yoke their chariots in battle 'like a warrior' or 'as the sun (yokes his chariot)'.

*vīhi śūra* (TB. *sūra*) *puroḍāśam* (AV. *°lāśam*) RV. AV. KS. TB. N. The original is addressed to Indra, the 'hero'; TB. transfers it to an address to the sun.

**§285.** The word *sarva* varies a number of times with various words in *ś*, some of them rather remote in form:

*sarvataḥ śarvaśarvebhyaḥ* (TA. *śarva sar°*; some mss. add *sarvaśarvebhyaḥ*; MahānU. *sarva sarvebhyaḥ*) MS. TA. MahānU. Sc. *namaḥ*: 'homage to every Śarva', or 'homage, O Śarva (or, O All [comm. on MahānU. *sarvātmaka*]), to all (the Rudras)'. MS. has v. l. *śarvataḥ* for *sarvataḥ*. Interesting for the thoro-going confusion of the two sounds; despite lexical possibilities, the case is fundamentally phonetic.

*sarvāṅ agnīṅr* (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vaḥ* (MS. *huve*, AV. *havāmahe*) AV. TS. MS. AB.

*kalpantāṁ te* (TA. **me*) *diśaḥ sarvāḥ* (TA. **śagmāḥ*) VS. ŚB. TA. (both)

*viśve devā nātividhyanti sarve* (KS. *śūrāḥ*, ApŚ. *sūrāḥ*) AV. KS. ApŚ. See §278.

**§286.** The root *sūd* varies with *śudh* and *śubh*; cf. §174, and note AV. *radantaṁ śuddham uddharet* AV. 20. 136. 16d, where *śuddham* is based on mss. readings *sudam* and *śunam* (Index Verborum):

*asūṣudanta* (MS. KS. *aśūśubhanta*) *yajñiyā ṛtena* TS. MS. KS. TB.

*āpo asmān* (MS. *mā*) *mātaraḥ śundhayantu* (TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*, AV. MS. KS. *sūdayantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.

**§287.** The rest are sporadic, and rather remoter in the formal resemblance between the words in question:

*yena striyam* (PG. *śriyam*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. °*tām*, ŚŚ. *striyāv akurutam*) ŚŚ. SMB. PG. GG. *strī* is certainly original.

*śumbhānas* (KS. *stam*°) *tanvaṁ* (TB. *tanuvaṁ*, SV. †*tanvāṁ*) *svām* RV. SV. MS. KS. TB.

*svāṁ tanvaṁ* (TS. TB. *tanuvaṁ*) *varuṇo 'suṣot* (TS. TB. *aśiśret*) TS. MS. KS. TB. 'Enlivened': 'entered into'.

*śunaṁ ma iṣṭam . . .*: *svaṁ ma* (*ma idam*) *iṣṭam . . .*, see §353.

*tās tvā viśantu manasā śivena* (TB. *mahasā svena*) AV. TB.

*yad anena haviṣāśāste tad aśyāt* (AŚ. *asyām*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May he obtain that': 'that (is) in this (offering, sc. *hotrāyām*)', or, 'that here in this (offering) shall prosper' (the following words are *tad ṛdhyāt*). Earlier in the same section occurs *asyām ṛdhed dhotrāyām*.

*śakma yat te goḥ* KS. MS.: *sagme te goḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *samyat te goḥ* TS. See §47.

*tasthau nākasya sānavi* (SV. *śarmaṇi*) RV. SV.

*apāvṛṇod duro aśmavrajānām* (MS. *asmadrathānām*) RV. MS. TA.

*śvātrāḥ pītā* (ViDh. *snātāḥ prītā*) *bhavata yūyam āpaḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ViDh.

*sadā* (MS. *śacyā*) *paśyanti sūrayaḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. NṛpU. GopālU. VasuU. SkandaU.

*tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām* (TB. *asthām*) RV. MS. AB. TB. AŚ. Poona ed. text and comm. *aśyām* for TB.; see VV I p. 86.

*aryo naśanta* (SV. *naḥ santu*) *sanişanta* (SV.† °*tu*) *no dhiyaḥ* RV. SV. See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 72.

*āśuṁ jayantam anu* (KS. *yā saṁjayantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Even the original version is obscure.

*ā sutrāvṇe sumatim āvṛṇānaḥ* AV. Perhaps originally *āśutrāvṇe;* see §355.

### *ś* and *ṣ*

**§288.** Here the total number of variants is much smaller. Moreover many involve lexical changes, while most of the rest concern rare and doubtful words, the true original form of which is uncertain. The genuine phonetic variants are few, and none too certain in some instances. In the following *ś* seems to replace proper *ṣ* phonetically:

*nainad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat* (VS. *arśat*) VS. VSK. IśāU. The word clearly means 'going' (root *ṛṣ*); VS. comm. *ṛśa gatau*. Cf. however *anarśarātiṁ* (*alarṣirātiṁ*) . . . §292.

*abhyaṣikṣi rājābhūm* (MS. v. l. °*bhūt*, ApŚ. °*bhūvam*) MS. ApŚ.: *abhiśikṣa rājābhuvam* (v. l. °*bhūvam*) MŚ. (quoted from unedited mss.; probably only a textual error).

**§289.** We find *ṣ* for proper *ś*, aside from a few corruptions, only in the name of an Asura, *Śaṇḍa* or *Ṣaṇḍa*. The weight of evidence seems to favor the spelling with *ś*:

*śaṇḍāya* (VSK. *ṣa*°) *tvā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*nirastaḥ śaṇḍaḥ* (VSK. MS.† *4. 6. 3 *ṣa*°) VS. VSK. MS. (bis) ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*apanuttau* (KS. °*tā*) *śaṇḍāmarkau* (MS.* *ṣa*°) . . . TS. MS. (bis) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See von Schroeder's note on MS. 4. 6. 3: 82. 16, which indicates that he then believed MS. to intend *ṣaṇḍa* thruout. But need it have been consistent? The mss. are unanimous for *ṣ* in some places, nearly unanimous for *ś* in others. Those of MŚ. vary.

Corruptions:

*yenāpāmṛśataṁ* (SMB. v. l. °*ṣataṁ*) *surām* ŚŚ. SMB.: *yenāvamṛśatāṁ surām* PG.

*varuṇeti śapāmahe* (MS.† °*hai*; LŚ. †*ṣayāmahe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. The LŚ. has probably a mere misprint.

[*kavaṣyo koṣadhāvanīḥ* (MS. text *kośa*°, all mss. *koṣa*°; TB.† *'koṣa*°) MS. KS. TB. Read *'koṣa*° in all. There would be no variant but for the em. in MS., which is unjustified, altho the word meant is that more commonly written *kośa*.]

**§290.** The following variants seem also to be purely phonetic, in so far as not mere corruptions; the obscurity of the words makes it impossible to decide which is original:

*indrāṇyai kīrśā* (KSA. °*ṣā*) TS. KSA.

*ṛkṣo jatūḥ suṣilīkā* (MS. *śuśulūkā*) . . . VS. MS. See §279.

*kūśmāñ* (VSK.† v. l., MS. *kūṣ*°) *chakapiṇḍaiḥ* (MS. *śa*°) VS. VSK. MS.: *kūśmāñ chakabhiḥ* TS. KSA.

*kūṣmāṇḍāḥ*, *ku*°, and *kūś*°, *kuś*°; also °*māṇḍyaḥ* and °*māṇḍāni*, various Dharma texts, see Conc. Names of certain expiatory verses.

*ākarśye karśyo yathā* ApŚ.: *gīḥ kośvoṣyaur yadā giraḥ* Vait.: *madhv ity ākarṣaiḥ kuśair yathā* KŚ. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure.

**§291.** Coming to lexical variations, we find three cases of *viśva* varying with *viṣu* (*viṣvak*); the meanings are fairly close:

*viśvaṁ satyaṁ kṛṇuhi viṣṭam astu* RV.: *viṣvak satyaṁ kṛṇuhi cittam eṣām* AV. See Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda* 50; Whitney on AV. 3. 1. 4; Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3. 30. 6. [But no emendation of AV.

is necessary. Render: 'Make accomplished on all sides the purpose of these (our party).' Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 32. 351f.) has *viśvaṁ viṣṭaṁ kṛṇuhi satyam eṣām,* closer to RV. Same general sense in all. F. E.]

*adhi kṣami viṣurūpaṁ* (ArS. *kṣamā viśva°*) *yad asti* (ArS. *asya,* MS.† *āsta*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB. (Add to VV I §229 for the verbs.)

*purudasmo viṣurūpa* (KS. *°dasmavad viśvarūpam,* TS. ApŚ. *urudrapso viśvarūpa*) *induḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

**§292.** The rest are isolated and unclassifiable:

*anarśarātiṁ* (SV. *alarṣirātiṁ*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV. AV. SV. N. The RV. form is derivable from root *ṛś* 'injure'; cf. Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v. The SV. form seems on the face of it to contain the root *ṛ;* it may be corrupt. Benfey, 'rasche Spende habend'.

*nābhimṛśe* (MS. KS. *nābhidhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS. *tanuvā*) *jarbhurāṇaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *jarhṛṣāṇaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Not to be touched (attacked)'.

*asya hotuḥ pradiśy* (AV. *praśiṣy*) *ṛtasya vāci* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. Synonyms: 'at the command'.

*prāṇān saṁkrośaiḥ* MS.: *saṁkrośān prāṇaiḥ* (VS. *°krośaiḥ prāṇān*) VS. TS.: *saṁghoṣān* (ms. *°goṣān*) *prāṇaiḥ* KSA. Synonymous roots *kruś* and *ghuṣ.*

*yayor vāṁ devau deveṣv aniṣitam* (TS. *aniś°*) *ojaḥ* TS. MS. KS. 'Undestroyed', from *a-* and pple. of *ni-ṣyati;* 'incessant', *a-niśita.*

*saṁ tvā śiśanti* (Vait. *śiṣ°*) Vait. LŚ. KŚ. Garbe takes *śiṣanti* from *śiṣ* 'leave'; it is more likely from *śās* (*śiṣ*) 'ordain'. Caland apparently rejects it as corrupt, for he translates *śiśanti* ('sharpen').

*vanaspatīṅr oṣadhī rāya eṣe* (**rāye aśyāḥ*) RV. (both). Roots *iṣ* and *aś,* practically synonyms. The two versions in adjacent hymns; see *RVRep.* 258. Add to VV I §121, 324.

*aspārṣam enaṁ śataśāradāya* RV. AV. In AV. most mss., SPP., and even Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 26. 257), read *aspārśam;* in spite of Whitney, who keeps the RV. form in his Translation (root *spṛ,* aor.), we think that the AV. tradition intended *aspārśam,* as a form of *spṛś:* 'I have touched him with (life of) a hundred years.' Of course the form is highly anomalous.

*dīrghām anu prasitim* (KS. *samṛtim*) *āyuṣe dhām* (KS. *tvā*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB.: *dīrghām anu prasṛtiṁ saṁspṛśethām MS.* Cf. §78.

*tve iṣaḥ* (KS. *viśve,* MS. *tva eṣaḥ*) *saṁdadhur bhūrivarpasaḥ* (TS.† *bhūriretasaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*pratnāso agna ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ* (AV. *āśaśānāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. 'Blowing upon': 'sharpening' (both practically 'furthering, tending').

*abhiṣṭir* (HG. °*ṭīr*, ApMB. *abhiśrīr*) *yā ca no gṛhe* (RVKh. *ca me dhruvā*) RVKh. ApMB. HG.

*ā darṣate śavasā sapta dānūn* RV. AV. N.: *ā darśati śavasā bhūryojāḥ* AV. The whole thought is made over in AV.

*atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam* (KS. *bhadrā vṛṣaṇā agṛbhṇām*) RV. VS. TS. KS.

*aśūśubhanta* (TS. TB. *asūṣudanta*) *yajñiyā ṛtena* TS. MS. KS. TB. See §286.

ṣ and *s*

**§293.** Here there are only a very few variants, and their phonetic interest is slight. Usually the change is due to a change in the preceding vowel from an *a* to an 'alterant' *i*, *u*, or to different word-division which brought *s* into another word where it follows an alterant vowel. The list is not complete:

*daivyā mimānā manasā* (VS. *manuṣaḥ*) *purutrā* VS. MS. KS. TB.

*made suśipram* (SV. *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. *PAOS* 13, p. cxviii.

*āpṛṇo 'si saṁpṛṇaḥ* (ApŚ. *āpṛṇoṣi saṁpṛṇa*). . . ŚŚ. ApŚ. The latter is corrupt.

*vasiṣṭhahanuḥ* . . . VS.: *oṣiṣṭhahanaṁ* . . . TS. TA.

*sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan* JB.: *sugaṁ tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ.

*tenemām upa siñcatam* RV. AV. TA. N.: *tena mām abhiṣiñcatam* ŚŚ.

*asūrte* (MS. KS. °*tā*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS. °*tā*, KS. *na sattā*) RV. VS. MS. KS. N. See §828.

*kratvā variṣṭhaṁ vara āmurim uta* RV. AV.: *kratve vare sthemany āmurīm uta* SV.

*ṛṣīṇāṁ ca stutīr* (SV. *suṣṭutīr*) *upa* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

**§294.** The rest are scattering:

*ye vṛkṣeṣu* (KS. *vaneṣu*) *śaṣpiñjarāḥ* (TS. *saspi*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. MG. See §§32, 278, and next.

*namaḥ śaṣpiñjarāya* (TS. *saspi*°) *tviṣīmate* VS. TS. MS.† KS.

*sarvaṁ taṁ* (AV. *sarvān ni*, MS. KS. TA. *sarvāṁs tān*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS. ŚB, *masmasā*, MS.† *mṛsmṛsā*, one ms. *mṛśmṛśā*, VS. *bhasmasā*) *kuru* (AV. *-karam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The word is sound-imitative (cf. Eng. *mash*, similar but independent). VS. rationalizes with thought of 'ashes' (§242).

*ā sutrāvṇe sumatim āvṛṇānaḥ* AV.: *oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatiṁ gṛṇānāḥ* TS. Whitney suggests, attractively, *āśutrāvṇe* (to match *oṣiṣṭha-* in

TS.); but *su-trāman*, *su-trāta*, and *su-trātra* seem to support the tradition of AV. (*āśu* seems not used with the root *trā*).

### *kh*, *kṣ* and sibilants

**§295.** In view of the common later confusion of *ṣ* and *kh*, it is surprising to find practically no variants between these sounds; cf. the mss. reading *ṣudasi* at AV. 20. 135. 4, for *khudasi* of ŚŚ.:

*kaṣolkāya svāhā* TA. TAA.: *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU. Neither word is interpretable.

**§296.** There are, however, a couple of cases of variation between *kh* and *ś*, which point in a like direction; cf. the reading *khunā* for *śunā* (thru *ṣunā*) 'by a dog', Pārśvanātha Caritra 2. 268:

*āśuṁ tvājau* (ApŚ. *ākhuṁ tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantaḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The original is *āśuṁ*, which refers to Agni. To make a 'mole' out of Agni seems sufficiently absurd, but the reason is plain. The viniyoga of the sūtra, in both ApŚ. and MŚ., reads *ity ākhukarīṣam* (MŚ. °*kiriṁ*) *nivapati*, 'he throws down a mole-hill'. Hence the word *ākhu* has crept into the sūtra in ApŚ. (where Caland translates *āśuṁ*).

*ud vaṅśam iva yemire* RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mahābh. 12. 284. 78.

**§297.** And one case of *kṣ* and *ś* (lexical):

*mayuṁ te śug ṛchatu* (KS. *te kṣut*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with other animal names in the same passage.

### *s*(*ṣ*) and *h*

**§298.** There is but faint evidence for this interchange. The few instances are all lexical or morphological, or else very much under suspicion of corruption. In so far as phonetics may be concerned as a contributory factor, we may call the change quasi-Prakritic; see Wackernagel I §221, Pischel §264. In the following it is to be presumed that an original *s* is replaced by *h:*

*dhiyā na* (SV. *no*) *vājāṅ upa māsi* (SV. *māhi*) *śaśvataḥ* RV. SV. Verb endings; see VV I p. 104. The reverse is found in the first variant in §299.

*dhruvāsaḥ* (TB. ApŚ. *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG. The obsolescent ending *āsaḥ* is replaced by the regular *ā*(*s*) plus the particle *ha*.

*jātavedo nayā hy enam sukṛtāṁ yatra lokaḥ* JB: *jātavedo vahemaṁ* (ŚŚ. *vahasvainam*) *sukṛtāṁ yatra lokaḥ* (TA. *lokāḥ*) TA. ŚŚ. The Conc. suggests possibly *nayāsy* for *nayā hy* in JB.

*āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

[*pratyañ* (etc.) *somo atidrutaḥ* (°*srutaḥ* etc., AV. text °*hrutaḥ*), see §275. The true text of AV. is °*drutaḥ*.]

**§299.** In the rest it appears that an older *h* is replaced by *s:*

*stuto yāsi* (RV. *yāhi*) *vaśāṅ anu* RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. See VV I p. 105. The converse of the first variant in §298.

*turīyāditya* (VSK. *turyā*°) *savanaṁ* (RV. *hav*°) *ta indriyam* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Synonymous roots *su* and *hu.*

*ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu* KS.: *ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti* (AŚ. *harito vahantu*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*guhā hitāṁ nihitāṁ* (KS.† omits *nihitāṁ,* by haplology) *gahvareṣu* KS. MŚ.: *guhā satīṁ gahane gahvareṣu* TB. ApŚ.

*pratno hi* (TA. *pratnoṣi*) *kam īḍyo adhvareṣu* RV. AV. TA. MahānU. The TA. reading is corrupt; comm. *pratanoṣi*!

[*suhaveha* (AV. misprinted *susaveha*) *havāmahe* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. See Whitney on AV. 3. 20. 6.]

## CHAPTER IX. PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF NASALS, SEMI-VOWELS, LIQUIDS, SIBILANTS, H, AND VISARGA

### 1. Presence or absence of nasals and anusvāra

**§300.** This phenomenon occurs mainly but not exclusively before consonants. When it occurs before vowels, it is really a matter of sandhi; namely, of the use of a nasal as a sort of 'Hiatus-tilger', to bridge the gap between two vowels; the semi-vowels are used in the same way. Before consonants, it is to some extent rhythmic, and therefore of genuinely phonetic bearing, even tho rarely if ever purely phonetic, since morphological or lexical considerations play a part. This rhythmic shift is Prakritic in character: see Geiger, *Pali* §§5, 6; Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32. It appears most clearly when a short vowel followed by a nasal or anusvāra varies with a long vowel without nasal. Thus in variant forms of the same word, or at least from the same root:

*ya eṣa svapnanaṅśanaḥ* (AV. °*nāśanaḥ*) RV. AV. N.

*pūṣṇe 'ñghṛṇaye svāhā* TA.: *pūṣṇa āghṛṇaye* (em., mss. *āprṇaye*) *svāhā* MŚ. *āghṛṇi* is a regular epithet of Pūṣan. For *añghṛṇi*, comm. *añjanena dīpyamānaḥ*; but it can only be a phonetic variant or semi-corruption for *āgh*°.

**§301.** From different and equally regular forms of the verb:

*agniṁ naras triṣadhasthe sam īdhire* (SV. TS. *indhate*) RV. SV. TS. KS.

*agnim īdhe* (SV. *indhe*) *vivasvabhiḥ* RV. SV.

*atra pitaro yathābhāgaṁ mandadhvam* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *atra pitaro mādayadhvam* . . . VS.VSK.MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG. ViDh. Add to VV I §240.

*krūram ānaṅśa* (KS.† ApŚ. *ānāśa*) *martyaḥ* (KS.† *martaḥ*) AV. KS. ApŚ. See VV I p. 187.

*na pāpatvāya rāsīya* (SV. *raṅsiṣam*) RV. AV. SV. See VV I p. 109.

**§302.** In words not etymologically related, but more or less similar in sound:

*atho* (LŚ. ApŚ. *nir mā*) *yamasya paḍbīśāt* (VS. °*vīśāt*, LŚ.† *ṣaḍviṅśāt*) RV. AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. See §217.

*agnim īḍīta* (SV. *indhīta*) *martyaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. next; both verbs are common in Agni-worship.

*yaṁ sīm id anya īḍate* RV.: *yam sam id anya indhate* SV. Cf. prec.

*yāsad* (SV. TS. KS. *yaṅsad*) *viśvaṁ ny atriṇam* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Roots *yā* and *yam*; quasi-synonyms.

*ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yoṣṭa* (HG. *yūḍhvam*) ApŚ MŚ. HG.: *mā vo* (AŚ. *no*) *'to 'nyat pitaro yoyuvata* (AŚ. *yuṅgdhvam*) AŚ. Kauś. If we may trust *yuṅgdhvam*, the other verbs are from *yu* 'unite', therefore synonymic. Cf. VV I pp. 42, 150.

*āpo asmān* (MS. *mā*) *mātaraḥ śundhayantu* (TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*, AV. MS. KS. *sūdayantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.

**§303.** Rather more numerous are cases in which the absence of the nasal does not involve a long preceding vowel, but is due to sundry morphological circumstances which admit of closely related forms with or without nasal. Accidents of nominal and verbal inflexion occasionally involve presence or absence of a nasal. These variations are of course primarily morphological; at most they may be said to have a certain phonetic aspect, so that they are not wholly unrelated to the phonetic shift here considered. It would hardly be profitable to list them all here. So far as they concern verb forms they will be found in VV I: see §192 there (interchange of nasal and non-nasal presents), §§210 and 217 (nasal presents or imperfects varying with non-nasal aorists, as *vida: vinda, vṛjyāḥ: vṛñjyāt*, etc.); §279 (*masīya: maṅsīya*); §280 (*adadṛhanta: adadṛṅhanta*); and many variations between 3d persons singular and plural in *ti, nti, te, nte*, etc., on pp. 255 ff.

**§303a.** Twice subjunctives in *-(ā)si* are reported with an anomalous *ṅ* before the *s*. We might be tempted to emend the sole ms. of KS. in the second; in the first no v. l. is reported for ŚG. and Oldenberg keeps °*yāṅsi*, tho he translates °*yāsi* (see his note, p. 36):

*jātānāṁ janayāś ca yān* (ŚG. *janayāṅsi ca;* AVPpp. *janayāsi* [not °*mi*, as Whitney says] *ca*) AV. ŚG. Barret, *JAOS* 32. 360, needlessly emends Ppp. to the Ś reading. Add to VV I §253.

*vahāsi mā* (KS.† *vahāṅsi sā*) *sukṛtāṁ yatra lokāḥ* (KS.† *lokaḥ*) KS. TB.

**§304.** Similarly, such cases as *vṛṣā punāna āyuṣu* (SV. *āyūṅṣi*) RV. SV., or *svar devā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *suvar devāṅ*) *aganma* (MS. MŚ. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ., belong to noun declension; and *ajasraṁ tvāṁ* (ApŚ. *tvā*) *sabhāpālāḥ* TB. ApŚ. to pronominal declension. In the appropriate volumes of this series such matters will be fully treated; here we content ourselves with examples.

**§305.** Again, in other cases we find stem-forms with and without nasals, involving no real grammatical change. These concern stem or word formation:

*urvī gabhīrā* (TS. *gambhīrā*) *sumatiṣ ṭe astu* RV. TS. MS. KS. In this

and the next TS. replaces an antiquated form with one which is regular in the later language.

*gabhīram* (TS. *gambh°*) *imam adhvaraṁ kṛdhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

*samudra ivāsi gahmanā* (TB. *gaṁh°*, but Poona ed. *gah°*) TB. ApŚ.

*satyaujasā dṛṁhaṇā* (KS.† *dṛhaṇā*, MS. *durhṛṇā*) *yaṁ nudethe* TS. MS. KS.: *sacetasau druhvaṇo yau nudethe* AV. Both TS. and KS. understand a form of *dṛh: dṛṁh* (cf. *adadṛhanta: adadṛṁh°*, VV I p. 187); AV. and MS. struggle in common with another idea.

*antaḥ śubhrāvatā* (SV. *śundhyāvatā*) *pathā* RV. SV. Cf. §173.

*samudrāya śiśumāraḥ* VS. MS.: *sindhoḥ śiṁśumāraḥ* (KSA.† *śiśū°*) TS. KSA. The form *śiṁśu°* occurs in RV.; cf. Pali *suṁsumāra*. Later *śiśu°* is regular, but it may well be only a secondary adaptation by popular etymology to *śiśu* 'boy'. The long *ū* of KSA. may be a mere corruption in the single ms.

**§306.** The prefix *sam* varies with its own reduced grade, *sa-*, and with a syllable *sa-* of other sorts (some of the cases textually dubious):

*saṁvṛd asi* TS.: *savṛd asi* VS. KS. PB.: *savṛtā savṛte savṛj jinva* MS.

*saṁstup chandaḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *saṣṭup chandaḥ* TS.

*namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe* (TS. *saṁvṛdhvane*, KS. *savṛdhvane*, MS. *suvṛdhvane*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*satataṁ tu śirābhis tu* MahānU.: *saṁtataṁ śirābhis* (Poona ed. *śilā°*, v. l. *śirā°*) *tu* TA.

*nakṣatrāṇāṁ sakāśān mā yauṣam* MS.: *nakṣatrāṇāṁ mā saṁkāśaś ca pratīkāśaś cāvatām* Vait. Kauś.

*agne sasṛjmahe* (MS. *saṁsṛ°*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. MS. KS. Here *sa-* is the reduplicating syllable.

*sa* (MS. *saṁ*) *dundubhe sajūr indreṇa devaiḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. The MS. hardly makes sense; it is probably due to assimilation in meaning to *sajūr*.

*saṁ* (MS. *sa*) *dāśuṣe kiratu bhūri vāmam* TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Again MS. is hardly interpretable; its change is the reverse of the prec.

*saṁ yajñapatir* (VSK. *yajamāna*) *āśiṣā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *sa yajñapatir āśiṣā* Vait. (probably to be corrected to *saṁ*; see Caland on Vait. 4. 21).

**§307.** Other cases of final anusvāra before consonants (cf. also §401):

*rajobhūmis tvaṁ māṁ* (MahānU. *tvam āṁ*, so TA. Poona ed. with v. l. *tvaṁ māṁ*) *rodayasva pravadanti dhīrāḥ* TA. Mahān U.

*tato* (PB. *te*) *ha jajñe* (MŚ. *'haṁ yajñe*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* (MŚ. *goptā*) TB. PB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §192; MŚ. clearly secondary.

*ya īṁ vahanta āśubhiḥ* RV.: *yadī vahanty āśavaḥ* SV.

*svaḥpatir yadī vṛdhe* SV.: *svarpatiṁ yad īṁ vṛdhe* RV. AV.

*yo rayivo* (SV. *rayiṁ vo*) *rayintamaḥ* RV. SV. KB. ŚŚ. ŚG. The SV. doubtless corrupt.

*tasyāṁ no devaḥ* (MS. *tasyāṁ devaḥ*) *savitā dharmaṁ* (VS.† VSK.† TS.† ŚB.† *dharma*) *sāviṣat* (VSK.° *ṣak*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Stems *dharma: dharman.*

*mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt* (JB. *yono vāṁ hārasīḥ*) PB. JB. LŚ. Incomprehensible in either form.

*sa īṁ* (TS. *ī*) *mandrā* . . . (see §374) VS. TS. MS. The particle *īm* becomes *ī* in TS., before *m;* this might be put with §401.

*sam īṁ* (SV. *u*) *rebhāso asvaran* RV. AV. SV.

Nasal as 'Hiatustilger'

**§308.** The Rigveda itself has a number of instances of nasalization of a final vowel before an initial vowel, in lieu of regular sandhi. Here the nasal (in the recognized RV. cases always anusvāra) acts as 'Hiatustilger'. See most recently Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1. 33. 4. The variants present one of these instances in which secondary texts leave the hiatus unrelieved; and in another case ApMB. MG. read *tanūṁ* for RV. *tanū*, all intending a loc. sing.:

*svāyāṁ* †*tanūṁ* (RV. *tanū*) *ṛtviye* (RV.† °*vye*) . . . RV. ApMB. MG. See Winternitz, Introd. to ApMB., XIX. Knauer mistakenly considers the form an abbreviation of *tanvām.*

*ā te suparṇā aminantaṁ* (MS. TS. °*ta*) *evaiḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS. AB.

**§309.** Somewhat similar are cases in which other nasals, *n* or *m*, seem to act in the same way as 'Hiatustilger' between vowels; or, conversely, we find in some texts omission of final *m* before an initial vowel, either with secondary sandhi of the two vowels thus brought into proximity, or leaving hiatus:

*yadīn* (AV. *yady*) *ṛṇaṁ saṁgaro devatāsu* AV. TA. Comm. on TA. *yadīn ṛṇam, yad eva prasiddham ṛṇam.* We must apparently understand *īn* for *īm* (aliter *ī*), the particle of emphasis; the TA. form is unprecedented and suggests an attempt to avoid hiatus. A heavy syllable is favored as the second syllable of the pāda, cf. §438.

*abhīm ṛtasya* (SV. *abhy ṛtasya*) *sudughā ghṛtaścutaḥ* RV. SV. The SV., tho secondary, suggests light pronunciation of the final nasal, felt as if mere Hiatustilger.

*abhī* (SV. *abhīm*) *ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata* RV. SV.

*yenākṣā* (SMB. °*kṣān*, PG. °*kṣyāv*, ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*) *abhyaṣicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *abhyaṣiñcatam*, PG. °*tām*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. Nom.: acc. forms.

*ā pūṣā etv ā vasu* TS.: *ā puṣṭam etv ā vasu* AV. If TS. has the original form, AV. may be regarded as a lect. fac., with avoidance of hiatus.

*agner jihvām abhi* (MS. *jihvābhi*, p. p. *jihvāṁ, abhi;* AV. KS. *jihvayābhi*) †*gṛṇītam* (AV. *gṛṇata*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Sing to (with) the tongue of Agni.' MS. might intend an instrumental, but note the p.p.

**§310.** Miscellaneous non-final nasals, before consonants:

*agnir ukthena vāhasā* VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agnir uktheṣv aṅhasu* AV.

*apāṁ rasam udvayasam* (KS. *udayaṅsam*, TA. *udayaṅsan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA.

*agnim adya hotāram avṛṇītāyaṁ yajamānaḥ pacan paktīḥ* (VSK. *pañktīḥ*) *pacan* . . . VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB. (See also Conc. under *sīsena agnim adya* etc., TB.; but Poona ed. of TB. lacks the word *sīsena*, which is also shown to be an intrusion by the lack of sandhi.) *pañktīḥ* 'heaps' is secondary or corrupt. The same blunder in Kauś. 22. 10; see Bloomfield, *GGA* 1902. 492.

**§311.** Miscellaneous non-final nasals before vowels (once before *y*); to these should be added a few cases of presence or absence of initial nasal consonants which we have placed below in §421, where they seem more properly to belong:

*tam āhutaṁ naśīmahi* (AV. °*tam aś*°) RV. AV. AB. Parallel roots *aś* and *naś*.

*tasya rathagṛtsaś* (MS. °*kṛtsnaś*, KS. °*kṛtsaś*) *ca* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §46.

*namaḥ kṛtsnāyatāya* (VS. °*yatayā*, KS. *kṛtsaṁvītāya*, TS. MS. *kṛtsnavītāya*) *dhāvate* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. A sort of metathesis of nasal in KS.

*na kir devā minīmasi* RV.: *na ki devā inīmasi* SV. Svidh. The strange *inīmasi* is questioningly classed by Whitney (Roots) as an isolated 9th class present from *i*(*-noti*). Benfey equates it with *min*° with unexplained loss of *m*. Reverse of Hiatustilger?

*saṁ tvā tatakṣuḥ* (LŚ. °*kṣṇuḥ*) Vait. KŚ. LŚ. See VV I p. 146. The monstrous form of LŚ. may be influenced by its viniyoga: *iti takṣṇuyuḥ* (itself somewhat anomalous).

*agnaye dhūnkṣṇā* (KSA. °*kṣā*) TS. KSA.: *dhuṅkṣāgneyī* (VSK. vv. ll. °*kṣyā* and °*kṣvā*) VS. VSK. MS. Possibly the second nasal of TS. is due to the influence of the first.

*annaṁ me* (ApŚ. **no*) *budhya* (ApŚ. *°dhnya*) *pāhi*, and . . . *°yājugupaḥ* MS. ApŚ. One ms. of MS. writes *buddhya* each time; perhaps *budhnya* is intended.

Cf.: *jīvām ṛtebhyaḥ* (read *mṛ°* with SPP., comm., and many mss.) *pariṇīyamānām* AV.

**§312.** Note finally the following curious variant:

*kāyamāno* (MŚ. *kāmayamāno*) *vanā tvam* RV. SV. MŚ. N. Sāyaṇa glosses by *kāmayamāno*, the later regular form, which is secondarily introduced in MŚ.

### 2. Presence or absence of *y*

**§313.** A large proportion of the variants under this head concern the presence or absence of suffixal *ya*. A form containing this suffix varies with a corresponding form without it, usually either a primary noun or adjective in *a*, or a secondary derivative in suffixal *a*. These cases belong to Noun Formation and are to be dealt with there more fully. To some indeterminate degree they also concern phonetics; notably where *y* appears after a double consonant in such pairs as *bhakṣa: bhakṣya*, etc. Metrical considerations enter to some extent; the form with *y* may be read as a syllable longer than the other form, and this occasionally has import for our judgment of the variation, as will be pointed out in individual cases.

#### (a) *Words equivalent in meaning;* y *follows two consonants*

**§314.** We begin with cases where the *y* follows two consonants (and is often written, and regularly pronounced, *iya*, see §784), and in which the form in *y* is equivalent in meaning to that without *y*. The latter in a few instances is formally proved to contain the secondary suffix *a* by showing vriddhi of the first syllable, while the *y* form lacks vriddhi:

*aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mitriyeṇa* (ApMB. *maitreṇa*, KS. ApŚ. *cakṣuṣāhaṁ śivena*) AV. KS. ApŚ. ApMB. But *maitreṇa* may be a noun, 'friendship'; *mitriyeṇa* must be an adjective.

*māhaṁ pautram* (KBU. *putryam*) *aghaṁ rudam* (AG. *niyām*, see §724; SMB. *nigām*, and *riṣam*) AG. SMB. ApMB. HG. KBU.

*ya āntarikṣāḥ* (sc. *sarpās* etc.) HG.: *ye sarpāḥ pārthivā ye antarikṣyā* . . . AG.

*vāyur na īḍita īḍitavyair devair antarikṣyaiḥ* (ApŚ. *āntarikṣaiḥ*) *pātu* KS. ApŚ.: *vāyuṣ ṭvāntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divaḥ* MŚ. The latter contains the primary noun and belongs with §321.

*prabhāyā agnyedham* (TB. *āgnendham*) VS. TB. On the troublesome TB. form see §491.

**§315.** In the rest, the great majority, secondary vriddhi appears in neither form or in both:

*sumnāya sumninī sumne mī dhattam* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *sumnāyuvaḥ* (KS. °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnaṁ* (KS. *sumnyaṁ*) *dhatta* MS. KS.: *sumne sthaḥ sumne mā dhattam* VS. ŚB. Both *sumna* and *sumnya* are used as both adjectives, 'gracious', and nouns, 'grace'.

*agnir devebhyaḥ suvidatriyebhyaḥ* (TA. °*trebhyaḥ*) RV. AV. TA. N.

*svargāsi* KS.: *svargyāsi* ApŚ.

*ūrdhvaṁ manaḥ svargyam* (TA. *suvargam*) MS. TA.

*na yajñasya manvate martyāsaḥ* (TB. ApŚ. *martāsaḥ*) RV. KB. TB. ApŚ. The reading *martāsaḥ* is poor metrically.

*krūram ānaṁśa* (KS.† ApŚ. *ānāśa*) *martyaḥ* (KS.† *martaḥ*) AV. KS. ApŚ. Again *martaḥ* is unmetrical.

*marteṣv* (VS. MS. KS. *martyeṣv*) *agnir amṛto ni dhāyi* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

*sumitrā* (VS. ŚB MahānU. ŚŚ. KŚ. *sumitriyā*, AŚ. LŚ. *sumitryā*) *na* (KS. *ṇa*) *āpa oṣadhayaḥ santu* (KS.† °*yo bhavantu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. Followed by:

*durmitrās* (VS. ŚB. MahānU. KŚ. °*triyās*, AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. °*tryās*) *tasmai santu* (KS.* TS.† TB. TA. MahānU. BDh. *bhūyāsur*) *yo . . .*, same texts.

*śārgaḥ sṛjayaḥ* (TS. KSA. *ākhuḥ sṛjayā*) *śayāṇḍakas* (KSA. °*kās*, em. v. Schr. °*kas*, TS. *śayaṇḍakas*) *te maitrāḥ* (KSA. °*tryāḥ*, em. unnecessarily to °*trāḥ* in ed.) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*abhi dyumnaṁ* (RV. VS. *sumnaṁ*) *devabhaktaṁ yaviṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitaṁ yaviṣṭhya*, MS. p. p. °*ṣṭha*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. *yaviṣṭha* and °*ṭhya* are perfect equivalents; the former seems to be preferred at the end of a triṣṭubh pāda, the latter of eight and twelve syllable pādas.

*tvām agne samidhānaṁ yaviṣṭha* (RV. °*ṭhya*) RV. TB. ApŚ. The stanza is pure jagatī in RV.; half of it is made triṣṭubh in the others.

*śataṁ pūrbhir yaviṣṭhya* RV.: . . . *yaviṣṭha pāhy aṁhasaḥ* RV. TA. See *RVRep.* 539.

*gambhīrebhiḥ* (AV. TS. HG. °*raiḥ*) *pathibhiḥ pūrviṇebhiḥ* (MS. *pūrvebhiḥ*, AV. *pūryāṇaiḥ*, TS. HG. *pūrvyaiḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. SMB. AŚ. HG.

*bṛhat sāma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavṛṣṇyam* (MS. °*ṇam*, so ed. with p. p.; other mss. °*ṇim*; read probably °*ṇyam*; TS. °*vṛṣṇiyam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*tāsāṁ viśiśnānām* (KS. °*nyānām*) MS. KS.

*namo nīveṣyāya* (p. p. *ni°*) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS.: *namo hṛdayyāya ca niveṣyāya ca* VS.: *namo hradayyāya* (KS. *hradavyāya*) *ca niveṣyyāya* (KS. *°ṣyāya*) *ca* TS. KS. From the noun *niveṣyá* 'whirlpool', is derived *niveṣyyà* 'of the whirlpool'. The stem *niveṣyà* (or *nī°*; note accent) is equivalent to this latter and is probably merely a phonetic simplification of it; practically a question of mere orthography. One KS. ms. *niveṣyyāya.*

*namaḥ śīghryāya* (TS. *śīghriyāya*) *ca śībhyāya ca* VS TS.: *namaḥ śībhāya ca śīghrāya ca* MS. KS.

*tau te bhakṣaṁ* (LŚ. *°ṣyaṁ*) *cakratur agra etam* VS. JB. TB. ApŚ. LŚ. ŚŚ.

*tayor anu bhakṣaṁ bhakṣayāmi* TB. ApŚ.: *tayor aham anu bhakṣaṁ* (LŚ. *°ṣyaṁ*) *bhakṣayāmi* VS. LŚ.: *tayor ahaṁ bhakṣam anubhakṣayāmi* JB. ŚŚ.

*jaitrāyā* (ApMB. *°tryāyā*) *viśatād u* (HG. *°tāṁ*, ApMB. *°tān*) *mām* RVKh. VS. ApMB. HG.

*devāṅśo yasmai tveḍe . . . bhañgena* (ApŚ. *bhañgyena*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*yamaṁ bhañgyaśravo* (KS. MŚ. *bhañga°*) *gāya* KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

*yamaṁ gāya bhañgyaśravaḥ* (KS. MŚ. *bhañga°*) KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

*maṇḍūkāñ jambhyebhiḥ* (KSA. *jambhaiḥ*) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

*jambhābhyāṁ taskaraṁ* (p. p. *°rān*) *uta* MS.: *jambhyais* (KS. *°yebhis*) *taskarāṅ* (KS.† *°rān*) *uta* VS. TS. KS.

*aśvasya vāje* (KS. *krande*, TB. *krandye*) *puruṣasya māyau* AV. KS. TB.

*yo 'sya* (MŚ. *asya*, but Van Gelder *'sya*) *kauṣṭhya* (KS. *kauṣṭha*) *jagataḥ* KS. TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*śvetāya vaidarvāya* (PG. *°vyāya*, AG. ŚG. *°dārvāya*, MG. *vaitahavyāya*) . . . AG. PG. ŚG. ApMB. HG. MG.

*pāpāt svapnyād abhūtyāḥ* AV.: *pāpaḥ svapnād abhūtyai* KŚ. It would be pedantry to see in *svapnya* any really different meaning from *svapna.*

[*inatamam āptyam* (AV. *āptam*) *āptyānām* RV. AV. N. The AV. must doubtless be emended to *āptyam* with Whitney.]

(b) *Words equivalent in meaning; y follows one consonant*

**§316.** Next, forms in which the *y* follows a single consonant; both forms still equivalent in meaning. A small group shows the vriddhi of secondary derivation in the form without *y*, not in that with *y*:

*meghyā* (VS. *maighīr*) *vidyuto vācaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*bṛhanto daivāḥ* (VS. *divyāḥ*) VS. MS. ApŚ. *divya* from *div*, *daiva* from *deva*, but meaning the same.

*achinno divyas* (KS. ApŚ. *daivyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS. ApŚ. *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS KS. ApŚ. See next.

*bṛhaspatir devānāṁ* (ŚŚ. *daivo;* this belongs to §324) *brahmāhaṁ manuṣyāṇām* (ŚŚ. *mānuṣaḥ*) VSK. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *bṛhaspatir brahmāhaṁ mānuṣaḥ* LŚ. *mānuṣa* and *manuṣya* are precisely equivalent in all uses, tho here the former happens to be an adjective, the latter a noun. Cf. prec.

*kalpayataṁ mānuṣīḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *dṛṁhantāṁ daivīr viśaḥ kalpantāṁ †manuṣyāḥ* KS.

*dhiṣaṇāsi pārvatī* (VS. ŚB. *par°*, TS. TB. ApŚ. *parvatyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Adjectives *pārvata* and *parvatya* (and, if VS. ŚB. are right, *parvata*: Mahīdhara, *parvatātmikā*); all 'of the rock'. The VS. ŚB. reading is supported by the ms. readings (two occurrences) of KS., *parvatī* both times; von Schroeder has emended, with doubtful justice.

*araṇyāya* (MS. *āraṇāya*, but p. p. *araṇyāya*) *sṛmaraḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

**§317.** The rest show vriddhi either in both forms or in neither. Among them stands out a considerable group of cases of the perfectly equivalent stems *daiva* and *daivya*:

*daivo* (HG. *°vyo*) *yo mānuṣo gandhaḥ* ApMB. HG.

*daivā hotāraḥ saniṣan na etat* AV.: *daivyā hotāro* (TS. *°rā*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vani°*, KS. *†vaniṣan na*) *pūrve* (KS. *etat*) RV. TS. KS.

*daivyā* (AV. *°vā*) *hotārā* (TS. *°rāv*, AV. *°ra*) *ūrdhvam* (MS. adds *imam*, KS. *hotārordhvam imam*) *adhvaraṁ naḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 18. 17a (†).

*daivyaṁ* (MS. *°vaṁ*) *mānuṣā yugā* (MS. *yujā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.

*pauruṣeyād daivyāt* KS.: *pauruṣeyān na daivāt* AV. 4. 26. 7c.

*mānuṣād daivyam* (MŚ. *°vam*) *upaimi* TB ApŚ. MŚ.

*saṁ daivena* (VS. ŚB. both also *°vyena*; TA. *devena*) *savitrā* VS. ŚB. TA. Mahīdhara glosses both forms by *devena*.

**§318.** Another compact group is formed by variants of *sūra* and *sūrya*, again perfect equivalents:

*bṛhat sūro* (KS. *sūryo*) *arocata* RV. KS.

*sūryāso* (SV. *sūrāso*) *na darśatāsaḥ* RV. SV.

*sajūḥ sūra* (MS. *sūrā*, TS. *sūrya*) *etaśena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*sa sūra ā* (ŚŚ. *sūrye*) *janayañ jyotir indram* (ŚŚ. *indraḥ*) TB. ŚŚ.

*spardhante dhiyaḥ* (TS. KSA. *divaḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viṣaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA.

**§319.** The rest are sporadic:

*āpura stā mā prajayā paśubhiḥ pūrayata* ŚŚ.: *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata prajayā ca dhanena ca* TS. AŚ.

*agneḥ purīṣavāhanaḥ* (MS. *purīṣya°*; VS.† ŚB.† *°vāhaṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *purīṣa* and *°ṣya* are equivalent; Pāṇ. 3. 2. 65.

*kāmāyai svāhā* MG.: *kāmyāyai svāhā* MS. MŚ. Probably MG. corrupt.

*śakalyam* (AG. *śākalam;* sc. *tarpayāmi*) ŚG. AG. Both patronymics from *śakala*. Since Oldenberg's translation of ŚG. reads *śāk°*, we assume that *śākalyam* is the true reading; *śa°* probably misprint.

*yakṣmaṁ śroṇibhyāṁ* (ApMB. *śroṇī°*) *bhāsadāt* RV. AV. ApMB.: *yakṣmaṁ bhasadyaṁ śroṇibhyāṁ bhāsadam* AV. In RV. *bhāsada* is a noun; in the second AV. version it and *bhasadya* are both adjectives, and one (probably *bhasadyaṁ*, but Whitney suggests *bhāsadam*) must be omitted as an ancient gloss.

*rāyas poṣam audbhidam* (ApMB. *°dyam*) RVKh. VS. HG. ApMB.

*pāvamānāḥ, °nyāḥ,* and *°nyaḥ,* various Dharma texts. All adjectives from *pavamāna.*

*māyobhavyāya* (ŚG. *āyo°*) *catuspadī* AG. ŚG.: *catvāri māyobhavāya* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. SMB. PG. HG. MG. Equivalent nouns.

*adveṣe* (MS. *°ṣye*) *dyāvāpṛthivī huvema* (MS. *huve*) RV. VS. MS. 'Having no hostility' = 'not hostile'.

[*mitrāvaruṇābhyām ānuṣṭubhābhyām* . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA.† Conc. wrongly quotes KSA. as *ānuṣṭubhyā°*.]

*anyaṁ te asman* (NṛpU. *'sman*, AV. *asmat te*) *ni vapantu senāḥ* (AV. *senyam*) RV. AV. TS. NṛpU. *Senyam* must = *senā*.

(c) *Words not equivalent in meaning;* y *follows two consonants*

**§320.** In the rest, the two variant stems are not precisely equivalent to each other. In many cases the derivative adjective in *ya* is paralleled by a case-form of the primary noun or its equivalent, or by the primary noun used appositionally, or by a compound of it. In other cases the difference is yet greater, and sometimes the phonetic resemblance becomes rather remote, so that the extent of real phonetic influence is especially tenuous.

**§321.** As before, we list first cases in which the *y* follows two consonants, being then sometimes written *iy*:

*mandrābhirbhūtiḥ* (MŚ. *mandrā vibhūtiḥ*) *ketur yajñānāṁ* (MŚ. *yajñiyā*) *vāg* . . . TS. MŚ.

*viśve devā mama śṛṇvantu yajñiyāḥ* (ArS. *yajñam*) RV. ArS. ŚŚ.

*yajñaṁ-yajñaṁ* (KS. *yajñiyā yajñam*) *prati devayadbhyaḥ* (KS.† ŚŚ.† *°yaḍbhyaḥ*) VSK. KS. TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

*mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ.: *mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānaḥ* (TA. *gur vṛdhānaḥ*) MS. TA.

*iyaṁ pitryā* (AB. *vai pitre*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *pitre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV. GB. *etv*) *agre* AV. AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*putraḥ pitre* (KŚ. *pitrye*) *lokakṛj jātavedaḥ* TB. KŚ. ApŚ. 'As a son to his father': 'as a son at the (rite) of the fathers'.

*yā* (AV. omits) *antarikṣa* (KS. AG. °*kṣyā*) *uta pārthivīr yāḥ* (KS. *pārthivāsaḥ*, AV. *vā pṛthivyām*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. AG. (AVPpp. . . . *pārthivā yāḥ*.)

*namaḥ kāṭyāya ca gahvareṣṭhāya* (MS. °*ṣṭhyāya*, p. p. °*ṣṭhāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*indro jyeṣṭhānām* (MS. KS. *jyaiṣṭhyānām*, VS. ŚB. *jyaiṣṭhyāya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Of the noblest': 'of the highest nobilities': 'for highest nobility'.

*adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhaḥ svastyasyādhvanaḥ* (ApMB. *śreṣṭhasyādhvanaḥ*; MG. *śraiṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvanaḥ*) *pāram aśīya* AŚ. ApMB. MG. Read *svastyasyā*° in MG. with most mss.

*arghaḥ* HG.: *arghyam* ŚŚ. HG.: *arghyaṁ bhoḥ* Kauś.: *arhaṇīyā āpaḥ* ApG. *arghyam* '(water) of the *argha*'.

*adhyakṣāyānukṣattāram* TB.: †*ādhyakṣyāyānukṣattāram* VS.

**§322.** A considerable group concerns *uktha* and *ukthya*, the latter meaning 'a ceremony accompanied by *ukthas*', or 'one to be revered with *ukthas*':

*ukthaṁ vācīndrāya* TS. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.: *uktham avācīndrāya* ŚŚ.: *ukthyaṁ vācīndrāya śṛṇvate vā* AŚ.

*mantraṁ vadaty ukthyam* (NṛpU. *uktham*) RV. VS. MS. KS. AA. ApŚ. NṛpU.

*aṅgāni ta ukthyaḥ pātu* MS. ApŚ.: *ukthas* (! read *ukthyas*?) *te* †*'ṅgāni pātv asau* AŚ.

*ukthebhyas tvokthāvyaṁ gṛhṇāmi* KS.: *ukthyebhya ukthyāyuvam* ApŚ.

*uktham* (AŚ. *ukthyam*) *indrāya śaṁsyam* RV. SV. AŚ.

(d) *Words not equivalent in meaning; y follows one consonant*

**§323.** Coming to the cases in which a single consonant precedes the *y*, we find first a number of interchanges between *vīra* 'hero' and *vīrya* 'heroism':

*yau vīryair vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* AV.: *vīrebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* MS.: *vīryebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śac*°) VS. ŚB. TB. ṢB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*eṣa te yajño yajñapate sahasūktavākaḥ suvīraḥ* (AV. *suvīryaḥ*; VS. *sarvavīras* . . . ) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*anāmi kṣatram ajaraṁ suvīryam* (MS. KS. *suvīram*) RV. TS. MS. KS.

*sa* (also: *sā*) *no dohatāṁ suvīryam* (MŚ. *suvīram*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. (In all texts with both *sa* and *sā*.)

*purukṣu tvaṣṭā* (MS. °*ṭaḥ*) *suvīryam* (VSK. TS. *suvīram*) VS. VSK. TS. MS.

*nirdevaṁ nirvīraṁ* (KSA. °*ryaṁ*) *kṛtvā* . . . TS. KSA.

*prajām suvīrāṁ* (PG. *suvīryāṁ*) *kṛtvā* TS. PG.

**§324.** Next a group containing forms of stems *div* and *divya*, or once *deva* and *daivya;* cf. several similar cases at the beginning of §316:

*divaś chadmāsi* AG.: *divyaṁ chadmāsi* . . . LŚ.

*divo dhārāṁ bhindhi* KS.: *bhindhīdaṁ* (MS. *bhindhy ado*) *divyaṁ nabhaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS.

*madhye divo* (MS.* *divyo*) *nihitaḥ pṛśnir aśmā* VS. TS. MS. (both) KS ŚB.

*ahar divābhir* (MS. *vahad divyābhir*) *ūtibhiḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. *divābhir* is for *divā* + *ābhir*, but is understood by comm. on TA. as one word, = *dyotamānābhir*. This misunderstanding is responsible, also, for the variant of MS., which furnishes the only possible form if the word is to be taken as a single adjective.

*vācā tvā hotrā prāṇenodgātrā* . . . *pañcabhir daivyair* (MŚ. *devair*) *ṛtvigbhir uddharāmi* ApŚ. MŚ.

**§325.** The rest require no subdivision:

*ātir* (TS. KSA. *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vācaye* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*pāra* (p. p. of TS. *pāre*) *ikṣavo 'vāryebhyaḥ* (KSA.† *'vārīyebhyaḥ*) *pakṣmabhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.: *avāra* (p. p. of TS. °*re*) *ikṣavaḥ pāryebhyaḥ* (KSA. *pārīye°*) *pakṣmabhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.: *pāryāṇi pakṣmāṇy avāryā ikṣavaḥ*, and: *avāryāṇi pakṣmāṇi pāryā ikṣavaḥ* VS. MS.

*pāryāya kaivartam* TB.: *pārāya mārgāram* VS.: *avāryāya mārgāram* TB.: *avārāya kevartam* VS.

*eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathaḥ* RV. SV.: *eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣā* VS. ŚB.

*sugam ca me supatham* (VS. KapS. °*thyaṁ*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS.

*mā tvat kṣetrāṇy araṇāni* (MS. °*ṇyāni*, p. p. °*ṇāni*) *ganma* RV. TS. MS. KS. TB.

*bṛhatā tvā rathantareṇa traiṣṭubhyā* (KS. *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā* . . . MS. KS.: *bṛhadrathantarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā* . . . TS.

*sūpasthā asi vānaspatyaḥ* MŚ.: *sūpasthā devo vanaspatiḥ* TS. ApŚ.

*agne tvaṁ purīṣyaḥ* VS. KS. ŚB.: *agnaḥ purīṣam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB ApŚ. MŚ. And others, see Conc.

*namaḥ sobhyāya ca pratisaryāya* (MS. °*sarāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*namo lopyāya colapyāya* (MS. °*pāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*namaḥ parṇāya* (TS. KS.† *parṇyāya*) *ca parṇaśādāya* (VS. °*śadāya*, TS. °*śadyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*śukras te grahaḥ* (VS. ŚB. *grahyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. 'Draught': '(juice) for the draught'.

*atho varuṇyād uta* RV. AV. VS.: *nir mā varuṇād uta* (ApŚ. *adhi*) LŚ. ApŚ. Inferior meter in the latter.

*sa budhnyād* (TS. KS. AŚ. °*nād*) *āṣṭa januṣo 'bhy* (TS. KS. AŚ. *januṣābhy*) *agram* AV. TS. KS. AŚ. (AVPpp. agrees with the others; Barret, *JAOS* 37.260.)

*tayā gṛṇantaḥ sadhamādeṣu* AV.: *tayā madantaḥ sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh. VS. °*mādeṣu*) RVKh. VS. MS. KS. TB.: *tasthur gṛṇantaḥ sadhamādyāsaḥ* RV. AV. (Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* for RVKh., but his ms. °*mādyeṣu*.) In MS. KS. TB. *sadhamādya* means the same as °*māda* 'feast'; but in RV. AV. 'participant in a *sadhamāda*'.

*nir mā muñcāmi śapathāt* LŚ. ApŚ.: *muñcantu mā śapathyāt* RV. AV. VS.

*agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva* (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ.: *ava devānāṁ yaja heḍo agne* (KS. *yaje hīḍyāni*, MŚ. *yaje heḍyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ.: *ava devān yaje heḍyān* TB. ApŚ.

*namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya* (MS. *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*aṁhasaspataye tvā* VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *aṁhaspatyāya tvā* TS. MS. TB. ApŚ.

**§326.** We conclude the cases concerning the noun-suffix *ya* with a few variants which are in one way or another anomalous or at least peculiar:

*ūrjasvatī rājasvaś* (TS. *rājasūyāya*, MS. KS. °*sūyāś*) *citānāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *rājasūya*, adjective in MS. KS., is equivalent to *rājasū*: the suffix *ya* is here added after a vowel. In TS. it appears as a noun. Phonetically, the interchange in this and the next is between *-ūy-* and *-ū-*.

*svāhā rājasūyāḥ* (VS. ŚB. °*svaḥ*, TS. °*sūyāya citānāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. Cf. prec.

*mahādevam antaḥpārśvena* (VS.† °*parśavyena*) VS. TS. TA. Formally, the VS. form is based on *parśu* 'rib'. Mahīdhara: *antar . . . pārśvāsthisaṁbandhinā māṁsena*. The form *antaḥpārśvya* occurs in the next formula.

*āganma mitrāvaruṇā vareṇyā* (KS. °*yam*; MS. *vareṇa*) TS. MS. KS. Here the adjective *vareṇya-* is corrupted in MS. to *vareṇa*, instr. sing. of *vara-*.

Other cases of *y* in formative and inflexional elements

**§327.** There remain a few other cases which concern the presence or absence of a *y* which, when present, is still a formative or inflexional element, tho not the familiar secondary noun suffix which has been dealt with above. Thus, first, a couple of cases concerning the gerund or gerundive endings *ya:*

*upastutyaṁ mahi jātam* (MS. °*tyaṁ janima tat*; TS.* *upastutaṁ janima tat*) *te* †*arvan* RV. VS. TS. (both) MS. KS. Vait. Gerundive varies with past pple.

*uta prahām atidīvyā jayāti* (AV. °*dīvā jayati*) RV. AV. The RV. has a gerund form; the AV. a nom. sg. of stem *-dīvan*.

In another case an infinitive *martave* varies with *mṛtyave*, dative of *mṛtyu* (equivalent in meaning):

*jīvātave na mṛtyave* (PB. *martave*) RV. PB.

**§328.** A few variants concern noun inflexion. Thus change of gender accounts for the following (fem. forms in *y-aḥ* varying with masc. or neut. forms without *y*):

*āpo me hotrāśaṅsinaḥ* (AG. °*sinyaḥ*) ṢB. ApŚ. AG. 'The waters are my Hotrāśaṅsins'; the priest-name is once made fem. to agree with *āpaḥ*.

*varṣāś cākṣuṣyaḥ* VS. ŚB.: *varṣāṇi cākṣuṣāṇi* TS. MS. KS. Here the noun itself changes gender.

Or different case-forms vary:

*vi śloka etu* (AV. *eti*; TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, KS.† *sūraḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. Alternative forms *pathā* and *pathyā*. The latter may be nom. in RV. (so Oldenberg, *Noten* on 10. 13. 1); in most texts it is certainly instrumental.

*imāṁ narāḥ* (MŚ. ApŚ.* *naraḥ*) *kṛṇuta vedim etya* (MŚ. *etat*, but read *eta* with all mss. but one; ApŚ.† 2. 2. 6a *eta*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Caland recognizes *eta* as secondary to *etya*. The reading *etat* (actually *etad*, before *d-*) has no standing; were it anything but a blunder it would belong to §401.

*vāṁ ma āsan* (MŚ. PG. *āsye*) AV. TS. GB. TAA. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. PG. BDh. Both these forms are regular, from the related and equivalent stems *āsan* and *āsya*. Interest attaches to the form *āsyan*, which is read by Gaastra in GB. with all his mss., and which is also the reading of most mss. of AV. and Kauś., so that it seems to be the true Atharvan reading and should be adopted in all three texts. (Curiously, however, Garbe reports no such reading from

the mss. of Vait.; possibly this is an editorial oversight.) The form *āsyan* is evidently a blend of the other two forms.

**§329.** In the inflexion of the verb, likewise, variant forms with and without *y* occur. Thus, first, an inserted *y* is all that distinguishes a verb-form of the fourth present class from one of the sixth (and sometimes of the first); the same root now and then forms both, cf. VV I p. 125, where other instances are quoted, less close to each other in sound than the following:

*tapate svāhā* TS. KSA. TA.: *tapyate svāhā* VS.

*tapatyai* (TA. Poona ed. *tapyatvai*, v. l. *tapatyai*) *svāhā* KSA. TA.: *tapyatvai* (v. l. °*tyai*) *svāhā* TS. The form *tapyatvai*, if correct, would be from the Rigvedic adjective *tapyatu*, which is based on the present stem *tapya-* as much as *tapatyai* (pres. pple.) is based on stem *tapa-*.

**§330.** So the *y* of the passive, in forms which vary with active or middle forms; see VV I pp. 49 ff., where other cases, most of them more remote from each other in sound:

*yenākṣā* (ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*, SMB. *yenākṣān*, PG. *yenākṣyāv*) *abhyaṣicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. °*ṣiñcatam*; PG. °*ṣiñcatām*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG.

**§331.** Other verbal variants will be mentioned in the sections immediately following, where phonetic tendencies are more clearly at work. We will add here a single stray instance of verb forms:

*ubhau lokau sanem* (MŚ. *sanomy*) *aham* TB. TAA. ApŚ. MŚ. See VV I p. 78.

Presence or absence of *y* after palatal sounds and *kṣ*, *ṣ*, etc.

**§332.** Deserving of special treatment and emphasis are a considerable number of variants in which this evanescent *y* follows palatal consonants, or sibilants, especially *kṣ*. Here it is not to be doubted that the appearance and disappearance of the sound *y* is phonetic in character; connected, that is, with the difficulty of distinguishing pronunciation or non-pronunciation of *y* after such consonants. The *y* may sometimes be interpreted as an inflectional element, as in the following verb forms (most of them collected in VV I pp. 28–9):

*vācaspate vāco vīryeṇa saṁbhṛtatamenāyakṣase* (TA. °*yakṣyase*, ŚŚ. °*yachase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. Aorist in MS., future in TA.; in ŚŚ. a further phonetic variation (see §184), bringing the form into the sphere of *ā-yam*.

(*nct tvā . . .*) *dadhṛg* (TA. *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan paryaṅkhayāte* (TA. °*tai*, AV. *vidhakṣan parīṅkhayātai*) RV. AV. TA. Many mss. of AV. *vidhakṣyan*, which is certainly intended.

*śardhāṅsy agne ajarāṇi* (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣataḥ* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. See VV I p. 29.

*bhakṣo bhakṣyamāṇaḥ* (KS. *bhakṣa°*) VS. KS. So the single ms. of KS.; ed. emends to *bhakṣya°*. If the ms. reading were kept we should have to assume a pple. middle in form but passive in meaning.

*mekṣyāmy ūrdhvas tiṣṭham* AV., so emended by RWh.; all mss. *mekṣāmy*.

*yenākṣā* (*°kṣyāv*, etc.) . . . (see §330). In PG. *akṣyāv* is taken to be from *akṣi* 'eye', but is really a phonetic corruption.

**§333.** In one verb form the *y* appears after *ts*; it may be regarded as belonging with the *kṣ* cases in view of §§182 ff.:

*tenārātsyam* (GG. ŚŚ. MŚ. *°sam*; so also p. p. of MS.; most mss. of MŚ. *°syam* with MS. text) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ. GG. The proper form is *arātsam*, aorist; the conditional does not fit. See VV I p. 29.

**§334.** Other verb forms which belong in this category:

*ratho na vājaṁ saniṣyann* (SV. *°ṣann*) *ayāsīt* RV. SV. Clearly a phonetic slip in SV., making a sort of aorist pple.; Benfey, tho he interprets the form as aor., translates a future.

*ā vṛścyantām* (AV. *vṛścantām*) *aditaye durevāḥ* RV. AV. The AV. form is evidently a phonetic blunder; cf. VV I pp. 29, 51 f.

**§335.** Besides the verb forms quoted in §332, and a few containing the noun suffix *ya*, §§314 ff., we find the following cases of *y* present or absent after *kṣ*:

*dhuṅkṣāgneyī* (VSK. *°ṣyāgneyī* or *°ṣvāg°*) VS. VSK. MS.: *agnaye dhūṅkṣā* (TS. *°ṣṇā*) TS. KSA. See §255.

*tarakṣuḥ* (KSA.† *°kṣaḥ*) *kṛṣṇaḥ śvā caturakṣo* (KSA. *°kṣyā*) *gardabhas ta itarajanānām* TS. KSA. The ed. emends to *caturakṣo*, which seems necessary.

*akṣyos* (mss. *akṣos*) *tanvo rapaḥ* AV.

Cf. further such mss. readings as *vibhuṅkṣamāṇa* for *vibhuṅkṣya°* at Kauś. 23. 9, 38. 26.

**§336.** The other cases concern *y* present or absent after palatal consonants. Prominent among them are several cases concerning the root *ścut* (Wackernagel I p. 268). The forms written with *ścyut* may be partly contaminated with *cyu*; indeed the mss. also show forms which might be derived from that root, and sometimes their confusion is such that their intentions are doubtful:

*prasthitā vo madhuścutaḥ* (VSK. MS. *°ścyutaḥ*) VS. VSK. MS. TB. So the editions. But Poona ed. of TB. records a v. l. *°ścyutaḥ*; and per contra, all saṁhitā mss. of MS. read *°cyutaḥ* or *°ścutaḥ*.

*srucā devaṁ ghṛtaścutā* (KS. and v. l. of MS. *°ścyutā*) RV. TS. MS. KS.

*ghṛtaścuto madhuścutaḥ* TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ghṛtaścyuto madhuścyutaḥ* VS. MS. So v. l. and p. p. of MS. in the other passage. Moreover KS. has v. l. *ghṛtacyuto*, and for *madhu°* its two mss. read *°ścyutaḥ* and *°cyutaḥ*.

*dyaur yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat* ApŚ: *pṛthivyām avacuścotaitad* TB. ApŚ.: *yata ścutad dhutam agnāu tad astu* KŚ.: *yatra cuścutad agnāv evaitat* MŚ. (but the latter is a dubious emendation; better, *yatra ścutad*): *yata ścutad* (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ. See on this variant VV I p. 139.

**§337.** Other, miscellaneous cases after palatals:

*viṣṇoḥ śnaptre* (TS. *śnyaptre*, MS. *śipre*) *sthaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. The pronunciation of *n* after *ś* must have been approximately *ñ*; this is indicated by the TS. variant (v. l. and p. p., however, *śnaptre*); so the Vyāsaśikṣā 248 prescribes (cf. Keith, *HOS* 18. xxxvii).

*apāśnuṣṇim apā rakṣaḥ* (and, *apā ragham*) TA.: *apāśnyuṣṇim* etc. TA. So, correctly, Poona ed. *Aśn(y)uṣṇi* is an otherwise unknown epithet of Agni. The comm. explains only the form with *y*, monstrously: *aśnīnāṁ bhoktṝṇām uṣṇir dāhako yo 'gniḥ*. Cf. prec.

*mano jyotir* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *jūtir*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS. TB. Vait. *ājyam*, AŚ. *ājyaṁ me*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ.

*divo jyote* (KS.* *°tir*) *vivasva* (MS. *devajūte vivasvann*) . . . MS. KS.: *vivasvāṅ aditir devajūtis* . . . TS.

*mṛśase* (SV. *mṛjyase*) *pavase matī* RV. SV.

*śyāmā sarūpaṁkaraṇī* AV. 1. 24. 4a. Here the Berlin ed. reads *śāmā* with nearly all mss., but against comm., Ppp., and the evident sense, which demands *śyāmā;* see Whitney's note.

### Presence or absence of *y* before initial vowel

**§338.** To a considerable extent *y* is evanescent when unconnected with any consonant. That is, first, at the beginning of a word, and most commonly (tho not always) when the preceding word ends in a vowel. Secondly, or better as a special case under the preceding, there are cases in which the *y*, when it occurs, is not initial, but joins into one word two words which are unconnected in the form without *y*. In either case the forms without *y* often show a hiatus between two vowels, so that *y* presents the aspect of a kind of 'Hiatustilger', reminding us of the similar use of this sound in Prakrit (Pischel §353) and Pāli (Geiger §73); cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 31. The phenomena are, to be sure, accompanied by all sorts of etymological and grammatical changes; rarely do they show such purely phonetic character as in this:

*agne akṣīṇi* (HG. *agneyakṣīṇi*) *nir daha svāhā* ApMB. HG. As Kirste observes, HG. must intend *agne ak°*, so that *y* is a simon-pure 'Hiatustilger' and nothing else. See also *anāmayaidhi* etc., §344.

**§339.** The cases of initial *y* are:

*punar brahmāṇo* (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. *°nītir*, KS. *°dhītam* and † *°nītha*, MS. *°dhīta*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *agne* is probably original; it is preceded by *r* or *m* in AV. KS., by *e* in MS.; the latter would be specially apt to lead to the development of initial *y-*.

*añjanti suprayasaṁ* (AVPpp. *yuñjanti suprajasaṁ*) *pañca janāḥ* RV. AVPpp. MS. See §192.

*pitevaidhi sūnava ā* (MS. *sūnave yaḥ*) *suśevaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*devebhir aktaṁ* (VS. TS. *yuktaṁ*) *aditiḥ sajoṣāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*kāṣṭhā ajmeṣv* (SV. *yajñeṣv*) *atnata* RV. SV. A lect. fac. in SV.

*viśvakarmā vimanā ād vihāyāḥ* (KS. *°nā yo vyomā;* MS. *vimame yo vihāyāḥ;* TS. *manasā yad vihāyāḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. N.

*ameṣṭaṁ asi svāhā* VS. ŚB.: *yameṣṭaṁ asi* (with or without *svāhā*) TS. MS. KS. TB. 'Sacrificed at home (to Yama).' Preceded by *asi* in all. The preceding vowel *i* makes insertion or omission of *y* particularly easy.

*āśuṁ jayantam anu yāsu vardhase* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *yā saṁjayantam adhi yāsu vardhase* KS. The latter is doubtless secondary. Preceded by *girā*. KapS. *āśraṁ*, doubtless intending *āśum*.

**§340.** In some instances case-forms of the relative stem *ya* exchange with similar forms of the demonstrative stem *a*. This may be assumed to be partly due to the instability of initial *y:*

*triṁśad yasyā* (TB. *asyā*) *jaghanaṁ yojanāni* MS. KS. TB.

*asya* (SV. *yasya*) *te sakhye vayam* RV. SV.

*ghorā ṛṣayo namo astv ebhyaḥ* (MŚ. *astv adya yebhyaḥ*) AV. TS. MŚ.

*cakṣur yad eṣāṁ manasaś ca satyam* AV.: *cakṣur yeṣāṁ* (v. l. *hy eṣāṁ*) *tapa uccabhīmam* MŚ.: *cakṣuṣa eṣāṁ manasaś ca saṁdhau* TS.

*yasyāṁ* (v. l. *asyāṁ*) *devā abhi saṁviśantaḥ* MŚ. Others with *tasyāṁ*, see §281.

**§341.** And the same with adverbial forms derived from the same stems:

*mitro no atra varuṇo yujyamānaḥ* AV.: *mitro yatra varuṇo ajyamānaḥ* RV. Double case; the *y* of *yatra* seems as it were to jump the next word and attach itself to the participle in AV.

*yaded* (KS. *ād id*) *antā adadṛhanta* (TS. *adadṛṁh°*) *pūrve* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. This pāda precedes or (in KS.) follows the next; the

words *yad* (*yadā*) and *ād* are transposed in KS. owing to the transposition of the two pādas.

*ād* (KS. *yad*) *id dyāvāpṛthivī aprathetām*, same texts. See prec.

*athā* (TB.* *yathā;* AV. MS. TB.* *yatra*) *devaiḥ sadhamādaṁ madema* (AV. *madanti*, comm. *madema*) AV. MS. KS. TB. (all three) ApŚ. Preceded by a vowel all three times in TB.

*yathā* (RV. *atho*, VS. ŚB. *athā*) *na* (RV. *ta*) *indraḥ kevalīḥ* (VS. TS. ŚB. *indra id viśaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

*yathainaṁ jarase nayāt* AV.: *athainaṁ jarimā ṇayet* HG.

Cf. also: *yasya* (*vy asya*) *yoniṁ prati reto* etc., §363, and *yasyām idaṁ viśvaṁ* (*viśvaṁ hy asyāṁ*) etc., §386.

**§342.** Less common is the second class of cases, in which *y* in one reading connects two words which are unconnected in the form without *y*. In some cases it is scarcely to be doubted that the appearance of the form with *y* is related to avoidance of hiatus, as in the variant quoted at the end of §338. While no other case is as clear as that, lexical reinterpretation and other sound-changes being always involved, it is significant that the form containing the *y* is more often secondary, namely in the following group:

*vaiśvānaram ṛta ā* (TS. *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. 'Born for the *ṛta*' is obviously secondary.

*sudevam indre aśvinā* (MS. *indrāyāśv*°) VS. MS. TB. As in the last, a dative is substituted for a locative; both depend on *dadhuḥ* in the context.

*sahasrākṣo* (VSK. TS. KS. °*kṣa*) *medhāya* (TS. KS. *medha ā*) *cīyamānaḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'For (at) the sacrifice'; the latter probably original. Keith on TS. 4. 2. 10. 1 translates 'for'; his text seems to require 'at'.

*graha viśvajanīna niyantar viprāyāma te* (MS. p. p. *viprāya, mate;* KS. *nyantar vipra ā* †*satī*) MS. KS. As in prec., a loc. with *ā* varies with a dat.

*yo gopā api* (TB. *gopāyati*) *taṁ huve* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.

*ta ā vahanti* (MS. *tayāvahante;* KS. *tad āharanti*) *kavayaḥ purastāt* TS. MS. KS. TB. See Keith on TS. 1. 1. 2. 1. The original reading probably in TS.; Keith thinks that MS. may intend the same, with *tay* for *te*, altho its Brāhmaṇa explains *tayā* as referring to the *dhiṣaṇā*.

*datto asmabhyaṁ* (KS. *dattvāyāsma*°, AŚ. *dattāyāsma*°, corrupt for *dattvā*°, SMB. *dattāsma*°) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇaṁ yac ca bhadram* MS. See §367.

*mahyaṁ vātaḥ pavatāṁ* (KS. °*te*) *kāme asmin* (AV. *kāmāyāsmai*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

**§343.** In some cases, however, an original single word is broken up by omitting *y*, and leaving hiatus secondarily:

*pāvakayā yaś* (TS. *pāvaka ā*) *citayantyā kṛpā* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 453.

*pāhi gāyāndhaso* (SV. *gā andh°*) *made* RV. SV. The RV. has a regular 2d sing. impv. pres. from *gai;* the SV. an aor. inj., *gās*. Add to VV I §158.

*pitéva putraṁ jarase nayemam* (MS. *ma emam*) MS. KS. ApMB. HG. The MS. p. p. reads *jarasena, ā, imam*, corruptly pointing to the reading of the other texts.

**§344.** Consider also the following peculiar case:

*amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ† *ma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG.: *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB.: *anāmayaidhi mā riṣāma indo* Kauś. The mss. of Kauś. read *anāmayedhi;* the emended °*yaidhi* is supposed to contain double sandhi, for °*ya(ḥ) edhi*: 'be free from disease'. But the Kauś. reading may really intend *amā ma(y) edhi*, like AŚ. ŚG., with 'Hiatustilger' *y* as in §338. See Bloomfield's Introduction, p. lviii; and cf. §78.

**§345.** We have now considered the cases of plus or minus *y* which seem most clearly phonetic in character, in addition to those in which suffixal *y* is concerned. There is little else to record, except a group of variations between the pronominal stems *ta* and *tya*. The more archaic *tya* is generally the original, but twice it replaces *ta* in secondary texts:

*yad dha syā* (AV. *sā*) *te panīyasī* RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS.

*mayi tyad* (MS. *tad*) *indriyaṁ bṛhat* (KS. TB. TA. *mahat*, MS. *vīryam*) VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Pratīka in MŚ.: *mayi tyad* (so Knauer, but mss. mostly *tād*).

*yathā ha tyad* (TS. ApŚ. HG. *tad*) *vasavo gauryaṁ cit* TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. HG. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*ā nu tac* (SV. *tyac*) *chardho divyaṁ vṛṇīmahe* RV. SV.

*prati te* (AV. *tye*) *te ajarāsas tapiṣṭhāḥ* RV. AV.

*ud it te vasuvittamāḥ* ApŚ.: *ud u tye* (MS. MŚ. *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS. GB. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ.

**§346.** Other lexical variants, except those considered above where phonetic conditions are favorable, are very few:

*peśasvatī tantunā saṁvayantī* (KS. TB. °*vyayantī*) MS. KS. TB. Roots *vā* and *vyā*.

*endraṁ vagnunā vahata* PB.: *vagnunendraṁ hvayata* TB. ApŚ. (with metathesis of *h*).

**§347.** We conclude with a few textual errors and false readings which should probably all be eliminated:

*susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi* ŚŚ.: *suṣadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV. Berlin ed., violently emending the mss. which agree precisely with ŚŚ. but for the slight corruptions *gavom* and *ṣudasi*.

*vidad gavyaṁ saramā dṛḍham ūrvam* (TB. *ūrvyam*) RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. has the correct *ūrvam*, text and comm., without v. l.

*satāsatī* (comm. *satyasatī*) *prajāpatiḥ* TB. But Poona ed. comm. *satāsatī*.

*hiraṇyavad annavad dhehi* (ApŚ. *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS. ApŚ. The corruption may be graphic in nature.

*prayapsyann iva sakthyau* (TB. text *sakthau*) TB. ApŚ. But Poona ed. text and comm. *sakthyau*, the only possible reading.

*oṣiṣṭhahanaṁ śiṅgīnikośyābhyām* (TA. °*kośābhyām*) TS. TA.: *vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiṅgīni kośyābhyām* VS. Poona ed. of TA. °*kośyā*°.

*ayoddheva* (TB. °*dhyeva*) *durmada ā hi juhve* RV. TB. Tho Poona ed. has the same reading, it is surely corrupt; perhaps graphic. The comm. has the same, but explains it as tho *ayoddhā-iva*.

### 3. Presence or absence of *r*

**§348.** Owing to the rarity of *r* in formative syllables, this interchange appears mainly in radical syllables, producing lexical variations which are naturally along the line of least resistance; that is, the variant words are more or less synonyms. It may be assumed that the relatively faint pronunciation of the liquid was a contributory cause. The materials are very heterogeneous, however, and of less phonetic significance than was the case with *y*.

**§349.** We begin with groups of variants concerning nearly synonymous words and roots; and first, *śravas* and *śavas* and related words:

*śūro nṛṣātā śavasaś* (SV. MS. *śra*°) *cakānaḥ* (SV. *ca* †*kāme*) RV. SV. TS. MS.

*gṛṇānāḥ śravase* (SV. *śa*°) *mahe* RV. SV.

*satrā dadhānam apratiṣkutaṁ śavāṅsi* (SV. *śravāṅsi bhūri*) RV. AV. SV. TB.

*ā yo viśvāni śavasā* (SV. *śra*°) *tatāna* RV. AV. SV.

*śraviṣṭhāḥ stha* MS. KS.: *śaviṣṭhā stha rāṣṭradāḥ* VS. ŚB.

**§350.** The roots *dhā* and *dhṛ* and the like, in virtual synonyms:

*sado vaneṣu dadhiṣe* (SV. *dadhriṣe*) RV. SV.

*vṛṣā dharmāṇi dadhiṣe* (SV. *dadhriṣe*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

*yo naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhātā* (MS. *vidhartā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*dhātā vidhātā* (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota saṁdṛk* (KS. *paramo na saṁvṛk*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*daivyāya dhartre joṣṭre* (MS. *dhātre deṣṭre*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*devayor dharme* (MS. °*mā*, AV. *dhāmann*) *asthiran* AV. TS. MS. KS.

*kṣayasyāsi vidhataḥ* (SV. *vidhartā*) RV. SV. Here *vidhataḥ* from root *vidh*.

**§351.** Roots *pū* and *pṛ*:

*atirātraṁ vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ* (KS. *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*, TS. *varṣan pūrtir āvṛt*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS.

*apālām indra* (MG. *indras*) *triṣ* (ApMB. MG. *triḥ*) *pūtvī* (AV. *pūtvā*, MG. *pūrty a°*, ApMB. *pūrtvy a°*) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG.

**§352.** Roots *prī* and *pā*:

*śvātrāḥ pītā* (ViDh. *snātāḥ prītā*) *bhavata yūyam āpaḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ViDh.

*pra vām adhvaryuś carati prayasvān* (AV. °*tu payasvān*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Comm. on AV. *prayasvān*.

**§353.** Miscellaneous synonyms or near-synonyms, with some corruptions involving no further changes, or very slight ones, in the words; in the first case *r* possibly plays the rôle of 'Hiatustilger':

*ahiṁ budhnyam* (TS. °*niyam*) *anu rīyamāṇāḥ* (TS. *saṁcarantīḥ*, MS. KS. *anv īyamānāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Practically synonyms; note that *r* is initial, after a vowel, and probably secondary; a sort of 'Hiatustilger'? *r* is used in this way in Pāli.

*antarikṣe pathibhir īyamānaḥ* (GB. *hrīyamāṇaḥ*, so Gaastra without the v. l. *hīyamānaḥ* recorded in Bibl. Ind. ed.) RV. GB The AVPpp. 1. 107. 4 (Barret, *JAOS* 26.290) has the RV. reading; GB. perhaps corrupt, certainly secondary. Note the final *r* of the preceding word.

*vanasade* (MS. *vanarṣade*, KS. *vanṛṣade*) *veṭ* (TS. MS. *vaṭ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §650.

*mā tvaṁ hārṣīḥ śrutam mayi* PG.: *śrutaṁ me mā pra hāsīḥ* RVKh. 'Take away': 'abandon'.

*purā jatrubhya* (TA. ApMB. *jartṛbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhyā*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyaḥ*) *ātṛdaḥ* (MS. °*da*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. Comm. on TA. tries to derive its corrupt form from root *jar* (*jṛ*).

*vikirida* (KS. °*ḍa*, VS. °*dra*, MS. *vyakṛḍa*) *vilohita* VS. TS. MS. KS. See §168.

*ya ṛte* (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad ṛte*, PB.† *yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. ApMB.: *jari cetīd abhiśiṣaḥ* MS. (corrupt, see §193).

*jāgṛtsyas* (mss., v. l. *yā gṛ°*) *tripañcāśīḥ* AV.: *yā(ḥ) kṛechrās tri°* AVPpp. See §§185, 192.

*śunaṁ ma iṣṭaṁ śunaṁ śāntaṁ* (p.p. *śrāntaṁ*) . . . MS.: *svaṁ ma* (AB. *ma idam*) *iṣṭaṁ . . . svaṁ śrāntaṁ* (TB. text *śrātaṁ*, Poona ed. *śrāntaṁ*) . . . AB. TB. ApŚ.: *svaṁ ma iṣṭam astu śunaṁ śāntaṁ* . . . KS.

*hotā yakṣat sarasvatīṁ* (KS. *bṛhaspatiṁ*) . . . *śroṇitaḥ* (KS. *śoṇitaś;* Conc. suggests reading *śro°*) . . . VS. KS.

*pṛthivi bhūvari* (KS. *vibhū°*) *sinīvāly urandhra* (KS. *uraṁdha*) *ācitte* . . . KS ApŚ. An obscure epithet of earth; perhaps belongs in §350.

*agne 'dabdhāyo 'śīrtatano pāhi vidyot* KS.: *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītatano pāhi mādya divaḥ* . . . TS. TB. ApŚ.: *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītama pāhi mā didyoḥ* VS. ŚB. In KS., apparently the original, 'having uninjured body'; TS., 'having not cold body', an over-sophisticated lect. fac. VS. has a further change, by haplology, and is really uninterpretable; comm. either 'most eating' or 'most obtaining', of which the former is adopted by BR. and fits Agni well enough, but is formally unsatisfactory.

*vi jihīṣva lokaṁ kṛṇu* AV.: *vi jihīrṣva lokān kṛdhi* TA. The AV. is original: 'go apart (root *hā*), make room.' TA. comm. takes it as desiderative from *hṛ* (*vihartum icha*), which would require *jihīrṣasva*.

*anādhṛṣṭaṁ sahasyaṁ* (TS. KS. *sahasriyaṁ*) *sahasvat* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'Thousandfold mighty', probably original: 'powerful and mighty', lect. fac.

*yo agniḥ kravyavāhanaḥ* (VS. KS. *kavya°*) RV. VS. KS. AŚ.: *yad agne kavyavāhana* TS. Euphemistic change of *kravya°* to *kavya°*.

*yata āttas* (AŚ. *ārttas*) *tad ayan punaḥ* TS. AŚ. 'Whence it was taken, to it it has returned.' AŚ. mere blunder or misprint.

*prati vastor aha* (AV.* *ahar*) *dyubhiḥ* RV. AV. (both) SV. ArS. VS. KS. ŚB.: *praty asya vaha dyubhiḥ* TS. The comm. on AV. has *aha;* *ahar* is a blunder suggested by *dyubhiḥ*.

*apāṁ tvā sadhiṣi* (MS.† *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *sadhiṣ-i*, 'in the seat'; *sadhriṣu* ('mere blunder', Keith on TS. 4. 3. 1. 1) perhaps with thought of RV. *sadhrī*.

*anābho mṛḍa dhūrta* (MS. °*te*, v. l. °*ta*) MS. MŚ.: *anārbhava mṛḍa* KS. ApŚ. See §749.

*śaṁ no bhava hṛda ā pīta indo* RV. GB. AŚ. Vait. MŚ. According to Gaastra, all his mss. read *indro* for *indo*, a stupid blunder which he disregards, printing *indo* in his text.

*ā na indra* (and, *indo*) *mahīm iṣam* RV. (both)

*vyṛddhyā apagalbham* (TB. *apra°*, but Poona ed. text and comm. *apa°*) VS. TB. Probably mere misprint.

*potrāgnīdhro* (read with Gaastra *potā°*) *nihitaṁ pādam ekam* GB.

**§354.** The following involve different word-divisions:

*yasya* (ApMB. *vy asya*) *yoniṁ patireto gṛbhāya* (ApMB. HG. *prati reto gṛhāṇa*) ŚG. HG. ApMB.

*āyuḥpati rathaṁtaraṁ* (MŚ. *āyuḥ pratirath°*) *tad aśīya* etc. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter corrupt.

*yena bhūyaś* (PG. *bhūriś*) *carāty* (MS. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*, corrupt; PG. *carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §61.

*tan mā jinva* (KS. *mārjitvā*) TS. MS. KS. 'Quicken me': 'cleansing it'.

*sa vaḥ sarvāḥ saṁ carati prajānan* AV.: *sarvaḥ sarvā* (p.p. *saḥ, sarvāḥ*) *vi caratu prajānan* MS. The latter carelessly assimilates to the following *sarvāḥ*.

*mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt* (JB. *yono vāṁ hārasīḥ*) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms obscure.

*agnir hotreṇedaṁ* (ŚŚ. *hotreṇa*) *havir ajuṣata* MS. ŚŚ.: *agnihotreṇedaṁ havir . . .* TB. AŚ. But *agnir ho°* must certainly be read in all texts, with Poona ed. of TB.

*ud vaṅśam iva yemire* RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mbh.

**§355.** In the next group accompanying changes in adjoining vowels or consonants make the two variant words less close phonetically:

*ūrdhvacitaḥ* (MS. KS. *°śritaḥ*) *śrayadhvam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. See §195.

*svāṁ tanvaṁ* (*tanuvaṁ*) *varuṇo 'suṣot* (TS. TB. *aśiśret*) TS. MS. KS. TB. See §287.

*pred u harivaḥ śrutasya* (SV. *sutasya*) RV. SV. TS. See §278.

*triśug* (AŚ. *triśrud*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS. *gharmas sadam in me vibhāti*) KS. TB. TA. AŚ. See §145.

*śivā rutasya* (TS. and v. l. of MS. *rudrasya*, VSK. *śiva ṛtasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. *°jā*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

*apūtapā ādhūyamānaḥ* TS.: *viṣṇur āprītapā āpyāyyamānaḥ* VS. 'Drinker of unpurified (soma)': 'protecting when propitiated (?)'.

*rudrāṇām urvyāyāṁ* (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyāṁ*, ŚŚ. *omyāyāṁ*) . . . ŚB. ApŚ. ŚŚ. See §228.

*amoci* (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. PB. ApMB. See §60.

*anu daha sahamūrān kravyādaḥ* (SV. *kayādaḥ*) RV. SV.: *sahamūrān anu daha kravyādaḥ* AV. Benfey explains the SV. form as from *kaya* = *kāya* + *ad*, 'body-eating'. This would imply metric shortening of *ā* to *a*. There may be involved euphemistic avoidance of the word *kravyād*, as in *kravyavāhana: kavya°*, §353.

*ā sutrāvṇe* (MS. KS. *bhūyiṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatim āvṛṇānaḥ* AV. MS. KS.: *oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatiṁ gṛṇānāḥ* TS. It is likely that the original form was *āśutrāvṇe*, cf. Whitney on AV. 19. 42. 3. The TS. form, tho impeccable, is secondary.

**§356.** Among the rarer cases of presence or absence of *r* in formative elements, we begin with a miscellaneous group concerning verb inflexion:

*ghṛtaṁ duhata* (RV.* *duhrata*) *āśiram* RV. (both) SV. See *RVRep.* 137, 562, and VV I p. 169.

*te dakṣiṇāṁ duhate* (AV. *te duhrate dakṣiṇāṁ*) *saptamātaram* RV. AV. See VV I, l. c.

*utainaṁ* (NīlarU. *uta tvā*) *gopā adṛśran* (TS. NīlarU. *adṛśan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. See VV I p. 170. Followed by:

*adṛśrann* (TS.† *adṛśann*) *udahāryaḥ* VS. TS See ibid.

*apa snehitīr* (SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS.† *nṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi* (Poona ed. *snuhi*) *taṁ nṛmṇām athadrām* TA. See §110, and VV I p. 170.

*sarasvatyā* (AV. °*yām*) *adhi manāv* (KS. *mānā*, v. l. *manā;* SMB. *vanāva*, but Jörgensen *manāv;* AV. *maṇāv*) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (KS. and SMB. Jörg. *acak*°; SMB. Conc. *carkṛdhi*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. The KS. also has v.l. *acark*°, which perhaps should be read thruout. Jörgensen assumes dissimilation; see VV I p. 149.

Compare further variants between the verbal endings *-re* and *-rire*, VV I p. 170, and: *ghṛtaṁ mimikṣe* (TA. °*kṣire*) *ghṛtam asya yoniḥ* RV. VS. TA., ibid. p. 214.

**§357.** Finally, another not much larger group concerns suffixal or inflexional syllables of nouns. These cases belong to noun formation or inflexion. It may be noted, however, that in a number of cases—those listed first—the *r*, when present, follows a consonant group. In these, especially, some phonetic element in the shift may be suspected; cf. the similar cases with *y*, §§314–5, 321–2, and our chapter on Consonant Groups below:

*bhūri śastaṁ* (SV. *śastraṁ*) *pṛthuḥ svaruḥ* RV. SV. VS. Synonyms; but here the form without *r* is older.

*atividdhā vithureṇā cid astrā* (MS. *astāḥ*) RV. MS. KS. The MS. is secondary and may be a phonetic simplification or corruption.

*na kir devā minīmasi* RV.: *na ki devā inīmasi* SV. Anomalous reduction of *na-kis* to *na-ki*.

*sūro rathasya naptyaḥ* (ArS. *naptryaḥ*, TB. *naptriyaḥ*) RV. AV. ArS. KS. TB. Feminine stems *naptī* and *naptrī*, the latter influenced by *naptar*.

*tvaṣṭīmatī* (TA. Conc. *tvaṣṭrī°*, which is a v. l. in Poona ed., its text *tvaṣṭī°*) *te sapeya* TS. ApŚ. TA.: *tvaṣṭṛmantas* (MS. MŚ. *tvaṣṭri°*, ApŚ. *tvaṣṭu°*) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The MS. MŚ. ApŚ. forms are Prakritic in vocalism. In the Tait. school form, which concerns us here, the stem *tvaṣṭṛ* is, as it were, feminized. Add to VV I §345.

*praty etā vāmā . . . pratiṣṭhotopavaktar* (ŚŚ. *°vakta*, v. l. *°vaktar*) *uta . . .* KB. ŚŚ.: *praty etā sunvan . . . pratiṣṭhotopavaktar uta . . .* AŚ. The form can only be construed as nom.; *°vakta*, if it is intended, must stand for *°vaktā* with partial sandhi (*ā* shortened, §991). But it looks as if all texts intended *°vaktar*. Hillebrandt, on ŚŚ., p. 252 note, suggests that *ru* is a bad writing for *u*; but it is pretty widespread to be a mere graphic error. Is *r* a kind of sandhi consonant or Hiatustilger, as in Pāli? Cf. the first variant in §353. Or is *°vaktar* used as nom.? Cf. the nom. neut. (?) forms in *-tari*, Wackernagel III p. 205 supra.

*viśvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. *°ṣebhyaḥ*) AV. KS.: *viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhiyaḥ* VS. TS. See §783.

*vaptā* (ApMB. *vaptrā*, HG. MG. *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG. *°ti*) *keśaśmaśru* (AG. PG. MG. *keśān*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. *vaptrā* is an assimilation to preceding instrumentals.

*ā mā stutasya stutaṁ gamyāt* (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait.: *ā mā stotrasya stotraṁ gamyāt* PB. Synonyms.

*matyai śrutāya* (*mahe śrotrāya*) *cakṣase* AV. (both)

*gharmaṁ pāta vasavo yajata* (TA. *°tā*, MS. *°trā*) *vāṭ* (MS. *veṭ*, TA. *vaṭ*) VS. MS. TA. ŚB. *yajata* (*°tā*) is a verb, 'sacrifice ye'.

*gaur dhenubhavyā* (HG. *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB. HG. See §818.

*agner agneyāny* (KS. *agniyāny*) *asi* (one ms. and p.p. of MS. *agner agner yāny asi*) MS. KS.: *devānām agneyāny asi* TS.: *agner yāny asi* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *agneyānī*, certainly the true reading of TS. and probably of MS., is a curious tatpuruṣa compound in which the stem vowel of the first member is assimilated to the vowel of the genitive ending. 'Path of Agni' is meant in every case. KS. has the regular form, and for that reason may be suspected of being secondary.

*bṛhaspatisutasya* (TS. MS. add *ta*, VS. VSK. ŚB. add *deva soma ta*) *inda* (TS. *indo*, VS. ŚB. *indor*) *indriyāvataḥ . . .* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Gen.: voc.

*sa viśvācīr* (KS. *°cī*) *abhi caṣṭe ghṛtācīḥ* (KS. *°cī*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The KS. changes an accus. plur., with which a noun has to be

supplied (the commentators and translators are at sea as to what noun), into a dual form agreeing with *rodasī* in the preceding pāda.

*devī dvārau* (Vait. *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā saṁtāptam* TS. AŚ.Vait. Cf. prec., and §732.

*asmadrātā madhumatīr* (KS. °*tī*) . . . MS. KS. ŚŚ. and others; §800.

*gaurīr* (°*rī*) *mimāya* . . . , *see* §545.

### 4. Presence or absence of *v*

**§358.** Doublets with or without *v* seem to have existed to some slight extent in IE times, and still exist historically in the Veda and even in Sanskrit (cf. Wackernagel I §232c). Among the variants they are fairly numerous. Undoubtedly most interesting is the large class in which *v* is initial before a vowel. Frequently, tho not always, the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we seem to be dealing with a tendency to bridge over hiatus by the sound *v*, as in the case of *y* (§§338–44), and to a much slighter extent *r* (§353). As with those sounds, however, the form with *v* is not by any means always secondary in text history.

#### *v* initial before a vowel

**§359.** Here the place of honor belongs to the rime-words *ṛṣabha* and *vṛṣaṁbha*, perfect synonyms, which exchange on a large scale. In some cases we seem to detect quite clearly the above-mentioned tendency to avoid hiatus by using the form with *v* when the last word ends in a vowel. But this is by no means universal.

*vṛṣabheṇa* (TS. *ṛṣ°*) *tvaṣṭā* TS. KS. This is an instructive case; it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel in KS., in a consonant in TS. We can hardly believe that it is entirely accidental that KS. begins with *v-*.

*vatso virājo vṛṣabho matīnām* AV.: *pitā virājām ṛṣabho rayīṇām* TB. Observe that *ṛṣ-* is preceded by a final *-m*, *vṛṣ-* by a final vowel. It is as if *v* shifted to *m* (§236).

*vṛṣabheṇa* (TS. *ṛṣ°*) *gāḥ* (KS. *gāvaḥ*) TS. KS. KSA. The single ms. of KSA. has corruptly *aśvā-vṛṣa°*, which Von Schroeder emends to *aśvān vṛ°*, but he adds a note that perhaps the TS. reading (*aśvān ṛṣ°*) should be adopted.

*vṛṣabhaṁ* (VS.* *ṛṣ°*) *naryāpasam* RV. AV. SV. VS. (both) MS. TB. Here preceded by a consonant.

*ṛṣabhāya* (MS. *vṛṣ°*) *gavayī* (TS. KSA. *rājñe gavayaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. A consonant precedes.

*ṛṣabho* (KS. *vṛ°*) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. A consonant precedes.

*vṛṣabho 'si svargaḥ* AV.: *ṛṣabho 'si svargo lokaḥ* TB. Initial in verse.

*kakubhaṁ* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *°haṁ*) *rūpaṁ vṛṣabhasya* (KS. *rūpam ṛṣ°*) *rocate bṛhat* (VSK. *bṛhan*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*astabhnād dyāṁ vṛṣabho* (TS. MS. *dyām ṛṣ°*) *antarikṣam* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. KŚ.

*bṛhad ṛṣabhaṁ* (TB. *vṛ°*, but Poona ed. text and comm. *ṛ°*) *gāṁ vayo dadhat* VS. TB.

*śākvarā* (LŚ. *ye śāk°*) *ṛṣabhā* (AV. *vṛṣ°*) *ye svarājaḥ* AV. LŚ. Note the vowel preceding.

*rathe akṣeṣv ṛṣabhasya* (KS. TB. *°ṣu vṛ°*; so AV. comm., and so Ppp. intends, Barret, *JAOS* 30. 204) *vāje* AV. KS. TB.: *ratheṣv akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāḥ* ViDh.

**§360.** There are no other forms with and without *v* that are precisely identical in meaning. But we find a considerable number of other cases of presence or absence of initial *v* before a vowel, in many of which the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we may suspect influence of the tendency to avoid hiatus, even tho lexical considerations always play their part, and even tho the form with hiatus is sometimes secondary, reversing the direction of the process:

*te arṣantu te varṣantu* . . . LŚ.: *te varṣanti te varṣayanti* AV. Roots *arṣ* 'rush' and *varṣ* 'rain'. One is inclined to suspect assimilation to the following *varṣ-* in AV.

*ṛjīte* (KS. *vṛj°*) *pari vṛṇdhi naḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. Initial in the verse: Von Schroeder says on KSA., 'wohl fehlerhalt für *ṛjīte*'. Perhaps assimilated to the following *vṛṇdhi*.

*śalmalir vṛddhyā* (KSA. *ṛddhyā*) VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. Synonyms.

*agne vājajid vājaṁ tvā* . . . VS. ŚB. TB. Vait. ApŚ.: *ājiṁ tvāgne* . . . MŚ. Synonyms since earliest times. Note preceding vowel before *vāja°*.

*vareṇyakratūr* (AV. *°tur*, ApŚ. *īḍenya°*) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ.: *vīreṇyaḥ kratur indraḥ suśastiḥ* RV.

*hṛtsu kratuṁ varuṇo* (MS. *°ṇaṁ*) *vikṣv* (RV. *apsv*, MS. *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV. VS.† TS.† MS. KS. ŚB.† For the RV. original is substituted *vikṣv* after preceding vowel, with quasi-'Hiatustilger' *v* and other phonetic changes (cf. especially §153a). On MS. see §869 (a further, graphic change).

*tad āyuḥ* (ApŚ. *vāyuḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ. 'That is life (wind, breath)'.

*asuṁ* (AV. TS. *vasuṁ*) *gharmaṁ divam* (VS. *svar*) *ā tiṣṭhatānu* (AV. *rohatānu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *asu* 'life': *vasu* 'weal' (with ungrammatical *m*); preceded by vowel; *asu* is original, as shown by RV. 10. 14. 12, 15. 1 (cf. 10. 15. 9, 10).

*devā gātuvido gātuṁ vittvā* (VSK. *gātum itvā*) *gātum ita* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Cf. *gātuṁ vittvā gātum ihi* MS. ApŚ.; *devā gātuvido* (MŚ. adds *gātuṁ vittvā*) *gātuṁ yajñāya vindata* . . . TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Finding' and 'going upon' the way are much the same thing, but the former is obviously original; VSK. assimilates to the following *ita*.

*tve iṣaḥ* (KS. *viśve*, MS. *tva eṣaḥ*) *saṁdadhur bhūrivarpasaḥ* (TS.† *bhūri-retasaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. On MS. see §694. KS. clearly secondary, with quasi-epenthetic *v* between vowels.

*dhiṣaṇe vīḍū* (VS. VSK. *vīḍvī*, KS. *vīte*, MS. MŚ. *īḍite*) *satī* (MS. KS. MŚ. omit) *vīḍayethām* (MS. MŚ. *īḍethām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §169.

*tigmam anīkaṁ viditaṁ sahasvat* AV.: *tigmam āyudhaṁ vīḍitaṁ* (KS. °*dham īḍitaṁ*) *sahasvat* TS. MS. KS. 'Implored' of KS. is secondary to 'strong'; AV. is still farther afield, see §169.

*yo antaro mitramaho vanuṣyāt* (KS. *anu*°) RV. KS. ApŚ. 'Who . . . fights against us.' KS. seems to feel a form from *anu* + *as*, as in English slang, 'who is after us'. Reverse of 'Hiatustilger'. KapS. *vanuṣyā*.

*namo vīdhryāya* (MS. *vīdhriyāya*, p.p. *vīdhryāya;* TS. *nama īdhriyāya*) *cātapyāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Both forms are obscure; TS. probably secondary. See Keith's note.

*īśāna imā bhuvanāni vīyase* (SV. *īyase*) RV. SV. Note absence of sandhi (complete hiatus) in SV.; reverse of 'Hiatustilger' with a vengeance!

*mahīva dyaur adha* (AV. *vadha*) *tmanā* RV. AV. *vadhatmánā* (sic) not divided in p.p., and regarded by Whitney as a mere corruption; he translates the RV. Still, the AV. may be rendered: 'slay (our assailant, O Soma) by thyself'.

*ahar* (MS. *vahad*) *divābhir* (MS. *divyābhir*) *ūtibhiḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. *ahar*, adverb. 'by day'. One ms. of MS. with p.p. *vahaḍ* (*ḍ* or *d* for *r*, §§272, 272a); preceded by a vowel, so that it is a case of 'Hiatustilger'.

*viśāṁ vavarjuṣīṇām* (AV. *viśām avar*°) RV. AV. The original means, 'of the folk who have prepared (the *barhis*)', Bloomfield, *JAOS* 35. 275. The AV. uses it in a patchwork hymn dealing with a wholly different situation; the initial *a-* must be taken as privative, 'who have not defended themselves' (*vṛj* = *pari-vṛj* as in Classical Skt.). Cf. Whitney ad loc. The retention of the perfect pple. form shows the badness of the AV.

*mahī no ıātā ıha vāntu bhūmau* AV.: *mihaṁ na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV. Reverse of 'Hiatustilger'.

*abhūr āpīnām* (HG. °*ṇām*; AV. mss. *v āpī*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB. Others, §46.

*ramayata* (KS. °*tā*) *marutaḥ śyenam āyinam* (MŚ. *marutaḥ pretaṁ vājinam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*mā tvā ke cin ni* (AV. *cid ṭvi*) *yemur viṁ* (SV. *cin ni yemur in*, TA. *cin nyemur in*) *na pāśinaḥ* RV. SV. AV. VS. TA. *vim*, acc. of *vi*, secondarily reduced to the particle *in* (*id*).

*vīḷvīr yāmann avardhayan* VS.: *viḍvīr yāman vavardhayan* TB. (Conc.). But Poona ed. of TB. has correctly *yāmann avar*°.

**§361.** In two cases of this kind the secondary form with initial *v* (after a vowel; 'Hiatustilger') is felt as containing the preposition *ava*:

*pro ārata* (TB. *'vārata*) *maruto durmadā iva* RV. TB. 'Rush along, Maruts, like madmen.' Comm. on TB. *avārata dhāvata*.

*uruṣya rāya eṣo* (VSK. *rāyo 'veṣo*, i.e. *ava, iṣo;* TS. MS. KS. *rāyaḥ sam iṣo*) *yajasva* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *ava-yaj* 'remove by sacrifice' with object *iṣo*, is peculiarly inept.

**§362.** A couple of other peculiar cases seem also to belong in this category, altho the *v*, when found, is not initial in its word:

*agninendreṇa somena . . . upa te huve savāham* (KSA. *huve 'sā aham*) TS. KSA. 'I summon for thee, O offering': 'I, so and so (*asau* 'N.N.'), summon for thee'. If, as we are inclined to assume, KSA. is original, the TS. reading uses *v* as a sort of 'Hiatustilger', yielding a different lexical result. The same with *brāhmaṇān ṛtvijo devān . . ., iṣṭena pakvam . . ., devān sendrān . . .*

*aṅkāṅkaṁ* (MS. *aṅkāv-aṅkaṁ*, so divided in p.p.; KS. *aṅkaṅkaṁ*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Nothing is known of the original form or meaning of this word (said by comms. to mean 'water'); note the curious KS. variant, with short *a*. It may be that MS. has a kind of 'Hiatustilger' with its *v*.

### *v* initial before a consonant

**§363.** So far initial *v* before a vowel. In a few cases the same *v* appears or disappears before an initial consonant:

*reśīnāṁ* (VS. ŚB. *vre*°) *tvā patmann ādhūnomi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *reśīṣu* (sc. *te śukra śukram ādhunomi*) TS. An epithet of water, of unknown etymology and meaning; *v-* presumably unoriginal.

*agne yajasva* (AV. *vyacasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV. AV. MS. See §57.

*apāvṛṇod duro aśmavrajānām* (MS. *asmad-rathānām*, p.p. *asmin, ra*°) RV. MS. TA. The MS. is hardly interpretable.

*yasya* (ApMB. *vy asya*) *yonim̐ prati reto gṛhāṇa* (ŚG. *patireto gṛbhāya*) ŚG. ApMB. HG. Cf. §354. *vy asya* 'open' must be intended; *yasya* makes no sense.

*v* not initial

**§364.** Coming to non-initial *v*, present or absent, we shall find that strictly phonetic influences are more indeterminate, tho even here we believe that they are not absent. We shall, however, begin with several groups of cases which concern lexical interchanges between familiar forms both well established in the language. In them probably the phonetic moment is evanescent. Thus, first, the prefixes *sva-* and *sa-* vary. Comment is hardly necessary, except that both vary equally easily with *su-*, see §§612 and 741:

*satavasemaṁ* (KS. *sva°*) *yajñaṁ divi deveṣu dhattām* MS. KS. TB.

*sūro na svayugvabhiḥ* (SV. *sayu°*) RV. SV.

*viśvā dveṣāṁsi tarati svayugvabhiḥ* (SV. *sayu°*) RV. SV. Better meter in RV. (anapest after cesura).

*indra svayugbhir matsveha* (ApŚ. *sayugbhir didyun na matsvā madāya*) *mahe raṇāya* AV. ApŚ.

*yajño bhūtvā yajñam āsīda . . . sakṣaya* (MŚ. *svakṣaya*) *ehi* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

**§365.** There is, of course, a much clearer change of meaning in the rather numerous cases of shift between various forms of the pronouns in *tv-* and forms of the demonstrative stem *ta-*. At the end of the list we add, because of the phonetic similarity, a single case each of shift between a *tv-* form and the enclitic *te* (2d person), and between *kva* and *kā* (both from the interrogative stem):

*tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it* RV.: *tvām arbhasya haviṣaḥ samānam it* SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Followed by:

*tam in mahe vṛṇate nānyaṁ tvat* RV.: *tvāṁ maho vṛṇate* (TB. ApŚ. *vṛṇate naro*) *nānyaṁ tvat*, same texts.

*tam* (TA. *tvam*) *u nir vāpayā punaḥ* RV. TA.

*tvāṁ* (MS. *tām*) *śaśvanta* (MS. *°tā*) *upa yanti vājāḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*paramāṁ taṁ* (TB. ApŚ. *tvā*) *parāvatam* AV. TB. ApŚ.

*etat tvātra pratimanvāno* (AŚ. *°vanvāno*) *asmi* (AŚ. †*asmin*) VS. AŚ ŚŚ. Vait.: *etat tān pratimanvāno asmin* LŚ.

*yā tāṁ rātrīm upāsmahe* PG.: *yāṁ tvā rātry upāsmahe* (TS. *upāsate*, SMB. *rātri yajāmahe*) AV. TS. SMB.: *ye tvā rātry* (MG. *rātrīm*) *upāsate* KS. MG.

*tvaṁ gopāya* MG.: *taṁ gopāya* etc., see Conc.

*prajāyai mṛtyave tvat* (TA. *tat*) RV. TA. Here the stem *tva-* is not the 2d personal pronoun.

*tayānantaṁ* (MŚ. *tvayāgne*) *kāmam* (ŚŚ. *lokam*) *ahaṁ jayāni* (MŚ. °*mi*) AŚ.† ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.

*tayā* (ApMB. *tvayā*) *prattaṁ svadhayā madantu* (ApMB. °*ti*, v. l. °*tu*) ApMB. HG.

*tayāhaṁ* (MS. *tvayā*°) *śāntyā . . . śāntiṁ karomi* MS. TA.: *tābhiḥ śāntibhiḥ . . . śamayāmy aham* AV.

*tvayā* (TAA. 10. 1. 9 *tayā*) *hatena pāpena* TA. TAA.† MahānU.

*yajuryuktaṁ sāmabhir āktakhaṁ tvā* (MS. *ṛktakhaṁ tā*) MS. TA. The words are bad enough in either case. MS. p.p. *ṛkta-kháṁ, tā*, making *tā* an independent enclitic; *ṛktakhaṁ* is not in any lexicon. But *āktakhaṁ* is little better. TA comm.: *āktāny āpyāyitāni khānīndriyāṇy avayavā yasya pravargyasya so 'yam āktakhas tādṛśam; sāmagānena hi pravargya āpyāyito bhavati.* (!)—Boehtlingk, p.w. 2. 293, 'dessen Büchse geschmiert ist'.

*puras tvā* (ŚŚ. *purastāt*) *sarve kurmahe* AB. ŚŚ. Here *-tāt* is an adverbial ending, not a pronoun. The sense requires object *tvā*. Simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff.) in the secondary ŚŚ.

*yat tvemahe* (SMB. *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś. *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. All mss. and comm. of SMB. agree, but it can only be a (phonetic?) blunder for the other reading. Comm., unbelievably: *te tvāṁ* (!) *yat phalaṁ mahe* (!) *tan no 'smabhyaṁ juṣasva prayachety arthaḥ.*

*kva* (SV. *kā*) *pratnā va āhutiḥ* RV. SV.

**§366.** Further, *v* is occasionally found in formative elements, varying with other forms without *v*. Thus in nasal present stems of verbs, cf. VV I p. 121:

*deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama* (TS. *raṇva*, KS. *raṇa*, MS. *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (In MS. *raṇe* is a noun.)

*āpas tvā sam ariṇan* (MS. *ariṇvan*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *āpaḥ sam ariṇan* TS. KS.

*manai* (MS. *manve*) *nu babhrūṇām aham* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. See VV I pp. 76, 121.

With these may be grouped the following, tho here the two verbs are lexically unrelated:

*jananta* (SV. *jinvanta*) *uṣaso bhagam* RV. SV.

**§367.** Larger is the list of variations between gerund forms in suffixal *tvā* (*tvī*) and other forms lacking *v*; but they are mostly under suspicion of corruption:

*asya pītā* (SV. *pītvā*) *svarvidaḥ* RV. SV. Lect. fac. in SV. for *pītā*, loc sing. of *pīti*, 'in the drinking of it'.

*yenendro haviṣā kṛtvī* (ApMB. *kṛtī*) RV. ApMB. The ApMB. form (v. l. *kṛtvī*) may be interpreted as nom. sg. of *kṛtin*, but is doubtless corrupt. It is a case of simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff.); the next word begins with *a-*, and the actual reading is *kṛt(v)y-a-*.

*datto asmabhyaṁ* (KS. *dattvāyāsma°*, AŚ. *dattāyāsma°*, corrupt for *dattvā°*, SMB. *dattāsma°*) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇaṁ yac ca bhadram* MS. 'Give ye (giving) to us riches, prosperity.'

*hotā viṣṭīmena* (ŚŚ. *viṣṭvī me*) *jaritar* AV. 20. 135. 5, AŚ.† 8. 3. 24, ŚŚ. Vait. This pāda is omitted in the Berlin ed. of AV. and therefore in Conc. Most ŚŚ. mss. *viṣṭī*; per contra, v. l. of AV. *viṣṭvī*. It is very obscure in any case.

*daśasyantāmṛtāya* (ApMB. *°tvāmṛtāya*) *kam* RV. ApMB. The ApMB. form is doubtless felt as a gerund, in sense equal to RV's pple., but may fairly be called corrupt; cf. Winternitz, p. xx.

*yuktvā* (TB. Conc. *yuktā*, Poona ed. text and comm. correctly *yuktvā*) *harī vṛṣaṇā yāhy arvāṅ* (MS. KS. *arvāk*) RV. MS. KS. TB.

*apālām indra* (MG. *°ras*) *triṣ* (*triḥ*) *pūtvī* (AV. *°vā*, ApMB. *pūrtvī*, MG. *pūrty a-*) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG. The last seems clearly corrupt.

[*indraḥ pāśena †siktvā vaḥ* ApMB.: *indrah pāśena vaḥ †siktvā* (so intended, see Index of Words) HG.: *indrapāśena sitvā* PG. The true reading is *sitvā*.]

**§368.** A few stray cases concerning noun inflexion or different noun suffixes:

*madhvo* (SV. *madho*) *rasaṁ sadhamāde* RV. SV. These alternative forms of gen. sing. of *madhu* occur frequently in the pairs *madhvaḥ: madhoḥ*; see Conc. p. 681a.

*ed u madhvo* (SV. PB. *madhor*) *madintaram* RV. AV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*vaso vasvoḥ puruspṛhaḥ* RV.: *vasor vaso puruspṛhaḥ* SV.

*asaṁmṛṣṭo jāyase mātroḥ* (TB. *mātṛvoḥ*) *śucih* RV. TB. With *mātṛvoḥ*, guaranteed by all mss. and Vaidikas, cf. perhaps *pitṛvya*; and note that *mātroḥ* in RV. is trisyllabic.

*mahāntaṁ gahvareṣṭhām* SV.: *tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā* MS. Root *gah*, with different suffixes.

*gambhīraiḥ pathibhiḥ pūryaiḥ* (AV. *pūryāṇaiḥ*) AV. TS. HG. The AV. is clearly secondary, and contains a phonetic simplification. Cf. next.

*prehi-prehi pathibhiḥ pūrvyebhiḥ* (AV. *pūryāṇaiḥ*) RV. AV. MS. AŚ. AG. Cf. prec.

*aprajastāṁ pautramṛtyum* ApMB. HG.: *aprajāstvaṁ mārtavatsam* AV. Others, §650. Suffixes *tā* and *tva*.

**§369.** Of the lexical variations which remain, special phonetic interest attaches to this, on which cf. Wackernagel I §232c:

*saumyās trayaḥ śvitiṁgāḥ* (KSA. *śi*°) TS. KSA.

With *śvit-* and *śit-*, synonyms, is to be compared also the synonymous *cit-*; see §195:

*citra* (VS. *śvitra*) *ādityānām* VS. MS.

*citro* (AV. *śvitro*) *rakṣitā* AV. MS.

**§370.** After two consonants—as in a few stray cases already mentioned under other heads, especially in §367—we find cases which belong with §§419 ff. below:

*śiśīte śṛṅge rakṣase* (AV. *rakṣobhyo*) *vi nikṣe* (KS. *nakṣe*, AV. mss. *nikṣve*), RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. The Berlin ed. and Whitney's translation adopt the RV. reading for AV, despite the absurd statement of the comm. that the superfluous *v* is *chāndasa*. See Whitney's note, which points out that *vinikṣva* occurs in the next verse.

*dhuñkṣāgneyī* (VSK. °*ṣvā*° or °*ṣyā*°) VS. VSK. MS. And others; see §255.

*svarṣām* (TB. *suvar*°) *apsāṁ* (TB. Poona ed., twice, †*apsvāṁ*, in text and comm.) *vṛjanasya gopām* RV. VS. MS. TB. *apsvām* is uninterpretable.

*mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd* (MS. *dhana*°, TS. °*yid*, KSA. °*yed*) *dhūmagandhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. The text of MS. is based on p.p.; the saṁh. mss. are all corrupt but have *v* in place of *dh* (*tvāgnir vunairddhamagandhir*). It seems that *vu* in these mss. is a graphic corruption for *dhva*, which should probably be read in MS. as in the other texts.

**§371.** After or before single consonants; a miscellaneous group:

*āpo devīḥ svadantu* (VSK. *sad*°) *svāttaṁ cit sad devahaviḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *svāttaṁ sad dhavir āpo devīḥ svadantu* MS.: *svāttaṁ cit sadevaṁ havyam āpo devīḥ svadatainam* TS. ApŚ. The reading of VSK. is poor (cf. *svāttam*). Cf. next.

*em enad adya vasavo rudrā ādityāḥ sadantu* (MS. *svad*°) MS. KS. TB. Here *svad*° does not belong; the reverse of the prec.

*aparihvṛtāḥ* (MS. °*hṛtāḥ*) *sanuyāma vājam* RV. MS. KS. Intended for synonyms; MS. slovenly, and suggesting phonetic corruption.

*tuvidyumnaṁ vibhvāsaham* (SV. *vibhā*°) RV. SV. *vibhā* 'glory' and *vibhvā*

(for °*van*) 'excellent'. Grassmann calls SV's reading false, which is rather harsh since it makes good sense, 'winning glory'.

*apāṁ rasam udvayasam* (KS. *udayaṅsam*, TA. *udayaṅsan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. The original has an adjective 'strength-arousing'; KS. and TA. a verb form, which in TA. is 3 plur. aor. of *ud-yam*. KS. may intend the same with *udayaṅsaṁ* followed by *s;* but in VV I p. 214 we have allowed it to pass as 1st person sing.

*viśvaṁ tu tvāhutayaḥ sarvā yatra brahmā viśvāmṛto 'si* PrāṇāgU.: *viśvantu tvām āhutayaś ca sarvāḥ prajās tatra yatra viśvāmṛto 'si* MU. The Conc. says, 'read *viśantu*' for both. In the Poona ed. (*Upaniṣadāṁ Samuccayaḥ*, An. Skt. Ser., 1895), the MU. passage (p. 406) reads *viśantu* in text and comm.; but the PrāṇāgU. (p. 307), *viśvaṁ tu* in both. Certainly *viśantu* must be read.

*anvitir asi dive* . . . TS. KS. JB. PB. Vait.: *anitir asi* GB. The Conc. calls the latter a 'blunder'; yet, curiously, Gaastra also has *anitir*.

*mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnāṁ* (MS. °*hnā*) *cikitnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikitvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45. The AŚ. form is difficult and suspicious.

*satyaujasā dṛṁhaṇā* (MS. *durhṛṇā*, KS.† *dṛhaṇā*) *yaṁ nudethe* TS. MS. KS.: *sacetasau druhvaṇo yau nudethe* AV. See §305.

*vande dāruṁ vandamāno vivakmi* RV.: *vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu* SV. See VV I p. 218.

*anu daha sahamūrān kravyādaḥ* (SV. *kayādaḥ*) RV. SV.: *sahamūrān anu daha kravyādaḥ* AV. See §355.

*anukāśena bāhyam* MS.: *anūkāśena bāhvyam* VS.: *antaraṇānūkāśam* TS. KSA. The VS. reading is apparently a blunder; comm. reads *bāhyam*, which must be right, as the contrasting *antaram* in the preceding formula shows.

**§371a.** One anomalous case involving false word-division:

*uror ā no deva riṣas pāhi* TS. MS. KS. TB.: *pururāvṇo deva* etc. VS. ŚB. LŚ. The former (original) means 'Protect us, O god, from wide hostility'. The Vāj. reading is only an ancient phonetic corruption: Eggeling, 'fiercely howling (demon)', which probably comes close to what was felt as the meaning; but Mahīdhara derives *rāvan* from *rā* 'give'.

### 5. Presence or absence of *s*

**§372.** Beginning with IE times, and continuing into the life of the individual languages of the family, combinations of *s* + stop (also *s* + nasal) vary with the consonant alone minus the *s*. Hindu speech

not only reproduces some of these doublets, but out of its own impulses (analogy and phonetic combinations) extends the process (roots *spaś*: *paś*, *kṛ*: *skṛ*, etc.). See Wackernagel I §230 in lieu of the almost endless bibliography of the subject. The variant combinations are always initial, and the evanescence of the *s* is perhaps connected with old conditions of sentence euphony (external sandhi).

**§373.** Thus easy opportunity is offered for various readings in this respect. Moreover genuinely different roots exist which are sufficiently synonymous for purposes of exchange. However, the entire phenomenon operates among the variants to a very limited extent. There are also a few cases, all lexical so far as not suspicious, in which initial *s* before a vowel varies with a form without *s*, a sort of psilosis comparable to presence or absence of *h*, below. In addition a very few miscellaneous cases medially.

**§374.** Beginning with the cases of initial *s* before consonants (those which occur are *k*, *t*, and *p*), we present first the few strictly phonetic cases, in which we are certainly or probably dealing with alternative forms of the same word:

*sa prathamaḥ saṁkṛtir viśvakarmā* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *sā* (MS. MŚ. *yā*) *prathamā saṁskṛtir viśvavārā* (MS. *yajñe asmin*) VS. MS. ŚB. (Pratīka, MŚ.) The root *kṛ* regularly appears as *skṛ* with *sam*, so that the Tait. form is irregular.

*ut te stabhnāmi* (TA. *tabhnomi*) *pṛthivīm tvat pari* RV. AV. TA. Cf. Whitney §233c. In TA. this law operates in spite of tmesis; this is not without parallel.

*tegān* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *stegān*) *daṅṣṭrābhyām* VS. TS. MS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. No doubt the same word is meant in all, but its etymology and meaning are uncertain. RV. has *stega*. Perhaps the root *tij* (originally *stij*) is concerned. It may be significant that in VS. MS. KSA. the word is preceded by one ending in *s*, while in TS. it is initial in its section. As suggested in §372, this is probably the way in which this whole class of variants originated.

*tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV.: *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS.: *sa īm* (TS. *ī*) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*; MS. *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS. TS. MS. Probably all the forms may be corrupt; at least they are all difficult. But note *starīman* in MS. (:*tarī* AV.).

**§375.** The rest are lexical, that is different words are concerned; and they are also accompanied by other changes in sounds:

*divaḥ saṁspṛśas* (MS. *sampṛcas*) *pāhi* VS. MS. ŚB. And:

*pṛthivyāḥ saṁpṛcas* (TS. TB. ApŚ. °*caḥ*, VS. ŚB. *saṁspṛśas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *saṁ-pṛc* and *saṁ-spṛś*, practically synonyms. See §195.

*divam agreṇāspṛkṣaḥ* †VSK., wrongly quoted in Conc. as °*āpṛkṣaḥ divam agreṇāspṛkṣat* (TB. °*āprāt*) VS. TB. And others.

*viśvā spṛdho* (AV. *mṛdho*) *abhimātīr jayema* RV. AV. TA.

*āñjanena sarpiṣā saṁ viśantu* (AV. *spṛśantām*, Ppp. [Roth] *viśanta*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.

*yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ* (ApMB. *tanuvaṁ yatra vāsaḥ*) AV. ApMB.: *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsaḥ* HG.

*sa bhūmiṁ viśvato* (ArS. *sarvato*, VS. *sarvata*) *vṛtvā* (VS. *spṛtvā*) RV. ArS. AV. VS. TA. See §200.

*tutho 'si janadhāyāḥ* (PB. °*yaḥ*) MS. KS. PB. MŚ. LŚ.: *stuto 'si janadhāḥ* TB. ApŚ. See §93.

*saṁsrāvabhāgā* (VS. ŚB. *saṁsrava*°; MS. °*gāḥ*, KS. Kauś. °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *bṛhantaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §§96, 747.

**§376.** Initially before vowels, we find a pair of cases of interchange between *sa* conjunctive and *a* privative (antonyms); the rest is sporadic:

*ajoṣā* (SV. *saj*°) *vṛṣabhaṁ patim* RV. AV. SV. *ajoṣa* 'unersättlich, gierig'.

*sacetasāv* (VSK. °*sā*) *arepasau* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *sacetasau saretasau* TB. And others; see §180.

*ā* (VaradapU. *sā*) *naḥ śṛṇvann ūtibhiḥ sīda sādanam* (VaradapU. *śaśvat*) RV. TS. KS. VaradapU. The comm. is hard put to it to explain *sā*; he takes it for *sa* with Vedic lengthening. It is in fact inexplicable.

*yavā ayavā ūmā abdaḥ* (KS. *yavā āyavā ūmā † evā abdas*) *sagaraḥ sumekaḥ* MS. KS. MŚ.: *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdaḥ sagaraḥ sumekaḥ* TS. The form *sabda* of TS., for regular *abda*, is wholly obscure; doubtless due to some analogy.

*anāgaso yathā sadam it saṁ kṣiyema* Vait.: *anāgaso adham it saṁkṣayema* TB. See §110.

**§377.** The very few cases of evanescent medial *s* are entirely sporadic, except a few cases of precative and other optative forms (as *bhūyāma*: *bhūyāsma*), which are found in VV I §175 and are not repeated here:

*agnir no vanate* (VSK. *vanute*, SV. TS. KS. *vaṁsate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Present and *s*-aorist.

*tasya te bhaktivāṁsaḥ syāma* (MS. KS. °*vāno bhūyāsma*) AV. MS. KS.: *tasyās te bhakṣivāṇaḥ syāma* (MS. KS. ApŚ. 4. 13. 7† *bhaktivāno bhūyāsma*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. (both). Suffixes *vaṁs* and *van*.

### 6. Presence or absence of visarga

**§378.** This change, of course, can occur only at the ends of words or parts of a compound word (or before pāda endings); and in fact it is most commonly found at the ends of pādas. Included are some cases where the actual reading of the text does not show visarga, owing to conditions of sandhi. Altho the modern Indian pronunciation makes this sound regularly an aspiration followed by a vowel, which takes the coloring of the preceding vowel (Wackernagel I §225b), there seems reason to believe that its pronunciation in ancient times was much fainter; and certainly it was never followed by a vowel. The variants support this theory by showing not a few cases in which visarga is evanescent. In the majority of cases both forms are morphologically explicable, involving different forms of noun or verb inflexion or the like; some must be considered mere corruptions.

**§379.** In VV I §25 we have already presented a group of cases in which verb forms with final *ḥ* vary with corresponding forms without *ḥ*, a fairly frequent phenomenon:

*pra-pra yajñapatiṁ tira* (TA. *tiraḥ*, Poona ed. *tira*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*sūryasya tapas tapa* (MS. MŚ. *tapaḥ*) MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ni dūraśravase vaha* (ŚŚ. *vahaḥ*, em., mss. *mahaḥ*) AV. ŚŚ.

*niyudbhir* (AV. *viyugbhir*) *vāyav* (AV. VSK. MS. *vāya*) *iha tā vi muñca* (ŚŚ. †*muñcaḥ*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Add to VV I §25.

*viśvasmāt* (TA. *divo vi°*) *sīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA. °*yaḥ*) RV. TA.

*tāv imā upa sarpataḥ* SV. JB.: *emām anu sarpata* MS.

*agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma* (TB. °*maḥ*) RV. TB.

*aśvinā bhiṣajāvataḥ* (MS. °*tam*, TB. †°*ta*, both edd.) VS. MS. TB.

*anyavratasya* (TA. *anyad vra°*) *saścima* (TA. °*maḥ*, RV. *saścire*) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. (corrupt).

*prati bhāgam na dīdhima* (SV. °*maḥ*) RV. AV. SV. VS. N.

*viratāḥ smaḥ* (ŚG. *sma bhoḥ*) ŚG. PG.

*abhiratāḥ smaḥ* (YDh. *sma ha*) ViDh. YDh. BṛhPDh. Here, in late texts, we find what may be a trace of the modern pronunciation (*smaḥ*: *sma-ha*).

*tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smaḥ* (MŚ. *sma*) TB. MŚ.

*tau saha* (VS. ŚB. *tā ubhau*) *caturaḥ . . . prasārayāvahai* (ŚB. °*yāva*, MS. °*yāvaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ.

*viśvāḥ pinvathaḥ* (TB. °*tha*) *svasarasya dhenāḥ* RV. MS. TB. (comm. °*thaḥ* in Bibl. Ind. ed., but Poona ed. °*tha*). This is probably only a case of sandhi before *s* + consonant; cf. §978 ff.

*ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi* TS.: *adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhīḥ* RV. SV. AV. AA. MŚ. See VV I p. 101.

*agne* (MS. *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocaḥ* (MS. *voca*) RV. SV. MS. TA. Add to VV I §§25, 156.

*sam agnis tapasāgata* VS. MS. ŚB. (preceded by *svāhā*, probably felt as part of the formula tho in MS. edition separated by a mark of punctuation): *svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata* (**gataḥ*, Poona ed. *gata*) TA.* As pple. *gataḥ* is defensible. See VV I p. 161.

*varebhir varāṅ abhi ṣu prasīdataḥ* (ApMB. *pra sīdata*) RV. ApMB. A participle (gen. sing., Grassmann; acc. pl., Oldenberg) is made into a 2d plur. in ApMB.

*iha rama* (HG. †*ramaḥ*) MS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ. HG. Here *ramaḥ* is a noun form.

**§380.** In noun inflection the variation occurs between nominative and vocative case-forms:

*punar āgāḥ punarnava* (AV. °*ṇava* and °*ṇavaḥ*) RV. AV. (bis)

*nicerur asi nicumpuṇaḥ* (TS. TB. *nicaṅkuṇa*, MS. KS. *nicuṅkuṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. Vocative in TS. TB. by assimilation to an adjoining formula; see §150.

*ṛtena* (MG. *ṛte 'va*) *sthūṇām* (MG. °*ṇā*, ApMB. HG. °*ṇāv*) *adhi roha vaṅśa* (MG. *vaṅśaḥ*) AV. AG. ApMB. HG. MG. Kauś. Here the nom. is secondary.

*agne ghṛtenāhuta* (KS. °*taḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

*yajñaḥ praty u ṣṭhāt* (KS. *pratyaṣṭhāt*, v. l. *praty u*°; MŚ. adds *sumatau matīnām*) KS. MŚ.: *yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāḥ* TB. ApŚ.

*indraḥ* (*indra*) *somasya pītaye* (also: °*ye vṛṣāyate*) RV. (all three)

*indra* (MS. *indraḥ*) *stomena pañcadaśena madhyam* (KS. °*daśenaujaḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*paramajyā ṛcīṣamaḥ* (SV.† °*ma*) RV. SV. AV.

*devebhyo* (ApŚ. *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanaḥ* (RV.* °*na*) RV. (both) ApŚ.

*sahasrākṣo amartyaḥ* AV.: *sahasrākṣāyāmartya* AV.

*pavamānaḥ* (SV. °*na*) *saṁtanim eṣi kṛṇvan* RV. SV.

*tvaṣṭā devaiḥ sahamāna indraḥ* MG.: *tvaṣṭar devebhis sahasāma indra* ApMB.

*yo agniḥ kravyavāhanaḥ* (VS. KS. *kavya*°) RV. VS. KS. AŚ.: *yad agne kavyavāhana* TS. See §353.

*hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ* HG.: *hiraṇyaparṇa śakune* PG.: *hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ* MU.

*subīraṇa sṛja-sṛja śunaka* ApMB.: *suvīriṇaḥ sṛja-sṛja* HG. The latter is doubtless corrupt; a voc. is required.

*indra kratvā* (MS. *indraḥ kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV. MS. KS. See §664.

*ayā somaḥ* (SV. *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV. SV. See VV I §328.

*ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana* (KS. TB.† ApŚ.† °*naḥ*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*āpṛṇo 'si saṁpṛṇaḥ* (ApŚ. *āpṛṇoṣi saṁpṛṇa*) . . . ŚŚ. ApŚ. The latter is secondary and poor.

*indra karmasu no 'vata* VS. KS.: *indraḥ karmasu no 'vatu* TB. (but read *indra . . .'vata*, see VV I p. 260).

*indra* (MS. *indraḥ*) *śrutasya mahato mahāni* RV. MS. The nom. is hardly construable.

*indraḥ* (SV. PB. *indra*) *suteṣu someṣu* RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*indra* (MS. *indraḥ*) *svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* RV. MS. KS.

*kāmena kṛtaḥ* (RV. and p.p. of MS. *kṛta*) *śrava ichamānaḥ* RV. MS. TB.

*tiṣṭhā ratham* (TB. *rathe*) *adhi taṁ* (VS. ŚB. *yaṁ*, TB. *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

*dhānāsomān manthina indra* (MŚ. *indraḥ*) *śukrāt* TS. KS. MŚ. The nom. is not construable; see Knauer's note.

*mitra satyānāṁ pate* (ŚŚ. *satyānām adhipate*) TB. ŚŚ.: *mitraḥ satyānām* (VS. ŚB. *satyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

*viśvā* (KS. PG. *viśvāś ca*) †*deva* (PG. *devaḥ*) *pṛtanā abhiṣya* (KS. °*ṣyāḥ*, PG.† °*ṣyak*) KS. TB. ApŚ. PG. HG.

*vrīhīṇāṁ medha* (MŚ. *medhaḥ*) *sumanasyamānaḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*śuddho mamaddhi somyaḥ* (SV. *somya*) RV. SV.

*sajoṣā indra* (TB. *indraḥ*) *sagaṇo marudbhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. AŚ.

**§381.** In miscellaneous other forms of nouns and adjectives, commonly with change of construction which can be more or less justified; sometimes involving different but related stems:

*pibāt somam amadann* (AV. *somaṁ mamadad*) *enam iṣṭayaḥ* (AV. *iṣṭe*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. See VV I p. 88; loc. sing. of *iṣṭa:* nom. pl. of *iṣṭi.*

*ghṛtavatī savitar* (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS. °*yaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Loc. sing.: instr. pl. Cf. §706.

*avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vāre* (SV.* *vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and: *priyam*) RV. SV. As prec.

*candreṇa jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānāḥ* (KS. TB. comm. and Poona ed. °*nā*) VS. KS. TB.: *śukraṁ na jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānā* MS. (but p.p. °*nāḥ*). The plural agrees with *aśvinā* and *sarasvatī* together as subject; the fem. sing. with the nearest subject, *sarasvatī* alone.

*dhanaṁjayaṁ dharuṇaṁ dhārayiṣṇu* RVKh.: *bhūmidṛṁham acyutaṁ pārayiṣṇu* AV.: *bhūmidṛṁho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣṇuḥ* AV. Change of

gender, neuter to masculine; the latter certainly secondary; see §268.

*sa viśvācīr* (KS. °*cī*) *abhi caṣṭe ghṛtācīḥ* (KS. °*cī*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Change of acc. pl. to dual, explained in §357. But the actual reading is *ghṛtācīr* (before initial vowel following).

*tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV. (taken by Whitney as loc. plur.): *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS. (apparently felt as nom. sing.) And others; all forms dubious and likely to be corrupt; see §374.

*saṁhitāsi viśvarūpā* (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. °*pī*, TS. ApŚ.* °*pīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. (bis) In TS. the old nom. fem. of the *vṛkīs* type.

*khajāpo 'jopakāśinīḥ* ApMB.: *bajābojopakāśinī* HG. Both words unintelligible; §69. Perhaps *ḥ* in ApMB. ending of *vṛkīs* type.

*anāhanasyaṁ vasanaṁ cariṣṇu* (ApMB. HG. *ja*°, PG. *jariṣṇuḥ*) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. See §57. The nom. masc. transfers the epithet, whose meaning is not very clear, from the garment to the person who is the subject.

*yenā samatsu sāsahaḥ* (SV. °*hiḥ*, MŚ. °*hi*) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §584.

*aghadviṣṭā devajātā* AV. Kauś.: *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāḥ* ApŚ. In AV. nom. sing. fem. In ApŚ., which is otherwise corrupt, the actual text has °*jūtā* followed by a sonant, and Caland understands a sing.; but the verb is plural, and the Conc. gives what seems intended as the reading of the text (nom. plur.).

*sīrāḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *sarāḥ*, AV. *sarā*) *patatriṇī* (TS. MS. KS. °*ṇīḥ*) *sthana* (KS. *stha*, AV. *bhūtvā*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Sing. in AV., plur. in the others.

*ya ābabhūva* (PB. *āva*°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB. *viśvāḥ*!, comm. *viśvāni*) VS. JB. PB. ŚŚ. Vait. *viśvāḥ* is certainly wrong.

*vīruc chapathayopanī* AV.: *vīḍu chapathajambhanīḥ* ApŚ. (corrupt; Caland adopts the AV. reading). See §272.

*uta vām uṣaso budhi* RV. GB. Conc. *budhiḥ* for GB., and so all mss. apparently read, but Gaastra emends to *budhi* (loc. sing. 'at the awakening of dawn').

*arāddhyā edidhiṣuḥpatim* VS.: *ārādhyai* (read with Poona ed. *ar*°) †*didhiṣūpatim* TB. The VS. form is anomalous; as a fem. word the stem can only end in *u*, and the nom. form in composition is absurd.

*avasyuvātā bṛhatī* (TS.° *tīr*) *na* (TS. *nu*, AŚ. *tu*) *śakvarī* (TS. °*rīḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Sing.: plural.

*imaṁ yajñam avantu no ghṛtācīḥ* (MS. KS. AŚ. *avatu yā* [AŚ. *no*] *ghṛtācī*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Sing.: plural.

*paraśur* (TS. *parśur*) *vediḥ paraśur naḥ svasti* (TS. °*tiḥ*) AV. TS. *svasti* is familiar as both fem. and neut.

*viṣṭhitāḥ* (AV. °*tā*) *pṛthivīm anu* RV. AV. VS. AB. TB. SMB. Fem. pl.: neut. pl. (in different contexts).

*śaṁ rātrī* (VS. *rātrīḥ*, VSK. TA. *rātriḥ*) *prati dhīyatām* AV. VS. VSK. TA. MS. All noms. sg.

*śatamūlā śatāṅkurā* TA. MahānU.: *śatamūlāḥ śatāṅkurāḥ* MahānU. Fem. sing.: plur.

*śṛṇvantv āpo dhiṣaṇāś ca devīḥ* (MS.* *dhiṣaṇā ca devī*) VS. TS. MS.* KS. ŚB. Sing.: plur.

*viśo* (SV. *diśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuḥ* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni is meant, and a nom. or voc. masc. is required; *prabhu*, repeated in the comm., is apparently understood as an adverb, but is probably only a phonetic error.

*saṁśitaṁ kṣatraṁ* (MS. KS. TA. add *me*) *jiṣṇu* (AV. *kṣatram ajaram astu jiṣṇuḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The AV. form would be masc., which cannot be construed; Whitney accordingly adopts *jiṣṇu*.

*vatso jarāyu* (KS. *garbho jarāyuḥ*) *pratidhuk pīyūṣaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. The regularly neuter word is here masc. in KS., perhaps attracted to the gender of the preceding masc.

*sa naḥ pṛthu* (TB. *pṛthuḥ*) *śravāyyam* RV. SV. ŚB. TB. Transference of the epithet with change of gender from neut. to masc.

*sīsaṁ ca me trapu* (TS. °*puś*) *ca me* . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. The rare stem *trapus*, for the regular *trapu*.

*sapatnīr* †*abhibhūvarī* (ApMB. °*rīḥ*) RV. ApMB. Only a nom. sing. fem. can be construed. See Winternitz, Introd., xxii.

*sarasvatī* (AV. TB.† °*tīḥ*) *svapasaḥ sadantu* (AV. *sadantām*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. Whitney calls the °*tīḥ* form a blunder and emends. This is perhaps going too far; but of course it is a nom. sing. like the other.

*sarasvatyā* (TV. °*tyāḥ*) *supippalaḥ* VS. MS. TB. Instr.: gen.

*sahasraśīrṣā* (ArS. °*ṣāḥ*) *puruṣaḥ* RV. ArS. VS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. Both nom. sing.; °*śīrṣāḥ* as if from an *s*-stem (contamination from *śiras*?).

*atividdhā vithureṇā cid astrā* (MS. *astāḥ*) RV. MS. KS. The MS. is doubtless corrupt.

*varṣman kakubhi* (TB. Conc. °*bhiḥ*, MS. *kakubbhiḥ*) *śiśriyāṇaḥ* (TB. *śrayasva*) TS. MS. TB. See §400.

*upahūtāḥ sapta hotrāḥ* TS. TB. ŚŚ.: *upahūtā saptahotrā* ŚB. Sing.: plur.

*agne tvaṁ purīṣyaḥ* VS. KS. ŚB.: *agneḥ purīṣyam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Voc.: gen.

*hiraṇyayāḥ* (MS. °*yā*) *śucayo dhārapūtāḥ* RV. MS. The only grammatically construable form is °*yāḥ;* MS. seems corrupt.

*so 'haṁ vājaṁ saneyam agne* (KS. *sanāmy* †*agneḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Voc.: gen.

*sapratha* (MŚ. °*thaḥ*) *sabhāṁ me gopāya* (MŚ. *pāhi*, and *'jugupaḥ*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Both voc.; stems in *a* and *as*.

*imā brahma brahmavāhaḥ* (TS.† °*ha*) RV. AV. KS. TB. As prec.

*svāhā tvā subhava* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. °*vaḥ*, KS. *subho*) *sūryāya* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KB. ŚB. ApŚ. Vocatives; *s* and *a*-stems. On KS. see §749.

*dātuṁ cec chikṣān sa svarga eva* AV.: *dātuṁ cec chaknuvāṁsaḥ* (Poona ed. *chaknavāṁ sa*) *svarga eṣām* TA. See §826.

*dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyaḥ śuciḥ* (VS. *śuci*, comm. *śuciḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *śuci* might pass as an adverb.

*dūrvā rohatu puṣpiṇī* (RV. *rohantu puṣpiṇīḥ*) RV. AV. Sing.: plur.

*tripadā yā ca ṣaṭpadā* (VS. *yāś ca ṣaṭpadāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Sing.: plur.

*tṛṇaṁ vasānā* (HG. °*nāḥ*) *sumanā asas* (HG. *asi*) *tvam* AV. HG. The form can only be nom. sing. fem.; HG. is impossible.

*pṛthivyā* (MS.* °*vyāḥ*) *saṁbhava* VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. Probably the only correct reading is °*vyā* (see von Schroeder's note).

**§382.** In adverbial forms:

*athā* (AV. *adhaḥ*, comm. *adha*, but Ppp. *adhaḥ*) *sapatnī yā mama* RV. AV. ApMB.: *adhā sapatnān māmakān* AV. See §74.

*śṛṇvanty* (PB. °*tv*) *āpo adha* (PB. *'dhaḥ*) *kṣarantīḥ* RV. PB.

*parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ* AV.: *paraḥ svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ. See §820. The variation *-mukhāḥ* (bahuvrīhi): *mukhā* belongs to the preceding section.

**§383.** Involving different divisions of words:

*samudrād udajani vaḥ* (ApŚ. *udacann iva*) *srucā* MS. ApŚ. See §53.

*idam ahaṁ rakṣo 'bhi* (MS. **rakṣobhiḥ*) *sam ūhāmi* (TS. *saṁ dahāmi*) TS. MS. (both) KS. MŚ. As the Conc. suggests, *rakṣobhiḥ* must be a corruption.

*girā ca* (AV. *virājaḥ*) *śruṣṭiḥ sabharā asan naḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §57.

*śarīraṁ yajñaśamalaṁ* (MahānU. *yajñaḥ śa°*) . . . TS. KSA. TA. MahānU. See §818.

*tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛṇotu naḥ* (TB. *śṛṇotana*) RV. TB. N.

*āsann ā* (SV. PB. *āsan naḥ*) *pātraṁ janayanta* (KS. °*tu*) *devāḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB.

*pra su* (HG. *sa*) *mṛtyuṁ* (SMB. *pra sumartyaṁ*, MG. *prathamam artiṁ*) *yuyotana* (MG. *yuyotu naḥ*) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.

*ūrjaṁ bibhrad vasuvaniḥ* (*vaḥ sumanāḥ, vaḥ suvaniḥ, vasumanāḥ*) . . ., see §227.

*upānasaḥ saparyan* RV.†: *upo nu ṣa sap*° SV.

*kavir yaḥ putraḥ sa īm ā* (TA. Conc. *sā imāḥ*, Poona ed. *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV. AV. TA. N. *imāḥ* has no standing.

*ava* (RV. *abhi*, MS. *ā vaḥ*, VS. ŚB. *vācā*) *somaṁ nayāmasi* (RV. *mṛśāmasi*, VS. ŚB. *avanayāmi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The reading of MS. is secondary but simple.

*indraḥ pāśena* †*siktvā vaḥ* (HG. *pāśena vaḥ* †*siktvā*) ApMB. HG.: *indra-pāśena sitvā* PG. See §819.

*ṛtasyartena mām uta* (TA. *ita*) TB. TA.: *ṛtasya tv enam āmutaḥ* MS. (corrupt; see §838).

*adyā mamāra sa hyaḥ sam āna* (MS. Saṁhitā, *sahyaḥ samānaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. MS. N. *sam āna*, verb; *samānaḥ*, adj.

*vīreṇyaḥ kratur indraḥ suśastiḥ* RV.: cf. *vareṇyakratūr* (°*tur*, *īḍeṇya-kratūr*) *aham*, §554. Conc. suggests *vīreṇyakratur*; Oldenberg, *Noten*, goes further and suggests *vareṇya-* (or °*yaḥ*) *kratur*.

*vāṅmanaścakṣuḥśrotrajihvāghrāṇaretobuddhyākūtisaṁkalpā* (TA. TAA. °*ākūtiḥ saṁkalpā*) *me śudhyantām* TA. TAA. MahānU. Despite the persistence of the reading °*ākūtiḥ* (to be sure, one ms. of TA. reads like MahānU.), it seems to leave us with an impossible ending for the long compound.

**§384.** Miscellaneous:

*purā jatrubhya* (TA. ApMB. *jartṛbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhyā*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyaḥ*) *ātṛdaḥ* (MS. °*da*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. See §57; *ātṛdaḥ* apparently abl. sing. of a noun; MS. corrupt, perhaps feels *ātṛda* as imperative.

*apa* (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apaḥ śvetapad ā gahi* MG. (but most mss. *apa*; so read; cf. §817).

*apa* (MG. *apaḥ*) *prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti* RV. MG. Here all mss. of MG. have the visarga, which is certainly near to nonsense.

*parītoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ.: *pari doṣād ud arpithaḥ* KŚ. The true reading in both seems to be *udarpitaḥ*; see §63.

*sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan* JB.: *sugaṁ tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ. On the obviously corrupt LŚ. see §739.

*gharmaṁ śocantaḥ* (AŚ. °*ta*, ŚŚ. °*taṁ*) *pravaṇeṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *praṇaveṣu*) *bibhrataḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Cf. VV I p. 165.

*aghāya bhūma harivaḥ parādai* (MS. °*daiḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. *parādai* is an infinitive; *parādaiḥ* is a very poor reading, perhaps felt stupidly as a second person aorist injunctive (addressed to Indra; despite the 1st person verb *bhūma*!); or else as an instr. plur. 'by betrayal'.

*tāṁ ha jaritar na pratyagṛbhṇan* AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ. Gaastra reads *naḥ* in GB. (v. l. *na*); but the sense clearly requires *na*.

*na sīsarīdata* (HG. †*sīsaridataḥ*) ApMB. HG. Both hopelessly corrupt; Winternitz p. xxvi suggests *sīsarī dataḥ*.

*adṛṁhathāḥ śarkarābhis triviṣṭapi* (MŚ. *tribhṛṣṭibhiḥ*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*samudraṁ naḥ subhvaṁ* (AVPpp. ms. *subhavas*) *tasthivāṁsam* AVPpp. MS.: *samudraṁ na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayaḥ* RV.: *samudraṁ na subhuvas tasthivāṁsam* AV. And others, §§119, 789. *naḥ*, pronoun: *na*, comparative particle.

*bhiṣajaṁ na* (MS. *naḥ*) *sarasvatīm* VS. MS. TB. *na*, comparative particle.

## 7. Presence or absence of *h*

**§385.** The small number of cases of this sort at the beginning of words shows something that resembles occasional psilosis, or its reverse. In the interior of words it is even rarer, and entirely sporadic, partly a matter of corruptions; but cf. the startling *saṁjigāire* in the first variant under §387.

**§386.** Initially *h* appears and disappears before vowels and *y*, once *r*. The variation is almost wholly lexical; it occurs especially with particles and light words, and sometimes involves different divisions of words:

*sa ugraḥ sa hi* (PG. *i*) *havyo babhūva* TS. PG. This has most the appearance of a purely phonetic variant; an otherwise unknown *i* (said to mean 'and'; the mss. are unanimous) seems to be substituted for *hi*, and may be suspected of being only a phonetic variant for *hi*.

*hiṁkārāya* (and, *hiṁkṛtāya*) *svāhā* VS. MS. ŚB.: *īṁkārāya* (and, *īṁkṛtāya*; KSA. †*iṁ*°) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. Interjections.

*tasminn* (AV. *yasminn*) *ā* (VS. *tasmin ha*) *tasthur bhuvanāni viśvā* RV. AV. VS.: cf. *tasminn ārpitā bhu*° *vi*° RV.

*cakṣur yeṣāṁ* (v. l. *hy eṣāṁ*) *tapa uccabhīmam* MŚ. And others; see §340.

*yasyām idaṁ viśvaṁ* (MS. *viśvaṁ hy asyāṁ*) *bhuvanam āviveśa* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*mahaś* (MS. *mahī*) *cid yasya mīḍhuṣo yavyā* RV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *mahī hy asya mīḍhuṣo yavyā* TS.

*dhiyo hinvāno* (MS. *dhiya invāno*) *dhiya in no avyāt* (RV. *avyāḥ*) RV. MS. TS. Rime words.

*antarikṣe pathibhir īyamānaḥ* (GB. *hrīyamāṇaḥ*, v. l. *hīyamānaḥ*, but no v. l. in Gaastra) RV. GB. See §353.

*uta no brahmann aviṣaḥ* (MS. °*man haviṣaḥ*) RV. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. The secondary *haviṣaḥ* is unaccented in MS., perhaps felt as a verb form from root *hu*: 'and do thou sacrifice for us in the brahman'.

*tena saṁhanu kṛṇmasi* AV.: *tena sann anugṛhṇāsi* HG. See §47.

*atho mātātho pitā* TA.: *hatā mātā hataḥ pitā* SMB.: *hato hatamātā krimiḥ* AV. The TA. probably secondary.

*rakṣohāmīvacātanaḥ* (AV.* *atho amīva*°) RV. AV. (both) VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. If the AV. variant is based on the other, which is not certain, it is clearly secondary.

*āntrīmukhaḥ* . . . HG.: *ālikhann animiṣaḥ* . . . *hantrīmukhaḥ* . . . PG. Barbaric names of demons, with vague suggestions of popular etymology (as if related to *āntra* and a fem. form of *hantṛ*).

*atho ye kṣullakā iva* AV.: *hataḥ krimīṇāṁ kṣudrakaḥ* SMB.: *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāḥ* TA.

*āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

*vaniṣṭhor hṛdayād* (AV.* *udarād*) *adhi* RV. AV. (both) ApMB.

**§387.** Medially this phenomenon is even rarer, and in general it has no particular phonetic interest. Only the first variant deserves special attention; in it all mss. of Vait. are reported as agreeing on the remarkable form *saṁjigāire*, which is certainly for °*hire* and shows an unquestionable 'psilosis' between vowels which, just because it runs counter to all expectations in Sanskrit, must apparently be assumed to be a genuine (dialectic) phonetic variant:

*tāḥ prācya* (Vait. °*yaḥ*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ.† °*hīre*, Vait. *saṁjigāire*) Vait. KŚ. MŚ.: *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ.

*sā* (read *sa*) *naḥ prajāṁ paśūn pāhy araṇīyamānaḥ* (p.p. *aháḥ*, *ánī* (sic!), *yámānaḥ*) MS.: *sa no rucaṁ dhehy ahṛṇīyamānaḥ* TA. Read doubtless *ahṛṇīyamānaḥ* in MS.; the absurd p.p. points in this direction.

*marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo* (MS. °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkihān* (MS. *vaṣ*°, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*). The word is wholly obscure.

*tujo janā* (ArS. *jane*) *vanaṁ svaḥ* AV. ArS.: *tujo yujo vanaṁ* (ŚŚ. *balaṁ*, emend.) *sahaḥ* AA. ŚŚ. The passage is obscure; we see little to choose between *svaḥ* and *sahaḥ*.

*pary agnim ahṛṣata* (VSK.† *arṣata* or *aharṣata*) RV. VS. VSK.: *parīme 'gnim arṣata* AV. (v. l. in AV. *ariṣata*). Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 43. 99) reads as in RV. except *aharṣata*, with one ms. of VSK.; Barret em. *ahṛṣata*.

## CHAPTER X. CONSONANT GROUPS

**§388.** In this chapter we include, first, variations between identical double consonants (or aspirates with preceding non-aspirates) and the same consonant alone; second, cases of assimilation of one consonant to an adjoining consonant, or the reverse; and finally, some cases of partial simplification of groups of more than two consonants, by the omission of one consonant (or the reverse)—in so far as the consonant omitted or inserted is not one of those whose character particularly lends itself to such treatment, that is, a nasal, semi-vowel, liquid, sibilant, *h*, or visarga, all of which have been treated in Chapter IX.

### 1. Double and single consonants

**§389.** The principal subject of this section is double and single consonants between vowels, that is, not immediately preceded or followed by another consonant. When associated with other consonants, the tradition is so confused that a detailed record would hardly be profitable. Thus, after other consonants, especially after nasals and *r*, consonants are very commonly written either single or double in the mss. Editors have followed very different courses; sometimes they attempt, with more or less consistency, to regularize the discordant spellings of their mss.; sometimes they add to the confusion. Cf. on the whole subject Whitney, *Grammar* §§228-232; Wackernagel I §98. The plain fact is that after or before other consonants it was in practice virtually impossible to distinguish between pronunciation of single and double consonants, as Wackernagel says l. c. It seems therefore fruitless to collect such variants as the following:

*śunddhi* (PG. MG. *śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuḥ pra moṣīḥ* AG. PG. ApMB. MG. Many mss. of ApMB. read *śundhi*.

*o ṣu* (MS. *ṣū*) *vartta* (MS. KS. *varta*) *maruto vipram acha* RV. MS. KS. The spelling *vartta* (2d plural) is etymological; Müller prints *varta* in his one-volume edition (1873) of RV.

**§390.** Similarly before another consonant, a double consonant which would be required by etymology is very often written single (Whitney and Wackernagel ll. cc.). Very little value is or can be attached to the readings of mss. and editions in such cases. Thus the word *pattra*

'wing', from root *pat* with suffix *tra*, may be spelled *patra* at any time, as in:

*śyenasya patraṁ* (MS. *pattraṁ*) *na plīhā śacībhiḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB., where only MS. has the etymological spelling. So in:

*ukthapatra* (MS. °*rā*, TS. °*pattra*) *īḍyo gṛbhītaḥ* VS.† TS. MS. KS.† ŠB.†, the editor of TS. alone prints °*pattra*, all others (contrary to the Conc.) °*patra*; but most mss. of TS. actually read °*patra*. The same arbitrary procedure is applied to TS. in:

*yena* (*yenā*) *ṛṣayas* (*yenarṣ*°) *tapasā satram* (TS.† *sattram*) *āsate* (VS. ŠB. *āyan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.,

where again most mss. of TS. read *satram*, with the others, but against the etymology (root *sad*). We have not burdened this book with a list of such cases.

**§391.** Equally a matter of orthographic convention, and unworthy of prolonged consideration, are such variant spellings as occur in the following verb forms:

*tā yā devā . . . ā ca śāsvā* (VS. and Poona ed. of TB. *śāssvā*) *ca gurasva* VS. TB. The root is *śās*, the ending *sva*.

*iyaṁ vaḥ sā satyā . . . yām indreṇa samadhaddhvam* (MS. °*dadhvam*) TS. MS.: *eṣā vas sā satyā . . . yām indreṇa samadadhvam* KS. Reduplicated stem *dhad* or *dad* plus ending *dhvam*.

**§392.** Before dismissing this subject, however, we shall record a number of variations where real lexical or morphological shifts occur, or at least may possibly be felt as occurring; to be sure we shall find that some of them are mere corruptions or orthographic variants of the same sort as those just illustrated.

*arhann idaṁ dayase viśvam abhvam* (TA. *abbhuvam*, MS. *ā dhanvā*) RV. MS. TA. The TA. may quite possibly have intended *abhvam* (on the epenthetic *u* cf. §790). But if the comm. is right it would be a lexically different word; he analyzes it as *ab-bhuvam* 'produced from water (and the other four elements)'. This is implausible as to sense, but formally possible.

*ut tvā* (SV. PB. Svidh. *u* †*tvā*, two words) *mandantu somāḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. ŠŠ. Vait. Rvidh. Svidh. The Conc. prints *utvā* as one word, implying belief that *ut tvā* is intended. This is probably right, since the interjection *u* (of most doubtful authenticity even later) can hardly be assumed for SV., and the other *u* is enclitic, and could not stand first.

*ya ātṛṇatty* (SaṁhitopaniṣadB. *ātṛṇoty*) *avitathena* (VāDh. *avida*°) *karṇau* SaṁhitopaniṣadB. VāDh. N. *ātṛṇoty* is an impossible form and must be an error.

*ayaṁ yaḥ puro vibhinatty* (SV. °*naty*) *ojasā* RV. SV. The form *vibhinaty* is not noted by Benfey in his Glossary or the notes to his translation, and is doubtless a mere orthographic variant if not a misprint.

*agnir hotā vetv* (ŚB. *vettv*) *agnir* (ŚB. AŚ. *agner*) *hotraṁ vetu prāvitraṁ* . . . ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. So the Conc.; TB. Poona ed. reads *vettv* and *vettu*. In any case there is here probably a real lexical variation between roots *vī* 'enjoy' and *vid* 'know' (ŚB. comm. *jānātu*). Cf. next, and the variations between the participles *vīta* and *vitta*, §398 below.

*prati tvādityās tvag vettu* (TB. Poona ed.† *vetu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *prati tvā diva* (TB. *divaḥ*) *skambhanir vettu* (TB. Poona ed.† *vetu*) TS. TB. And others in the context. The text of TB. actually reads *vetv-ity āha*; doubtless *vettu* is intended.

*āprā* (AV.* *āprād*) *dyāvāpṛthivī antarikṣam* RV. AV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AA. TA. N. See VV I pp. 27, 129.

*yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā* (KS. *tiṣṭhād*) *draviṇeha dhattāt* RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. N. Here the KS. form assimilates, perhaps, to the following *dhattāt*, which however is originally and properly 2d person. Cf. VV I p. 27.

*agnir dād* (TS. *dā*) *draviṇaṁ vīrapeśāḥ* RV. TS. See VV I p. 26.

*satvānāṁ* (KS. †*sattv*°) *pataye namaḥ* MS. KS. This is certainly not a real lexical variant, for the gen. plur. of *satvan* would be *satvanām* (cf. §494); MS. must intend gen. plur. of *sattva*, like KS.

*bṛhaspataye mahiṣa* (TS. *mahi ṣad*) *dyuman namaḥ* AV. TS. The AV. has a corruption (called by Whitney 'senseless') based on the pronunciation of *ddy* as *dy*, and bringing in its train a false division of words; see §826.

*sadanān* (Vait. *sa dahan*) *pradahan v* (Vait. *nv*) *agāḥ* GB. Vait. Particles *u* and *nu*; the passage is metrical and *v*(*nv*) is read consonantically.

*lokam* (RV. *ulokam*) *u* (ApŚ. *id*) *dve upa jāmī* (RV. *jāmim*) *īyatuḥ* RV. MS. ApŚ.

### Double and single consonants between vowels

**§393.** The shift between double and single consonants when both preceded and followed by a vowel is more worthy of attention. Here we seem to find traces of the Prakritic tendency to treat a short vowel plus a double consonant as the phonetic equivalent of a long (or nasalized) vowel plus a single consonant, so that (in Pāli and Prakrit) the two may interchange at random, without regard to etymology. See Geiger,

*Pāli* §§5, 6; Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32 f. While other considerations regularly enter in with the variants, it seems to us hardly to be doubted that this phonetic tendency existed in the Vedic language. It appears most clearly, of course, when the preceding vowel is long before the single consonant, but short before the double consonant.

**§394.** In some variants the preceding vowel is the diphthong *e*. This sound, of course pronounced as a monophthong from early times, may be either long or short in Pāli and Prakrit; there it is always short when followed by two consonants, long when followed by one. In Sanskrit it is invariably considered long. But we find variations in the mss. between single and double consonants after it, as in AV. 15. 10. 2 (see Whitney's note), where nearly all mss. read *mānaye tathā* for *mānayet tathā*. And so in the variant:

*sa no jīveṣv ā yame* AV.: *sa no deveṣv ā yamat* RV. TA.,

where most mss. of AV. read *yame*, but the comm. *yamed*, which is certainly intended; the next word begins with *d-*, and the actual reading of RV. TA. is *yamad*. See Whitney's note on AV. 18. 2. 3, and VV I p. 74. This is clearly a phonetic simplification.

**§395.** The other variations, first where the quantity of the preceding vowel shifts with the doubling of the consonant, involve lexical or morphological shifts. Thus in equivalent noun stems of different declensions; the stem *apsaras* appears also as *apsarā* independently: *apsarassu* (HG. °*rāsu ca*) *yo gandhaḥ* ApMB. HG.

*yā medhā apsarāsu* (MG. *medhāpsaraḥsu*; Scheftelowitz reads *medhāpsarassu* for RVKh.) RVKh. MG.: *apsarāsu ca yā medhā* TA. MahānU. HG. ApMB. ApG.

Here the fem. gender of the word, and its nom. sg. *apsarāḥ*, may have helped in the change. But the like is found with neuters, where no such influence can be suspected:

*yā te agne 'yāśayā* (VS. ŚB. *'yaḥśayā*; TS. *'yāśayā rajāśayā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *yā te agne rajāśayā* (VS. ŚB. *rajaḥśayā*) . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

**§395a.** The adjective *mahad* varies with its composition-form *mahā-*: *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV. *bhajase mahad dhanam*) RV. SV.

**§396.** The forms *rāye* and *rāyas* vary with *rayyai* and *rayyās* (see Edgerton, l. c., §393). Undoubtedly the former are from *rai*, while the latter are from the parallel stem *rayi* (which by the way is usually masculine, but occasionally feminine). But the phonetic shift here considered seems also likely to be involved; the *rai* forms seem original: *agne samrāḍ iṣe rāye* (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . AŚ. ApŚ.: *iṣe rāye* . . . VS. MS.

ŚB. TB. (The Conc. quotes AŚ. ApŚ. under this form too, but it refers to the same passage, *agne samrāḍ* etc.)

*rāyas poṣeṇa* (MS. *rayyā*) *mā paśyata* (and: *vaḥ paśyāmi*) TS. MS. KS.

**§397.** The base *su*, used as a root noun, must appear as *sut*; a superlative from it, *-suttama*, varies with the parallel base *-sū-tama*:

*indrāya* (MS. MŚ. °*ya tvā*) *suṣuttamam* (VS. ŚB. *suṣūtamam*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

**§398.** The roots *vī* 'enjoy' or the like, and *vid* 'find' with dental suffixes, produce forms which are lexically independent but show the same phonetic shift; it appears that in both the variants recorded, the forms of *vī* are older. Cf. §329, *agnir hotā vetv* (*veltv*) . . .:

*iṣṭaṁ ca vītaṁ* (ŚB. AŚ. *vittaṁ*) *ca* (ŚŚ. *cābhūt*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*śocasva devavītamaḥ* (KS. °*vittamaḥ*) RV. RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *rocasva devavītamaḥ* VS.

**§399.** More numerous are the cases in which the preceding vowel is either short or long in both forms of the variant. They are chiefly lexical. We begin with those in which the vowel is short. Forms of the root *cit*, with dental suffixes, vary several times with derivatives of *ci* or *cyu:*

*acittapājā* (TA. *acyuta*°) *agnīt;* and:

*acittamanā* (TA. *acyuta*°) *upavaktā* MS. TA. ŚŚ. Proper names of rishis; 'unthinkable' and 'unshakable' both make good sense; the latter is secondary.

*cittiṁ* (MS. KS. MŚ. *citiṁ*) *juhomi manasā* (VS. TS. ŚB. add *ghṛtena*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. See Keith on TS (*HOS* 19. p. 444, n. 1). *Citiṁ* is perhaps, as Keith says, a mistake for *cittiṁ*; but it seems widely attested, and we doubt whether it 'should have been corrected' by the editors of the texts where it occurs. To be sure, one ms. of MS. has *cittiṁ*; but MŚ. *citiṁ*. The passage belongs to the ritual of 'piling' (*citi*) the fire-altar. In the same context occurs:

*cittiṁ acittiṁ* (KS. ms. †*citiṁ acitiṁ*, emended by von Schroeder) *cinavad* KS.† °*vo*) *vi vidvān* RV. TS. KS. Add to VV I §337. Cf. prec.

*mā tvā ni kran pūrvacito* (AV. °*cittā*, MS. °*cittau*) *nikāriṇaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Lexical, but the reading with *tt* seems to correspond better to what is expected (contrary to the view of Whitney and Keith). It refers to people who may 'get ahead of' us in the favor of the gods. 'Having thoughts (devotion, or magic?) first', or, in MS., 'in first thought': 'piling (the altar) first'.

**§400.** One case concerns different case-forms of the same stem:

*varṣman kṣatrasya kakubhi* (TB. Conc. °*bhiḥ*, Poona ed. °*bhi*; MS. *kakubbhiḥ*) *śiśriyāṇaḥ* (TB. *śrayasva*) TS. MS. TB. Loc. sing.: instr. plur. of *kakubh*. The form *kakubhiḥ* is an impossible blend of the two, and should doubtless be removed from the text with Poona ed.; yet the comm. seems to have read so (but he glosses *uttamāṅge*, as if loc.).

**§401.** The rest are miscellaneous, and in part concern mere corruptions and false readings:

*nama ākhidate ce prakhidate ca* VS. MS. KS.: *nama ākkhidate ca prakkhidate ca* TS. The curious doubling in TS. is authorized by TPr. 14. 8; but the mss. show all sorts of variations, see Whitney's note on TPr., and Weber's on TS. 4. 5. 9. 2.

*ayā san* (*ayāḥ san, ayās san*) *manasā hitaḥ* (MS. *kṛttaḥ*, p.p. *kṛtaḥ*; KS. *kṛtaḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (*vayasā*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.: *ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ* ApŚ. ApMB. *kṛttaḥ* is obviously a blunder. Cf. §402.

*vicṛttāya* (VS. *vicṛtāya*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. *vicṛtāya* probably an error.

*nivṛtaḥ* (ŚŚ. *nivṛttaḥ*) *puruṣād dṛtiḥ* AV. ŚŚ. The passage where this occurs is rank nonsense, and any reading will do as well as any other.

*vaiśvānaraḥ pratnathā nākam āruhat* (PB. †*āruha*) AV. PB. TA. ApŚ. In all followed by *diva-*; *āruhad* is the actual reading. PB. has a phonetic simplification or corruption; a 2d sing. impv. is inappropriate (subject nominative, and parallel 3d person verb in last pāda). Add to VV I §332.

*phalāya*, and *phallāya*, KhG.: *bhalāya*, and *bhallāya*, SMB. GG. See §79.

*samudrād udajani vaḥ* (ApŚ. *udacann iva*) *srucā* MS. ApŚ. See §53.

*imāṁ narāḥ* (*naraḥ*) *kṛṇuta vedim etya* (*eta, etat*), see §328.

*yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat* (TA. *āya*, MS. *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV. MS. TA. Corruption in MS.

*viviṭi* (*viciṭi, viviṭṭyai, viviṣṭyai*) *svāhā*, see §866.

*māyādevā avataran* HG.: *adevā devavattaram* ApMB. Several HG. mss. read *avattaram*, pointing to probable corruption in its text.

*ava tara* (TS. *avattaraṁ*) *nadīṣv ā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *avattaro nadīnām* AV. See §832.

*iṣṭo yajño bhṛgubhir draviṇodā yatibhir* (MS. once *yattibhir*) *āśīrdā* . . . MS.† KS.† ApŚ.† The isolated *yattibhir* can only be a mistake.

*pitvo* (VS. MS. *pidvo*) *nyañkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS. *kakuṭhas*, TS. *kaśas*) . . . VS. TS. MS.

*daridra* (TS. °*dran*) *nīlalohita* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Epithet of Rudra; the TS. form apparently felt as a participle. Keith, 'waster'.

*apā vṛdhi parivṛtaṁ* (TB. Conc. °*vṛttiṁ*, comm. °*vṛtiṁ*; Poona ed. text and comm. °*vṛtiṁ*) *na rādhaḥ* RV. TB.

*ātmāsy ātmann ātmānaṁ* (GB. Conc. *ātmanātmānaṁ*) *me mā hiṁsīḥ* GB. Vait. Kauś. Gaastra reads correctly like the others for GB.

*rajani* (AV. Berlin ed. *rajjuni*, by emend.) *granther dānam* (AŚ. *dhānām*) AV. AŚ. Vait. The emendation is probably right, at least in giving the true original reading of the passage; but there is no variant. Caland in his translation of Vait. quotes it as reading *rājani*, perhaps by a slip.

*jīvebhyas tvā samude vāyur indraḥ* AV. 8. 1. 15a. Conc. says read *saṁmude*, but Whitney would keep the text, analyzing with p.p. *sam-ude* 'conversation'. The comm. however connects the word with root *mud*. If this were right the variant could be classed with §306. Uncertain.

*svarvido abhi gā adrim uṣṇan* (SV. *iṣṇan*) RV. SV. Conc. suggests *muṣṇan* in RV.; see however Oldenberg, *Noten*, ad loc.

**§402.** Next we come to cases in which the vowel preceding the single or double consonant is long in both cases. Particularly interesting, as suggesting the Prakritic influence to which we alluded above, are cases where a secondary or corrupt reading appears with a single consonant after a long vowel, the proper form having double consonant. This seems to point towards a tendency to simplify double consonants in that position. Thus:

*sarvasmād devakilbiṣāt* (VS. °*viṣāt*, LŚ. *eva kilb*°) RV. VS. MS. LŚ. ApŚ. The LŚ. obviously has a secondary lect. fac., altho it makes good sense.

*ayā* (MS. *ayāḥ*, KS. *ayās*) *san* (KS. ms. *ayāsā*) *manasā hitaḥ* (MS. *kṛttaḥ*, p.p. *kṛtaḥ*, KS. *kṛtaḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ. *vayasā*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.: *ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ* ApŚ. ApMB. Cf. §401.

*jīvām ṛtebhyaḥ pariṇīyamānām* AV.: *mṛtāya jīvām pariṇīyamānām* TA. Read *mṛtebhyaḥ* in AV. with some mss. and SPP.

*sarvaṁ ni ṣvāpayā janam* RVKh. AV. Edgerton, *AJP* 35. 439, has suggested *ṣvāpayāj janam* as the true reading.

**§403.** There are several variations concerning the synonymous adverbs *paścā* and *paścāt*, before following *d-*. In the first, at least, the

form with double *d* is the older, so that the same tendency is involved: *apaścāddaghvane* (SV. *apaścāda°*) *nare* (SV. *naraḥ*) RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *apaścāddaghvānnaṁ* (AV. *apaścādaghvānnasya*) *bhūyāsam* AV. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*paścādoṣāya glāvinam* VS.: *paścāddoṣāya glāvam* TB.

**§404.** There is some confusion between *pratītta* (and *parī°*), pple. of root *dā* in composition, and *pratīta* (*parī°*), similar form from root *i* in composition (and, once, an anomalous *apratīkam*). In the first two cases the form with double *t* is the proper or original one, and the other may be a phonetic (Prakritic) simplification. In the other two the true reading has single *t*, and the double *t* is textually very dubious:

*yat kusīdam apratītaṁ* (TS. *°tīttaṁ*, and so TA. Poona ed., with v. l. *°tītaṁ*; SMB. *apradattaṁ*) *mayeha* (TS. *mayi*) TS. MS. TA. MŚ. SMB.: *apamityam apratīttaṁ yad asmi* AV.: *yāny apāmityāny apratīttāny* (TB. Poona ed. *°tītāny*) *asmi* TB. ApŚ. It seems that the original form must be *apratīttaṁ*, from *prati-dā* (cf. SMB.); but possibly the pple. of *prati-i* may be defended. So the comm. on TA. reads (*apratītam*), glossing *na pratyarpitam.*

*śyene parītto* (VSK. *parīto*) *acarac ca †vāte* VS. VSK ŚB.: *śyene vāta uta yo 'carat parīttaḥ* AV. Here the true form is certainly from *pari-dā.*

*apaḥ siṣāsan svar* (TB. ApŚ. *suvar*) *apratītaḥ* (TB. Conc. *°tīttaḥ*, Poona ed. text and comm. *°tītaḥ*) RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Here the double *t* has no standing.

*stuhi śūraṁ vajriṇam apratīkam* (TB. Conc. *apratīttam*, Poona ed.*°tītam*) MS. TB. The only correct reading is *apratītam* 'invincible'. On MS. see §138

**§405.** In the few remaining cases the doubling is secondary or corrupt:

*atrā* (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sādanā* (TA. *°nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *kṛṇotu*) RV. AV.†TA. A clear error in TA.: see note of Whitney-Lanman on AV.

*ugraṁpaśyā* (MS. *ugraṁ paśyāc*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS. TA. Names of Apsarases. The MS. has a corruption, probably due to mechanical form-assimilation to the final of *rāṣṭrabhṛt;* see §820.

*nama ākhidate ca prakhidate ca* VS. MS. KS.: *nama ākkhi° ca prakkhi° ca* TS. See §401.

*svāna bhrājā°* . . . VS. TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *svāna bhrāṭ* . . . TA.: *svān nabhrāḍ* . . . KS.: *suvāñ nabhrāḍ* MS. MŚ. Keith on TS. suggests *svāna nabhrāj-* as the original form.

2. Assimilation of two consonants to one double consonant

**§406.** The variants seem to show clear traces of the common Middle Indic tendency to assimilate two adjoining consonants. Especially a semi-vowel or liquid is assimilated to a different consonant, and an adjoining different consonant is assimilated to a nasal. With these cases we shall group a few instances of the converse, in which the double consonant appears to be older than the two different consonants. Here we have then a sort of dissimilation, which indirectly points perhaps to a feeling of phonetic correspondence between two like consonants and a group consisting of one of them and (especially) a semi-vowel or liquid.

**§407.** We begin with cases concerning *r*, the weakest of all the consonants (Geiger, *Pāli* §51; Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* xxxi).

*usrāv* (VSK. KS. *usrā*) *etaṁ . . . anaśrū* (KS. *anaśśū*, v. l. °*śrū*) . . . *brahmacodanau* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. See Keith on TS. 1. 2. 8. 2; he points out that *anaśśū*, as well as *anaśrū* and *anaśśrū*, is capable of a kind of interpretation. Yet it is probably secondary, if not corrupt.

*manyor mṛdhrasya* (HG. *mṛddhasya*) *nāśinī* ApMB. HG.: *manyoḥ krodhasya nāśanī* PG. Kirste suggests reading *ṛddhasya*, saying that *manyoḥ* seems superfluous. But the parallels show that *manyoḥ* is original and that HG. has a phonetic assimilation in *mṛd*°.

*krīḍī ca śākī cojjeṣī* (ApŚ. *sākī* †*corjiṣī ca*) VS. VSK. ApŚ. Here the dissimilated form is secondary; it is no doubt vaguely felt as meaning 'food-seeking' (*ūrj* + root *iṣ*).

*āvat tam* (TA. read *āvar tam*, §873) *indraḥ śacyā dhamantam* RV. AV. SV. KS. TA.

**§408.** The next-weakest consonant, that is most apt to be assimilated to another consonant, in Pāli-Prakrit is *y*. We have a number of cases concerning it; to them should be added a few cases of final *ny* varying with *nn* before an initial vowel, which really concern morphology but which we have placed with similar phenomena under Sandhi, §928.

*abhinne khilye* (TB. *khille*) *nidadhāti devayum* RV. AV. TB. Comm. on TB. *khilībhūte*; the clearest possible case of purely phonetic assimilation.

*duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha* TA. Bibl. Ind.: *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA. Poona ed., text and comm.: *duḥsvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU. See §255.

*aśvān anaśśato* (KS.†ApŚ. *anaśyato*, MŚ. van Gelder, *anaśvato*) *dānam* KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. See §255.

*ud u tye* (MS. MŚ. *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. The secondary MS. MŚ. reading involves substitution of *te* for the older *tye*.

*yad annenātirohati* RV. ArS. VS. TA.: *yad anyenābhavat saha* AV. Here the form with *ny* is secondary, but interesting as pointing to the light pronunciation of *y*. On the nonsensical reading of AV. (the comm. has *annena*) see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 127.

*pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā* TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. See §838. The assimilation is secondary.

*capyaṁ* (TB. Poona ed. *cappaṁ*) *na pāyur* . . . VS. MS. KS. TB. *capya* seems well established, tho etymologically obscure; *cappaṁ* may be a graphic blunder.

*sūryācandramasau vṛkyābhyām* (KSA. *vṛkkā*°) TS. KSA. The TS. form is a secondary and (as shown by Av. *vərəδka*) unhistorical form, dissimilatory in character, quite analogous to the preceding. It has caused quite unnecessary trouble for etymologists (cf. Uhlenbeck's plaintive query s.v. *vṛkka*).

**§409.** A single case concerns *l:*

*gāvo gulgulugandhayaḥ* (Vait. *guggulu*°) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The usual Sanskrit form is *guggulu;* but *gulgulu* occurs so persistently in Vedic texts that one is constrained to accept it as the original form.

**§410.** As to *v*, it was already found involved in two cases mentioned in §408. Besides, we find:

*tan nas trāyatāṁ tanvaḥ sarvato* (ApŚ. *tan no viśvato*) *mahat* KS. ApŚ.: *tan me tanvaṁ trāyatāṁ sarvato bṛhat* AV. An obvious secondary assimilation in ApŚ., assisted of course by the preceding *tan nas.*

*yathāyathaṁ nau tanvau* (AŚ. *tanvā*, MŚ. *tan nau*) *jātavedaḥ* KS. AŚ. MŚ. The MŚ. is obviously corrupt; no v. l. quoted.

*mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnāṁ* (MS. °*hnā*) *cikitnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikitvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45.

*viśvavidaṁ* (AV. °*do*) *vācam aviśvaminvām* (AV. *aviśvavinnām*) RV. AV. See §236.

*apa durhārddiśo jahi* Kauś. Read °*dviśo*; the corruption may be graphic (§869).

**§411.** Of cases concerning the assimilation of non-nasal consonants to adjoining nasals, there occur the following, besides one or two mentioned in the preceding sections as concerning semi-vowels:

*aganma yatra pratiranta* (MG. *prataraṁ na*, mss. °*ran na*) *āyuḥ* RV. AV. MG.

*daivyā* (AV. *daivā*) *hotāro* (TS. °*rā*, AV. °*raḥ*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vani*°, KS.† *vaniṣan na*, AV. *saniṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV. KS. *etat*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

*akṣatam ariṣṭam ilāndam* SMB.: *akṣatam asy ariṣṭam ilānnaṁ gopāyanam* ŚG. Epithets of the cow; cf. the cow-name *ilāndā*, MS. 4. 2. 1: 22. 7, 10, and 4. 2. 7: 28. 12. Altho SMB. comm. says *ilāndam ilānnaṁ kṣīrādilakṣaṇam*, it is probable that both this explanation and ŚG's form are due to secondary etymologizing.

*yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno* (MahānU. *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA. Poona ed. *'yaṁ*) *nāmne* (MahānU. *yatnān me*, v. l. *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA. MahānU. Here probably MahānU. is secondary if not corrupt, and the (partially) assimilated form with two nasals is original.

*ukṣantūdnā maruto ghṛtena* AV. 3. 12. 4. So Conc., with Whitney's Transl., the comm., and SPP. But according to Whitney no ms. reads so, except one of SPP's *śrotriyas*; most of them have °*ūnnā*, a few °*ūtnā*. Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 32. 366) has °*ūnā*. See §183.

[*svāhākṛtasya sam u tṛpṇuta ṛbhavaḥ* (TB. Conc. *tṛṇṇutarbh*°; ApŚ. and TB. Poona ed. *tṛpṇutarbh*°) RV. TB. ApŚ. *tṛṇṇu*° probably misprint.]

**§412.** When a final mute is followed by an initial nasal, the rules of external sandhi require nasalization of the mute. Lack of assimilation is here the exception, not the rule. But it occurs in a couple of cases:

*sahasrāpsāḥ pṛtanāṣāṇ* (SV. °*ṣāḍ*) *na yajñaḥ* RV. SV.

*anuṣṭum* (MS. °*ṭub*) *mitrasya* (GB. Vait. add *patnī*) MS. KS. GB. Vait.

It is perhaps not accidental that both the sounds here concerned are of very rare occurrence as finals.

**§413.** In a case or two *m* at the end of a reduplicating syllable, or absolutely final, is alternatively assimilated to a following *n*, or remains anusvāra. This may be merely a matter of writing:

*devya* (ApŚ. *divyā*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* (KŚ. *naṁnam*°) . . . PB. KŚ. ApŚ.

*vājasya hi prasave* (TS. °*vo*) *nannamīti* (TS. *naṁna*°) TS. MS. KS.

*ā yaṁ* (MS. MŚ. *āyan*) *naraḥ sudānavo dadāśuṣe* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ. Lect. fac. in MS. MŚ. (verb form, 'they have come').

**§414.** Conversely, before initial *m*, final *n* varies with anusvāra. But two cases are purely morphological, concerning the masc. and neuter (adverbial) forms *taṁ* and *tad* (*tan*); and the third is regarded by Whitney and the Conc. as a mere corruption:

*taṁ* (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °*yi*) TS. MS. TA.

*tan* (JB. *taṁ*) *mā puṁsi kartary erayadhvam* JB. KBU.

*tṛta etan manuṣyeṣu māmṛje* TB.: *tṛta enaṁ manuṣyeṣu mamṛje* AV. Conc. and Whitney's note say, read *enan* with SPP. At any rate a neuter and not a masculine form is intended.

**§415.** Finally we come to assimilation of other consonants to adjoining mutes. In every case a preceding mute may be regarded as assimilated to a following mute (precisely as in Prakrit), with one excepception which is extraordinary and may be corrupt; in it a following nasal (!) seems to be assimilated to a preceding mute:

*śiśuṁ nadīnāṁ harim adribudhnam* (TS. °*buddham*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Keith assumes *adribudhnam* in his translation.

**§416.** The other cases present the order of sounds which would be expected as a basis for assimilation. Nevertheless in several of them the dissimilated form is historically secondary. All happen to belong also in §139, where they are discussed individually; there is, then, no need to repeat them here.

**§416a.** To complete the subject of assimilation and dissimilation, as it appears among the variants, a general remark may be added on the not very numerous traces of assimilation and dissimilation of vowels, details of which will be found in later parts of this book. We shall find some signs of a tendency towards *u* coloring in vowels associated with labial consonants. This appears in the variation of *av* with *uv*, §§601–4, and in that of *ṛ* with *ru*, §§678–80. We have also noted, among the variants of *u* with *a* and *i*, what appear to be sporadic cases of assimilation to, or dissimilation from, similar vowels in adjoining syllables. These will be found in §§605, 607, 609, 622–4.

### 3. Simplification of Consonant Groups

**§417.** Under this heading there are first one or two special cases to be distinguished. On the insertion of *t* and *k* after final *n* and *n̄* before a sibilant, see §§938 f. On the optional dropping of a mute etymologically required between a nasal and another consonant, see Whitney, *Grammar* §231; Wackernagel I §233a. The dropping of the mute is required by APr. 2. 20. The VPr. 6. 30 requires it before a voiced mute; the variants show also a case where the dropping occurs before a voiceless mute in writing, but as this case involves dropping of *t* before another *t*, it may be considered merely a matter of writing a double consonant as single after a nasal (§389). The other Prātiśākhyas ignore it. All texts seem to show it sporadically. But editorial as well as scribal vagaries have helped to make the record of little value. Note Weber's disregard of the

TS. mss. in the first two variants, which is typical; other less conscientious editors have doubtless been equally arbitrary, without troubling to record the actual readings of their mss.

**§418.** We quote the following variants for what they are worth, which in our opinion is not much, for the reasons just stated:

*bṛhaspate †yāmyāṁ* (KS. ms. °*yā* emend. °*yāṁ*) *yuñgdhi* (AŚ. *yuñdhi*) *vācam* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. But practically all mss. of TS. *yuñdhi*.

*parivṛñdhi* (TS. MS. ŚB. °*vṛñgdhi*) *harasā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. But here too all mss. of TS. *vṛñdhi*; and so p.p. of MS.

*ādityaṁ garbhaṁ payasā sam añgdhi* (VS. *añdhi*, TS. KS. *añjan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*athāmṛtena jaritāram añdhi* (ApŚ. *añgdhi*) TB. ApŚ. But TB. Poona ed. *añgdhi*, text and comm.

*śucir añkte* (SV. *añte*) *śucibhir gobhir agniḥ* RV. SV.

*yaḥ pauruṣeyeṇa kraviṣā samañkte* (AV. *samañte*) RV. AV. Kauś.

*udno* (VS. MS. *apo*) *dattodadhiṁ bhintta* (VS. MS. *bhinta*) VS. TS. MS.: *udno dehy udadhiṁ †bhindhi* KS.

*śunddhi* (PG. MG. and v. l. of ApMB. *śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuḥ pra moṣīḥ* AG. PG. ApMB. MG.

*ayaṁ sa śiñkte* (AV. *śiñte*) *yena gaur abhīvṛtā* RV. AV. JB. N.

*saṁpaśyan pañktīr* (AV. *pañtim*) *upatiṣṭhamānaḥ* RV. AV.

*achā vīraṁ naryaṁ pañktirādhasam* (SV. *pañti*°) RV. SV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA.

[*pāñktraḥ* (KSA. em. *†pāñktaḥ*) *kaśo mānthīlavas* (KSA. *†man*°) *te pitṛṇām* (KSA. *†pitṝṇām*) TS. KSA. The mss. of both texts all read *pāṁtra*, intending *pāñtra*; TS. comm. *pāṁtra-kaśān*, as a dvandva.]

**§419.** There remains a miscellaneous group of cases in which a consonant is alternatively present or absent in a group of consonants, numbering three (or two at the beginning of the word) when the evanescent consonant is present. We do not include here cases in which the variant consonant is a nasal, a semi-vowel, a liquid, or a sibilant, since these have been treated in Chapter IX. (Such cases are common when the evanescent consonant is *y* or *v*; see §§314–5, 321–2, 332–7, 357, 367, 370.) The only prominent group which stands out among them concerns derivatives of the roots *su* and *stu*. The ritualistic use of these words is such that the interchange is easy; there are many situations in which *suta* and *stuta*, *soma* and *stoma* will do about equally well:

*giraḥ somaḥ* (SV. *gira stomān*) *pavamāno manīṣāḥ* RV. SV. Here there is a change in syntax; but cf. the next, where there is none.

*ghṛtāhutaḥ somapṛṣṭhaḥ* (MŚ. *stoma°*) *suvīraḥ* AV. MŚ.: *stomapṛṣṭho ghṛtavān supratīkaḥ* KS. TB.† 3. 7. 2. 7b, AŚ. ApŚ. The originality of AV. is supported by the RV. epithet *somapṛṣṭha* (fashioned on the model of *ghṛtapṛṣṭha*).

*apsu dhautasya te deva soma nṛbhiḥ* (TS. tr. *soma deva te*) *sutasya* (KS. *stu°*, MS. *ṣṭu°*) . . . TS. MS. KS. PB.: *apsu dhūtasya deva soma te matividoṇ nṛbhi ṣṭutastotrasya* (AS. *nṛbhiḥ sutasya*) . . . AŚ. ŚŚ.

*nārāśaṅsena stomena* (RV. *somena*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. SB. LŚ. Kauś. See Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 54. 54 and 56; Hillebrandt, *Lieder des RV.* 124. Grassmann would emend RV. to *stomena*, but this is undoubtedly a later lectio facilior.

[*sutā* (mss. *stutā*) *mayā varadā vandamānā* (mss. *vedamātā*) AV.: *stuto mayā varadā vedamātā* TAA. Whitney's Translation abandons the unfortunate emendations of the AV. edition. Weber, *ISt.* 2. 144, discusses the TAA. passage; he would understand *stuto* as *stutā-u*.]

**§420.** The rest need no subdivision:

*parijmā cit kramate* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *cid ramate*) *asya dharmaṇi* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Even a wanderer walks (rejoices) in his (Savitar's) ordinance.' Whitney's note implies that he regards *ramate* as a preferable reading; to us it seems merely a lect. fac.

*taṁ tvaṁ viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ kratūn* (KS. *°bhya ṛtūn*) *kalpaya* KS. ApŚ. Apparently KS. has the true reading, cf. Caland on ApŚ. 10. 25. 1; *kratūn* is suggested by the following phrase, *dakṣiṇāḥ kalpaya*.

*ahorātrābhyāṁ puruṣaḥ samena* (GB.* *kṣaṇena*) GB. (both) ŚB.

*yena śriyam akṛṇutām* PG.: *yena striyam akṛṇutam* (ŚŚ. *striyāv akurutam*) ŚŚ. SMB. GG. *śriyam* is clearly a secondary simplification with phonetic aspects.

*bṛhann asi bṛhadravā* (TS. KS. *bṛhadgrāvā*, MS. *bṛhadrāyāḥ*, MŚ. *bṛhadrāyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. The form containing *g* seems to be the older.

*śumbhānas* (KS. *stam°*) *tanvaṁ* (TB. *tanuvaṁ*, SV. †*tanvāṁ*) *svām* RV. SV. MS. KS. TB. 'Adorning (establishing) his own person.'

*anyavratasya* (TA. *anyádvra°*) *saścima* (TA. *°maḥ*, Poona ed. *°ma*; RV. *saścire*) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. Tho the comm. on TA. takes *anyádvratasya* as two words, accent and sense agree in showing that it was felt as one; *anyad* is the 'stem' form.

*māteva putraṁ bibhṛtā sv* (VS. ŚB. *bibhṛtāpsv*) *enat* (TS. KS. *enam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verse is addressed to the waters, which accounts for the secondary change of VS. ŚB.

*namaḥ śuṣkyāya* (MS. *śuṣyāya*) *ca harityāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Von Schroeder thinks MS. is probably to be emended to *śuṣkyāya*; but it may be the true reading (a phonetic simplification).

*bhayaṁ śītimabhyām* (KSA.° *madbhyām*) TS. KSA. Stems in *-man: -mant*; obscure names for some part of the horse's body.

**§421.** In some cases an initial consonant, or even two initial consonants are dropped altogether (or added):

*kṛtān naḥ pāhy aṁhasaḥ* (TA. *enasaḥ*) MS. TA.: *ṛtān mā muñcatāṁhasaḥ* TB. The latter is poor; comm. *ṛtāt prāptāt tasmād aṁhasaḥ*.

*ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneḥ* TS.: *ṛtasya yoniṁ mahiṣasya dhārām* VS. KS. ŚB.: *ghṛtasya dhārāṁ mahiṣasya yonim* MS.: cf. *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām* TS.KS.ApŚ. Ritualistic rigmarole. The MS. pāda may be a blend of the other two, both of which are found in KS.

*śravo* (RV. VS. *avo*) *devasya sānasi* (TS. TA. °*sim*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA.

*stavāno* (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS. ŚB. *dhiyā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *avā no* is a facile and slipshod substitution.

*āyobhavyāya* (AG. *māyo*°) *catuṣpadī* AG. ŚG.: *catvāri māyobhavāya* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. SMB. PG. HG. The ŚG. is obviously secondary and poor; it must be understood as a quasi-derivative from *āyu(s)*.

*yāsām agnir iṣṭyā* (KSA. *niṣṭyā*) *nāmāni veda* RV. TS. KSA. The KSA. reading is an attempt to 'correct' an obscure passage. 'Whose names Agni knows by the sacrifice': 'whose foreign (external) names Agni knows'.

*eruṁ tundānā patyeva jāyā* AV.: *peruṁ tuñjānā patyeva jāyā* TS. The original form of *eru: peru* is unknown; it probably means the male organ.

*purudasmo viṣurūpa* (KS. *purudasmavad viśvarūpam*) *induḥ* VS. KS. ŚB.: *urudrapso viśvarūpa induḥ* TS. ApŚ. Synonyms.

*madhvā* (VS. *adhvā*) *rajāṁsīndriyam* VS. MS. KS. TB. Comm. on VS. *madhvā*, the only possible reading. Is *adhvā* a misprint?

[*tvayā jvasena sam aśīmahi tvā* ŚG.: *tvayāvasena* etc. TS. KS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB. PG. *jvasena* is a misprint, corrected *SBE* 29. 98, note.]

## CHAPTER XI. VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG A

**§422.** The outstanding feature of these variants is the light they throw on the matter of rhythmic lengthening, and, to a less extent, rhythmic shortening. They are supported in these respects to a much smaller degree by the variations between short and long *i* and *u*, recorded in the next chapter.—In §§300–2 we have referred to variations between *ā* and short *a* plus nasal; they will not be repeated here. See likewise §§395–8 for the same variation before single and double consonants.

**§423.** Particularly important are the cases in which the variant vowel is final, either absolutely, or in the seam of a compound, or before a suffix that is treated as if it were a part of a compound. It is in these that we detect most clearly the lengthening of a short vowel due to sentence rhythm. We shall present them first, following them with variations between initial and medial long and short *a*, in stem formations of nouns and verbs (where we still seem to find traces of rhythmic lengthening), and in inflexional elements (where it seems to be virtually non-existent). Finally there will be presented a group of purely lexical and miscellaneous variants of non-final *a* and *ā*.

**§424.** In all these classes there are instances of shortening as well as lengthening; that is, cases in which *ā*, not short *a*, is historically the more original, not to speak of different formative elements where both forms may be justified. Shortenings of *ā* before more than one consonant seem occasionally to suggest the Prakritic tendency to shorten long vowels in closed syllables (cf. §§393 ff.). But other considerations usually enter in, so that the extent of this purely phonetic shortening is problematic.

**§425.** The relation of rhythmic lengthening to meter is well stated by Wackernagel I §266a. The poets make free use of the license to lengthen a final short *a* in syllables where the meter requires a long. But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements but of sentence rhythm. Among lengthenings of final short *a* which can with certainty be regarded as rhythmic, the majority do not occur in syllables required to be long by meter. As stated by Wackernagel, the rhythmic lengthening is prehistoric and occurred originally when the syllable would otherwise be short (that is, when a single consonant followed the vowel), and when the neighboring syllables were short,

especially the following one. Analogical extension has obscured without obliterating the original conditions.

### 1. Final *a* and *ā*

**§426.** Under this head are included *a* and *ā* not only as absolute finals in a word, but also as stem-finals in parts of compounds, or before such suffixes as *vant* (treated as compounds in respect of sandhi), or even in the reduplicating syllable, which as regards sandhi behaves in the same way, tho it may be regarded as closing the gap between final and medial conditions. But to avoid possible vitiation of results thru this grouping, we shall separate the absolutely from the relatively final cases.

**§427.** To show the precise extent of genuine rhythmic lengthening, some further distinctions will be necessary. In some of the words concerned, the regular final is *ā*, not short *a*, either in all periods of the language, or at least in the earliest. In others, both *a* and *ā* can be more or less justified morphologically or lexically, or the lengthening may have been assisted by some formal analogy. Take as an instance the gerund ending *ya* or *yā*. Altho *ya* prevails entirely in the later language, *yā* is much the commoner in RV., and is probably the older form (a stereotyped instrumental case-form; whether *ya* is to be regarded as an originally distinct ending, not identical with *yā*, need not here be discussed; cf. Wackernagel III p. 34 f. and references in small print there). Or again, the instrumental singular ending of *a*-stems (*ena*) often ends in *ā*; it is at least possible that other instrumental forms in *ā* may be concerned in this (as suggested by Wackernagel I p. 312 *infra*; rather different is the implication of III p. 92). Obviously such forms must be separated from cases of purely rhythmic lengthening. We shall therefore begin with—

#### (a) Absolutely final *a*, originally short, varying with rhythmically lengthened *ā*.

**§428.** Here we include thirty-eight variants in which the lengthening is certainly secondary and seems due to the sole and exclusive operation of the law of sentence rhythm; at least there is no apparent morphological or analogical justification for it. The principle is ably discussed by Wackernagel I §§264-6. The pada-pāṭhas regard the lengthening as one of sentence rhythm, for they regularly substitute short *a*. Their opinion is confirmed by the fact that the lengthening practically never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence; nor, in TS., at the end of a

*kaṇḍikā* (Wackernagel I §265a, note); cf. VV I p. 174. Originally it depended on the quantity of the surrounding syllables. The typical case was that in which final *a* followed by a single consonant (so that the syllable was light) was both preceded and followed by light syllables. This succession of three light syllables was avoided by lengthening the *a*.

§429. Most of the cases are verb forms ending in *a*: thirteen of the 2d sing. impv. *-a*, eight of 2d plur. *-ta* and *-tha*, two of 2d sing. middle *-sva*, four of 1st plur. *-ma*, and one each of 1st sing. perfect *-a*, 2d sing. perfect *-tha*, and 2d plur. perfect *-a*. There are seven other cases: two of *sma* and *pra*, and one each of *ca*, *uta*, *adya*, and *sapta*. On *prā*, probably not to be connected with IE **prō*, see §§439, 449, 465.

§430. No school tendencies are revealed by the variants. Late and popular texts replace an older or hieratic *a* by *ā*, and vice versa, with perfect indifference. But some general considerations suggest themselves:

§431. First: the variant word never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence, except in one or two peculiar cases. (Note that in AV. 19. 39. 10d *suvā* is a misprint for *suva*, see Whitney's note; the pāda is repeated without variant from AV. 5. 22. 3d.) One exception has been explained in VV I p. 174: *vanaspate 'va sṛjā* (KS. *sṛja*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. For another see *nihāram* etc., §446.

§432. Secondly: only once does the lengthened syllable occur before an initial vowel, leaving hiatus:

*indra somaṁ pibā imam* RV. AV. SV. MS.: *indra somam imaṁ piba* RV. ŚŚ. Here indeed one might be tempted to understand *pibās* in the first form; but p.p. of RV. MS. both *piba*. Cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on 8. 17. 1.

§433. Thirdly: Otherwise the word following the *a:ā* always begins with a single consonant, except in two cases, in both of which the *ā* is secondary (AV.; short *a* RV.) and seems due to special reasons. In both cases, as its happens, the following word is *pra*. We are not inclined to see any significance in the conjunction mute plus liquid (as if this group failed to make the preceding syllable heavy); possibly more important is the fact that *p* is a labial consonant (cf. §464):

*ut tiṣṭhata* (AV. Kauś. *°tā*) *pra taratā sakhāyaḥ* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. Kauś. The *ā* may be attracted to match the ending of *taratā*, where *ā* is in every way regular and demanded by the meter.

*juhota* (AV. *°tā*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV. VS. TA. This pāda of AV. (18. 2. 2b) is RV. 10. 14. 14b; the preceding one is RV. 10. 14. 15a (these two RV. verses are jumbled in AV., see Whitney-Lanman),

*yamāya madhumattamam.* But further, RV. 7. 102. 3b has *juhotā madhumattamam*; the first word is the first word of AV. 18. 2. 2b, and the second is the last word of the preceding pāda. Apparently the secondary *ā* of AV. *juhotā* is a reminiscence of *juhotā* RV. 7. 102. 3b, where the *ā* is regular; in that RV. passage it was immediately followed by *madhumattamam*, in AV. it is immediately preceded by that word.

**§434.** With these, the only two real exceptions, are to be compared two others in which two following consonants are or seem to be concerned:

*ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte* (AV. *cā suhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Both are regular; in AV. *cā* plus one consonant, in the others *ca* plus two.

*agne purīṣyādhipā bhava* (TS. *bhavā*) *tvaṁ naḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Intended for a triṣṭubh pāda. Perhaps *tvaṁ* is surplusage; whether it is or not, a long syllable is required by the meter before it, and *tvaṁ* (if kept at all) must be read *tuaṁ*. But since vocalic *y* and *v* do not count as consonants for the purposes of the law of rhythmic lengthening (Wackernagel I §265a, note), the *ā* is not followed by two consonants and the lengthening is demanded. It is the other texts, with *bhava*, that are irregular.

**§435.** Fourthly, as to the quantity of the surrounding syllables, the variants do not support quite so strikingly the principle stated above, that they should both be short. We may remember that, in fact, one form of the variant always keeps short *a*. In about half the variants the preceding syllable is long. The following syllable conforms better; it is short in about three fourths of the cases. In eight cases both the adjoining syllables are long. In five of these, the older form of the variant has short *a;* but in the other three *ā* is older. It is, however, probably not accidental that in six of the eight cases the following syllable is an enclitic pronoun, that is a 'light word', lacking in accentual prominence, even tho metrically long. It is also worth noting that in half the cases the variant vowel is in the second syllable of the pāda; this is a favorite position for rhythmic lengthening, as we shall presently see.

**§436.** The eight cases where long syllables both precede and follow are:

*hinva* (Vait. °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāṇi*) *harivaḥ* TS. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Lengthening only in the late and pseudo-hieratic Vait.

*pary ū ṣu pra dhanva* (AV. °*vā*) *vājasātaye* RV. AV. SV. KS. AB. ŚB. Lengthening secondary.

*abhi vāṇīr ṛṣīṇāṁ sapta* (SV. °*tā*) *nūṣata* RV. SV.

*vidma* (Kauś. text °*mā*; read °*ma* with AV.?) *te svapna janitram* AV. Kauś. (pratīka only).

*adha sma* (MS. *smā*) *te vrajanaṁ kṛṣṇam asti* (MS. *astu*, KS. °*nam astu kṛṣṇam*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Lengthening secondary.

*vidmā te nāma* (AV. *vidma te dhāma*) *paramaṁ guhā yat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

*asti hi ṣmā* (TS. MS. KS. *astu sma*) *te śuṣminn avayāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*adyā* (SV. GG. Svidh. *adya*) *no deva savitaḥ* RV. SV. AB. KB. AA. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. GG. Svidh.

§**437.** The only other cases of a following long syllable, not final in its pāda, are:

*vahā* (TB. N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS. *dadh*°) *havīṁṣi* MS. KS. TB. N.

*upa* (MS. *utā*) *no mitrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam* (MS. °*ṇā ihāgatam*) MS. TB. TA.

*indrasya nu vīryāṇi pra vocam* (AV. *nu pra* [read *prā*, §449] *vocaṁ vīr*°) RV. AV. MS. ArS. AB. KB. TB. AA. N. Note that *ā* is clearly secondary and is followed by a labial consonant (§464).

§**438.** In quoting the full list of these variants we shall classify them according to the position which the variant syllable occupies in the verse. All but one of the thirty-eight variants are metrical; and that one is cadenced prose and imitates a triṣṭubh pāda. In two cases the order of words is so changed that the variant syllable occurs in different positions. Of the rest, the variation occurs most often in the 2d, 3d, and 4th syllables of the pāda, viz., six, four, and six times respectively. It occurs three times in the fifth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī pādas before the cesura, and once as the initial syllable, so that it occurs twenty times in the first part of the verse, and fifteen in the last. But of these sixteen, eleven concern the eighth syllable and two the tenth; one case each concerns the seventh and ninth syllables of jagatī pādas, and the sixth of an anuṣṭubh. This summary indicates that, except where metrical requirements have caused the lengthening, the occurrences tend to be pretty closely restricted to the first part of the verse, and specifically to the second, third, and fourth syllables (and the fifth when that precedes the cesura). In the last part they occur as a rule only when the meter requires a long syllable.

§**439.** In the first syllable of a pāda:

*pra* (KS. *prā*) *ṇa āyur jīvase soma tārīḥ* RV. KS. AB. GB. Vait. MŚ. It is unlikely that a rather late text like KS. has preserved a historic

representative of IE **prō*. Cf. *pra* (*prā*) *smā mināty* (*minoty*) *ajaraḥ*, §**512**, which probably belongs here, and §449.

§**440.** In the second syllable:

*hinva* (Vait. °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāṇi*) *harivaḥ* TS. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*vahā* (TB. N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS. *dadh*°) *havīṁṣi* MS. KS. TB. N.

*vidmā te nāma* (AV. *vidma te dhāma*) *paramaṁ guhā yat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

*vidma* (Kauś. °*mā*) *te svapna janitram* AV. Kauś.

*adyā* (SV. GG. Svidh. *adya*) *no deva savitaḥ* RV. SV. AB. KB. TB. AA. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. GG. Svidh.

*upa* (MS. *utā*) *no mitrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam* (MS. °*ṇā ihāgatam*) MS. TB. TA.

§**441.** In the third syllable:

*juhota* (AV. °*tā*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV. VS TA.

*pretā* (TS. *upa preta*) *jayatā naraḥ* RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. Read *pra-itā* in RV. etc. TS. seems to have tried to improve the meter, but only makes it worse.

*janiṣvā* (MS. °*ṣva*, RV. KS. °*ṣṭa*) *hi jenyo agre ahnām* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

*adha sma* (MS. *smā*) *te vrajanaṁ kṛṣṇam asti* (MS. *astu*, KS. °*ṇam astu kṛṣṇam*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§**442.** In the fourth syllable:

*varivasya mahāmaha* (SV. °*syā mahonām*) RV. SV.

*tam ā pṛṇa* (TB. *pṛṇā*) *vasupate vasūnām* RV. TB.

*ut tiṣṭhata* (AV. Kauś. °*tā*) *pra taratā sakhāyaḥ* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. Kauś. See §433.

*ā juhotā* (TB. ApŚ. °*ta*) *duvasyata* RV. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. (pratīka)

*ramayata* (KS. °*tā*) *marutaḥ śyenam āyinam* (MŚ. *marutaḥ pretaṁ vājinam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Three mss. of KS. *ramayata*.

*asti hi ṣmā* (TS. MS. KS. *astu sma*) *te śuṣminn avayāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§**443.** In the fifth syllable, before the cesura:

*udīrayathā* (MS. MŚ. °*tā*, AV. KS. °*ta*) *marutaḥ samudrataḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*yatrā naś cakrā* (Conc. *cakra* for KS. with one ms., but ed. *cakrā* with others) *jarasaṁ tanūnām* RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. ŚB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.

*prāñco agāma* (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.

§**444.** In the sixth syllable of anuṣṭubh:

*indra somaṁ pibā imam* RV. AV. SV. MS.: *indra somam imaṁ piba* RV. ŚŚ. See §432.

**§445.** In the seventh syllable of jagatī:

*pary ū ṣu pra dhanva* (AV. *dhanvā*) *vājasātaye* RV. AV. SV. KS. AB. ŚB. The third syllable after the cesura in triṣṭubh-jagatī meter tends to be long.

**§446.** In the eighth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī:

*apo devīr upa sṛja* (MS. *sṛjā*) *madhumatīḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*bṛhaspate pari dīyā* (TS. *dīya*) *rathena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. No real variant, since *dīya* ends a *kaṇḍikā* in TS.; see §428 and VV I p. 174.

*agne purīṣyādhipā bhava* (TS. *bhavā*) *tvaṁ naḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. An irregular verse, which psychologically belongs here unless *tvaṁ* be deleted; see §434.

*vanaspate 'va sṛjā* (KS. *sṛja*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Also belongs here properly, see §431 and VV I p. 174.

*dyumantaṁ śuṣmam ā bharā* (SV. *bhara*) *svarvidam* RV. SV.

*aditsan vā* (MS. *dhipsyaṁ vā*, TB. *yad vādāsyan*) *saṁjagara* (TB. °*jagārā*, MS. °*cakara*) *janebhyaḥ* MS. TB. TA.

*vayaṁ rāṣṭre jāgṛyāma* (MS.† KS.† °*mā*, MS. p.p. and TS. *jāgriyāma*) *purohitāḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

*yasmād yoner udārithā* (KS. °*tha*) *yaje* (MS. KS. *yajā*) *tam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*sapta yonīr* (KS. *yonīṅr*) *ā pṛṇasva* (TS. KS. TB. °*svā*) *ghṛtena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte* (AV. *cā suhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*bhagemāṁ dhiyam ud avā* (TB.† ApMB.† *ava*) *dadan naḥ* RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

*nihāram in ni me hara* (TS. †*harā*) TS. KS. The TS. form is quoted as a case of lengthened final *a* in TPr. 3. 12; the actual quotation there includes the following word *nihāram*, which is the initial of the next pāda. There is no doubt of the pāda-division; the pāda is anuṣṭubh, not triṣṭubh. But the lengthening of *a* final in its pāda is so utterly anomalous that one of two things must be assumed. Either the lengthening was due to a careless assumption that the pāda was triṣṭubh (including the following *nihāram*); or (and this we believe is the correct explanation), the real reading intended in the saṁhitā-pāṭha is not *hara* but *harās*, subj. and not imperative. This was wrongly analyzed by the p.p. as *hara*, and hence arose the TPr. rule on the subject. This variant should then be added to VV I §152. We do not count it in our figures for this section.

**§447.** In the ninth syllable of jagatī:

*abhi vāṇīr ṛṣīṇāṁ sapta* (SV. °*tā*) *nūṣata* RV. SV.

**§448.** In the tenth syllable of triṣṭubh:

*vīrebhir aśvair maghavā bhavā* (TS. °*va*) *naḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. No true variant, since *bhava* ends a *kaṇḍikā* in TS.; cf. §428 and VV I p. 174.

*gharmaṁ pāta vasavo yajata* (TA. °*tā*, MS. °*trā*) *vāṭ* (MS. *veṭ*, TA. *vaṭ*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. Cadenced prose, imitating triṣṭubh meter; hence lengthening secondarily in TA. Note that TA. is the only text that has a short vowel in the following syllable.

**§449.** Different syllables, with change of meter:

*idaṁ me prāvatā vacaḥ* RV. VS. TS. KS. TB.: *oṣadhayaḥ prāvata vācaṁ me* MS.: *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś. Where the lengthening occurs it is favored by its metrical position.

*indrasya nu vīryāṇi pra vocam* (AV. *nu pra vocaṁ vīr*°, but most mss., SPP., and Whitney Transl. *prā* for *pra*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. AB. KB. TB. AA. N.—Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 48. 47f.) like RV. On *prā* cf. §439 and 437.

(b) Words in which absolutely final *a* varies with *ā*, the *ā* being capable of more or less justification on formal grounds.

**§450.** Here other considerations enter in and make it impossible to regard the law of rhythmic lengthening as the sole determinant, altho it remains an important and perhaps in many cases the decisive factor. We include here adverbs in *tra* or *trā*; adverbs in *tha* or *thā*, *dha* or *dhā*; gerunds in *ya* or *yā*; instrumentals from *a* stems in *na* or *nā*; and neuter nom.-accs. in *ma* or *mā*; also one variant of *acha:achā*. It is noteworthy that in nearly all the cases, except the gerunds (in which the ending *yā* is probably older than *ya*), the variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda (cf. §438). Furthermore, it nearly always (with only one exception) is followed by a word beginning in a single consonant. Except in the case of gerunds, it never comes at the end of a pāda.

**§451.** *Adverbs in tra:trā;* viz. *yatra, tatra, atra.* There is a suffix *trā*, whose independence of *tra* seems indicated by a difference of accent (Whitney, *Grammar*, §1099a); the former is accented on the suffix, the latter on the stem. So far as we have noted, our variant forms in *trā* always accent the stem. Still, the existence of the *trā*-suffix cannot be ignored in considering these variations. While they are probably to be regarded as primarily rhythmic lengthenings, some influence from the suffix *trā* may be at least suspected.

**§452.** In all eight cases the adverb comes at the beginning of the pāda, so that the variant syllable is second. It is always followed by a single consonant; the following syllable is short three times, long five times. In nearly all cases the older version has *ā:*

*yatrā* (MS. **yatra*, AV. **yenā*) *naḥ* (AV. **te*) *pūrve pitaraḥ paretāḥ* (RV. MS.* *pareyuḥ*) RV. AV. (bis) MS. (tris).

*yatrā sapta ṛṣīn* (TS. KS. *yatra saptarṣīn*) *para ekam āhuḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.

*yatrā* (TS. *yatra*) *suhārdaḥ sukṛto madanti* (TS. °*te*) AV. TS.

*atrā* (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sādanā* (TA. °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *kṛṇotu*) RV. AV.† TA.

*tatrā sadaḥ* (SV. *tatra yoniṁ*) *kṛṇavase* RV. SV. KS.

*tatrā* (SV. *tatra*) *no brahmaṇaspatiḥ* RV. SV.: *tatra indro bṛhaspatiḥ* VS.

*yatra* (SV. *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV. *bruvan*) RV. SV.

*atrā* (VS. *atra*) *jahīmo* (RV. TA. *jahāma*, AV. *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāḥ* (AV. *aśivāḥ*, and *asan durevāḥ*; VS. ŚB. *'śivā ye asan*) RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA.

**§453.** *Adverbs in tha, thā, and dha, dhā.* Among the variants are found only *atha, athā, adha, adhā*, and one case of *ittha, itthā*. Here there is less reason for assuming rhythmic lengthening, or more reason for suspecting formal analogy, because most adverbs of this type regularly have *ā*. The only form that usually ends in *tha* is *atha*, and *adha* is the only one usually ending in *dha*. The numerous forms in *thā* and *dhā* may therefore be supposed to have had some influence in producing the (not uncommon) forms *athā* and *adhā*. There is this time no difference in accent. The *itthā:ittha* variant really belongs below, with §477, since the word regularly has *ā*.

**§454.** In the seven *atha* and *adha* variants, the adverb is always initial in the pāda. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but one; but the following syllable is long also in every case but one.

*atha* (AV. *adhā*) *māsi punar āyāta no gṛhān* AV. HG.

*adha* (TB. *adhā*) *vāyuṁ niyutaḥ saścata svāḥ* RV. VS. MS. TB.

*atha viśve arapā edhate gṛhaḥ* TS.: *adhā viśvāhārapa edhate gṛhe* VS.

*atha jivrir* (read *jirvir*, see Whitney) *vidatham ā vadāsi* AV.: *athā jīvrī . . .* ApMB.: *adhā jivrī vidatham ā vadāthah* RV.

*adha syāma* (MS. *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ. corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu* AV. MS. KS. ApŚ.

*athā* (AV. *atha*) *devānāṁ vaśanīr bhavāti* RV. AV. TA.

*athā* (TS.* *atha*) *bhava yajamānāya śaṁ yoḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. No true variant; the short *a* once in TS. (3. 2. 11. 2) is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kaṇḍikā*; see §428. This shows that after all the lengthening to *athā* was at least partly rhythmic, and felt as a matter akin to sandhi.

**§455.** For completeness we add here the single case of *itthā* varying with *ittha*. The latter is not recorded in the lexicons, tho it occurs in this variant in four texts. It is, however, clearly analogical, due to thought of *atha*. Of course the original and regular form is *itthā*, and the variant properly belongs with shortening of original final *ā*, §477: *ihettha* (AV. °*thā*) *prāg apāg udag adharāk* AV. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.

**§456.** *Gerunds in ya:yā.* According to Whitney, *Grammar* §993a, 'fully two thirds' of the RV. forms in *ya* have *ā*, as if instr. sing. forms of *i* or *ti* stems. This, together with the fact that these *yā* gerunds are not governed by the laws which govern rhythmic lengthening, indicates that the variation is of a different sort. It is likely that the gerund ending was originally *yā*, and that the later regular ending *ya* is secondary.

**§457.** In a majority of the variants the gerund occurs at the end of a pāda, a striking proof that we are not dealing with rhythmic lengthening:

*hiraṇyayāt pari yoner niṣadyā* (MS. °*ya*) RV. MS. ApŚ.

*vanaspate raśanayā niyūyā* (MS. °*ya*, KS. TB. *raśanayābhidhāya*) RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. N.

*viśvā agne abhiyujo vihatyā* (AV. TB. °*ya*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB.

*rudrāḥ saṁsṛjya* (MS. °*yā*, TS. ApŚ. *saṁbhṛtya*) *pṛthivīm* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*mitraḥ saṁsṛjya* (MS. °*yā*) *pṛthivīm* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

**§458.** *Instrumentals of a-stems in na:nā.* In the few variants occurring under this head we may suspect that the analogical influence of other instrumental forms in *ā* assisted the tendency to rhythmic lengthening of the *a*. There are only four cases, three of which concern the pronouns *tena* and *yena*; these three forms are initial in their pādas. In the remaining case the variant vowel is in the eighth syllable of a triṣṭubh pāda, so that the meter requires a long, which RV. has, while SV. substitutes short *a* against the meter. In all four cases the next word begins with a single consonant, and the following syllable is short:

*kavir gīrbhiḥ kāvyenā* (SV. °*na*) *kaviḥ san* RV. SV.

*tenā* (AV. TB. Poona ed. and MŚ. ed. *tena*, but all mss. of MŚ. *tenā*) *sahasrakāṇḍena* AV. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *tena vayaṁ sahasravalśena* TB. ApŚ.

*tena* (AV. *tenā*) *vayaṁ bhagavantaḥ syāma* RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

*yena vahasi sahasram* VS. MS. ŚB.: *yenā* (KS. *yena*) *sahasraṁ vahasi* AV. TS. KS. Vait.

**§459.** *Nominatives and accusatives neuter (or nom. masc.) in ma:mā* (once, *a:ā*). Here the phenomena of noun declension play a rôle. Sometimes a change of gender is certain or possible (masc. *ā*: neut. *a*). Sometimes there is a change of number: altho the ending short *a* in the neuter plural is twice as common as *ā* (Whitney, *Grammar* §425d), nevertheless *ā* is in a sense characteristic of the plural, and when found there cannot be regarded as merely a rhythmically lengthened *a*, despite the fact that the p.p. regularly writes *a*. Note the fact that twice among the variants it occurs at the end of a pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is impossible; and cf. Wackernagel III §145h. There is, indeed, among the variants only a single case (the first quoted) where both *ma* and *mā* appear to be certainly neut. sing., so that the lengthening must surely be rhythmic (cf. Wackernagel III §145b).

**§460.** The variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda five times, in the fourth twice, and in the fifth of a triṣṭubh once; thus in the first part of the verse eight times out of eleven. In the other three cases it is final in the pāda, and certainly not rhythmically lengthened. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but two, where it begins with *pr*-(cf. §§433, 464). The preceding syllable is always long; the following one is long just half the time.

*śarmā* (TA. °*ma*) *saprathā āvṛṇe* KS. TA.: *śarma yachātha saprathaḥ* (read °*thāḥ* with all mss., cf. Lanman, *NInfl.* 560) AV. The form must be singular, as the adjective shows, and KS. has a clear rhythmic lengthening. This is the only indubitable case.

*vyomā* (TS. °*ma*) *saptadaśaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.—BR. assume a change of gender here in *vyoman*. The formula is so devoid of meaning that anything is possible, but it may be merely a phonetic variant.

*ayaṁ sahasram ānavo . . . vidharma* (ApŚ. °*mā*) SV. ApŚ. MŚ. Certainly not rhythmic lengthening, as it is final in the formula; rather change of gender, neut. to masc., in ApŚ. Even the original neuter is used as an epithet ('Weltordner', Benfey).

*brahma* (ApŚ. °*mā*) *devānāṁ prathamajā ṛtasya* PB. ApŚ. Here there is certainly a change of gender (in ApŚ. masc., 'priest of the gods').

*ṛtasya bráhma* (AV. *bhūtānāṁ brahmā'*) *prathamota* (emended by RWh. in AV. to *prathamo ha*) *jajñe* AV. TB. The difference of accent proves that different genders are intended. But the pāda is hard to interpret without some emendation; see Whitney's note.

*tan no brahmā* (TA. °*ma*) *pracodayāt* MS. TA. MahānU. Here also there is change of gender (MS. *brahmā'*).

*triṅśad dhāma* (MS. MŚ. *triṅśáddhāmā* as one word) *vi rājati* RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The MS. understands its compound as of masc. gender.

*brahma devakṛtam upahūtam* TS. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *brahmā devakṛtopahūtā* ŚB. Here the number is changed from singular to plural in ŚB.

*varma* (AV. °*mā*) *sīvyadhvaṁ bahulā pṛthūni* RV. AV. KS. ApŚ. Both forms here are plural; and so in the next.

*yatra gavāṁ niḥitā sapta nāma* (AV. *nāmā*) RV. AV. Cf. prec.; note the variation at the end of a pāda.

*tava śravāṅsy upamāny ukthyā* (SV. °*ya*) RV. SV. The only case of a n. pl. in *a:ā* not from an *n*-stem.

**§461.** One case of the preposition *acha:achā*. The original quantity of the final *a* is uncertain; but in RV. it is always long except before a pause and in two other cases (Grassmann, s. v.). One of the two exceptional cases is concerned here. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, believes that *achā* is original.

*acha yāhy ā †vahā daivyaṁ janam* RV.: *achā no yāhy ā vaha* RV.SV. We consider that *vahā:vaha* in this variant does not deserve quotation above under final *a:ā* in verb forms, because the second form of the text actually reads *vahābhi*, fusing *vaha* with following *abhi*. The p.p., of course, always reads short *a*.

(c) Short *a* as final of stems in composition, and in analogous cases, optionally lengthened.

**§462.** Just as the general laws of external sandhi are applied to the combination of parts of noun compounds, and even of stem-finals with certain suffixes (as *vant* and *vin*), so short *a* as stem-final may be rhythmically lengthened in these conditions. And the final vowel of the reduplicating syllable seems to be treated in the same way.

**§463.** The conditions of the lengthening are in large part similar to those where *a* is absolutely final. So the *ā* is invariably followed by a single consonant, without one exception among the variants. But the surrounding syllables are rather more apt to be long, instead of short as we should expect. The preceding syllable in fact is almost always long in the variants, and the following syllable is long in nearly half the cases. Most of the variants are prose, so that they furnish little evidence as to meter or position in the verse. There are five metrical

variants of *a:ā* before the suffix *vant*; in every one the variant syllable is second in the pāda.

**§464.** Wackernagel, who discusses this question in II. 1 §56, recognizes an influence of a following consonant on the lengthening to this extent, that he finds it especially common before *v*. If the evidence of the variants is to be trusted, it would seem that other labial consonants, especially *p* and *m*, exert the same influence; cf. above, §§433, 460. Nearly all the cases occur before one of these three consonants.— For compounds of *a* privative, sometimes lengthened to *ā*, see §§469 f.

**§465.** *Prepositions in final a*, optionally lengthened in composition. All the cases are prose. In two out of three the following consonant is *m* or *v*.

*apamityam apratīttaṁ yad asmi* AV. (pratīkas in GB. Vait. Kauś): *yāny apāmityāny apratīttāny* (TB. Poona ed. °*tītāny*) *asmi* TB. ApŚ. (Metrical in AV., but prose in TB. ApŚ.)

*upāvīr* (TS. ApŚ. *upa*°) *asi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See pw. VII p. 325.

*prayāsāya* (VS. *prā*°) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA. TB. TA. On *prā*, not to be identified with IE **prō*, cf. §§429, 439.

[*prāvaṇebhiḥ* (MS. KS. *pravaṇena*) *sajoṣasaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Probably to be derived from root *pru*, rather than *pra* + *vana*. See §491.]

**§466.** Other compounds. The variation occurs thrice before *p* and twice before *v*. The first three cases are metrical, the others prose. For variations of the adverb *uttarā* with the stem *uttara* in composition see **§476**.

*āvitte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau* MS. KS.: *āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate* TS. TB. And (in same passage): *āvittau* (TS. *āvinnau*) *mitrāvaruṇau dhṛtavratau* (TS. °*ṇāv ṛtāvṛdhau*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Note *ā* before *v* alone, but short *a* before *vr-* (the syllable being long already). Cf. §665.

*sahasrapoṣaṁ subhage* (TS.* °*gā*) *rarāṇā* RV. TS. MS. KS. SMB. ApMB.: *sahasrāpoṣaṁ subhage rarāṇā* AV. Kauś.

*īḍe agniṁ svavasaṁ* (AV. *svāvasuṁ*) *namobhiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. AŚ. Only the AV. truly belongs here, as a compound of *sva* with *vasu*. The others have a compound of *su* with *avas*.

*deva saṁsphāna sahasrapoṣasyeśiṣe* (AV. *sahasrā*°) AV. TS.: *sahasrapoṣasyeśiṣe* SMB. (Conc. quotes the latter again for AV. TS.; but it occurs in them only as part of the longer phrase.)

*dvārapāya svāhā; dvārapyai svāhā; dvārapopa spṛśa; dvārapy upa spṛśa*, all HG.: *dvārā*° etc., ApMB.

[*bṛhaspatinā rāyā svagākṛtaḥ* TS.: †*svagākārakṛto mahyam* MŚ. Conc. *svagak*° for MŚ.]

§**467.** *Formations in vant and vin.* The variants seem to suggest a tendency for Tait. texts to prefer *ā* before these suffixes, and Maitr. texts short *a;* but they are not unanimous, and are probably too few in number to justify such an inference. It may be noted that similar variants before the parallel suffixes *mant* and *min* have not been observed; we have seen (§§238 ff.) that they did not occur originally after *a* vowels. The first five variants are metrical.

*aśvavat* (RV. *aśvā*°) *soma vīravat* RV. SV. VS.

*indravanto* (TS. *indrā*°) *maruto viṣṇur agniḥ* RV. AV. TS. KS. †40. 10b.

*puṣpavatīḥ* (TS. *puṣpā*°) *supippalāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*puṣpavatīḥ* (TS. ViDh. *puṣpā*°) *prasūvarīḥ* (TS. °*vatīḥ*, AV. KS. °*matīḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*sṛkāhastā* (TS. KS. *sṛkāvanto*, MS. *sṛgavanto*) *niṣaṅgiṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*indravān bṛhad bhās svāhā* KS.: *indrāvān svāhā* TS. TB.: *indravān svavān bṛhad bhāḥ* MS.

*dūrehetir indriyāvān* (PB.† °*yavān*) *patatrī* (PB. °*triḥ*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.

*vātavān varṣan bhīma rāvaṭ svāhā* MS.: *vātāvad varṣam ugrar āvṛt svāhā* TS.: *vātāvān varṣann ugra rāvat svāhā* KS.

*agnīndrayor ahaṁ devayajyayā vīryavān indriyavān bhūyāsam* MŚ.: *indrāgniyor* (MŚ. °*nyor*) *ahaṁ devayajyayendriyāvy annādo* (MŚ. °*driyavān vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* TS MŚ.: *indrasyāhaṁ devayajyayendriyāvī* (KS. °*yāvān*, MŚ. °*yavān*) *bhūyāsam* TS. KS. MŚ.

*juṣṭaṁ devebhyo havyaṁ ghṛtāvat* (TS. *ghṛtavat svāhā*) TS. MS.

*dhiṣaṇās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ* (MS. MŚ. *dhiṣaṇā tvā devī viśvadevyavatī*) *pṛthivyāḥ sadhasthe* . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. And so with *aditiṣ ṭvā* (°*tis tvā*) *devī* . . .; *devānāṁ tvā patnīr devīr* . . .; *janayas tvāchinnapatrā devīr* . . .; *varūtrayo janayas* (*varūtrī*, etc.) . . .; *gnās tvā devīr* . . . All in same texts, Maitr. always reading *viśvadevya*°, the others °*vyā*°.

[*somaṁ te krīṇāmy ūrjasvantaṁ payasvantaṁ vīryāvantam* . . . TS. KS. Conc. *vīryavantam* for TS.]

§**468.** *The reduplicating syllable.* Two cases; in both the following consonant is *m* or *v*.

*trita etan* (AV. *tṛta enaṁ*, comm. *etat*, read *etan* or *enan*) *manuṣyeṣu māmṛje* (AV. *mamṛje*) AV. TB. The AV. form is more usual but bad metrically; TB. (probably secondarily) improves the meter by using the stem *māmṛj-* (found RV.).

*śucanto agniṁ vavṛdhanta* (AV. *vā°*) *indram* RV. AV. KS. The regular form is *va°*, but forms with *vā°* are found in RV.

(d) Final *ā* optionally shortened to *a;* and other *a:ā* either absolutely final, or in the seam of compounds.

**§469.** We group here a varied assortment of cases which complete the list of what may be called in a large sense 'final' *a:ā*. Real phonetic shortening of *ā* is not common. In most of the following variants both short and long *a* can be justified morphologically. We begin with an interesting group concerning *a* privative and the preposition *ā*. Some of these concern lengthenings of *a* privative and properly belong in the preceding sections, but are mentioned here because of their similarity to those which involve the preposition *ā*.

**§470.** Thus, it has long been recognized that the RV. form *ā'deva*, 'godless', is the same as *ádeva*, which varies with it in two of our variants, one of which occurs in both forms in RV. itself. A somewhat dubious theory on *ādeva*, rejected by Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. 6. 49. 15, is put forward by Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131.

*viśa ādevīr abhy aśnavāma* RV.: *viśo adevīr abhy ācarantīḥ* RV. AV. AB.

*bhuvad* (SV. *bhuvo*) *viśvam abhy ādevam* (SV. *ad°*) *ojasā* RV. SV. Here the *ā* may be due to the tendency towards an anapest after the cesura; with short *a* we have a tribrach.

**§471.** Less certain cases of lengthening of *a* privative are:

*adayo* (TS. *adāyo*, MS. *ādāyo*) *vīraḥ* (AV. *adaya ugraḥ*) *śatamanyur indraḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In pw. I p. 297 it is said that *ādāya* is an error for *adaya*. But the p.p. repeats the form; it might be interpreted as 'taking, seizing', from *ā-dā*.

*yavā ayavā ūmā abdaḥ* (KS. *yavā āyavā ūmā †evā abdas*) *sagaraḥ sumekaḥ* MS. KS. MŚ.: *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdaḥ sagaraḥ sumekaḥ* TS. ApŚ. The forms *yava(n)*, *yā°*, and *ayava(n)*, *ayā°*, are used with great confusion, but the *a-* seems to be felt as privative; the *y*-forms designate the first half of the lunar month, the *ay°* forms the latter half. The form with *āy°* is not noted except here and in the next; it seems to be equivalent to *ay°*.

*sajūr abdo* (MS.* *abdā*) *ayavobhiḥ* (TS. ApŚ. *'yāvabhiḥ*, MS. MŚ. *āyavabhiḥ*, KS. *āyavobhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. preceding.

**§472.** In the next we have a clear case of the preposition *ā* varying with *a* privative:

*yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpaḥ* AV.: *yām apītā upatiṣṭhanta āpaḥ* LŚ.

'Whom, fattened, the waters wait upon': 'whom the waters, undrunk, wait upon'.

**§473.** In the rest, real phonetic shortening of *ā* seems at least possible, especially in the couple of cases where it occurs before conjunct consonants; cf. the similar law in Pāli and Prakrit (§§393 ff.). The words are however largely problematic, and in some of them *a* privative may be involved; so in the first:

*svastidā āghṛṇiḥ* (TB. TA. *agh°*) *sarvavīraḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. TA. This familiar epithet of Pūṣan certainly contains the preposition *ā*. The form *aghṛṇi* is recorded in no lexicon. Comm. on TB.desperately takes the *a* as privative: *asoḍhavyadīptiḥ* (!). The comm. on TA. varies in different mss.; one reading is *āgatadīptiḥ* (taking *a* as *=ā*). The reading adopted in Poona ed. is *adīpitaḥ, asmāsv anugrāhī*, which is not utterly unreasonable, cf. the classical *aghṛṇin* (pw. II p. 286, 'nichts verachtend'). But cf. also *pūṣṇe 'ghṛṇaye svāhā*, §300, where the yet different form *aghṛṇi* occurs, and is certainly a phonetic variant for *āghṛṇi*.

*aśleṣā* (TS. *āśreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. Name of a nakṣatra, more commonly *āśleṣa;* both these forms are otherwise unknown. BR. derive *aśleṣa* from *a* privative, but *āśleṣa* (*āśr°*) from the preposition *ā;* this is hardly credible. The two forms must be of the same origin, one a phonetic variant of the other. The prevalence of *ā*-forms suggests that *a-* is a case of shortening before two consonants.

*ā no viśva* (MS. *°vā*) *āskrā* (TB. *viśve askrā*) *gamantu* (MS. *°ta*) *devāḥ* RV. MS. TB. AŚ. The word is obscure; *askra* seems to be otherwise unknown. Comm. on TB. *ābhimukhyena kartāraḥ santaḥ*, which implies *ā* and supports BR's derivation from *ā* plus root *(s)kṛ* (Sāyaṇa derives from *kram*). This would then be another case of shortening before a two-consonant group.

**§474.** There are three other cases which would be counted as rhythmic lengthenings of *a* privative, but for the fact that they seem to be misprints or textual blunders. The *ā* forms occur each time only in TB. Bibl. Ind. ed., and each time the Poona ed. reads short *a* in text and comm. without report of variant, agreeing thus with the other texts:

*arāddhyā edidhiṣuḥpatim* VS.: *ārādhyai †didhiṣūpatim* TB. Conc. 'For misfortune.'

*aṣāḍhaṁ* (TB. Conc. *aṣ°* or *āṣ°*) *yutsu pṛtanāsu paprim* RV. VS. VSK. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Unconquerable.'

*aṣāḍham* (TB. *āṣ°*, Conc.) *ugraṁ sahamānam ābhiḥ* RV. AB. TB.

**§475.** Next, a few cases of final *ā* of feminine stems, optionally shortened to *a* in composition and before *vant*. They hardly confirm, but are not numerous enough to dispute, the statement of Wackernagel II. 1 §56e that the shortening is specially common before consonant combinations and in the neighborhood of long syllables. Perhaps by chance, a labial consonant follows the vowel in nearly every case.

*nāsikāvate* (TS. °*kavate*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

*amāyān māyavattaraḥ* ŚB.: *māyāṁ māyāvattaraḥ* AB.

*iḍaprajaso* (KS. *iḍā*°) *mānavīḥ* TS. MS. KS.

*śiraḥpāṇipādapārśvapṛṣṭhorūdarajaṅghaśiśnopasthapāyavo* (MahānU. °*pṛṣṭhodarajaṅghā*°) *me śudhyantām* TA. TAA. MahānU.

*ūrṇamradasaṁ* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *ūrṇā*°) *tvā stṛṇāmi* (KS. *ūrṇamradaḥ prathasva;* Kauś. *ūrṇamradaṁ prathasva*) *svāsasthaṁ* (VS.† ŚB.† °*sthāṁ*) *devebhyaḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. Kauś.: *uru prathasvorṇamradaṁ svāsasthaṁ devebhyaḥ* MS.

**§476.** The adverb *uttarā* varies with the adjective stem *uttara* in composition:

*mitrāvaruṇanetrebhyo vā marunnetrebhyo vā devebhyo uttarāsadbhyaḥ* (VSK. *uttara*°) *svāhā* VS. VSK. ŚB.

*ye devā mitrāvaruṇanetrā vā marunnetrā vottarāsadas* (VSK. *vottara*°) *tebhyaḥ svāhā* VS. VSK. ŚB.

**§477.** The rest are sporadic. The stem *aṣṭa:aṣṭā* belongs with noun formation rather than here; *ā* occurs in the regular inflexion of the stem (cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, III p. 358). On *itthā:ittha* see §455; on *achā: acha*, §461. Otherwise we record here only the form *viśvāhā* or °*ha*, and a couple of lexical variants:

*śivā viśvāha* (VS. and p.p. of MS. °*hā*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °*jā;* TS. *viśvāhabheṣajī*) VS. TS. MS. KS. (Cf. *vrataṁ rakṣanti viśvahā* etc., §511). The reading of MS. p.p. suggests interestingly that we may have a case of shortening for the sake of rhythm or meter (note surrounding long syllables). If the word is a compound of *viśva* and *ahan*, as Grassmann believed, the variation would rather be one of noun declension (neut. plur. in *a:ā*, cf. §§459 f.).

*ati vā* (AV. *atīva*) *yo maruto manyate naḥ* RV. AV. *vā:iva.*

*yad indra citra mehanā* (SV. PB. *ma iha na*) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. See §832.

*athem ava sya* (AV. *athemam asyā*) *vara ā pṛthivyāḥ* AV. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. 'Then set him free upon the choice spot of earth': 'then him upon the choice spot of this earth . . .'.

### 2. Non-final *a*:*ā* in verb inflexion

**§478.** In various verbal stem-formations and a few verbal inflexional forms, *a* medial varies with *ā*. Rhythmic considerations play a part in some of these, notably in the well known variation between *āya* and *aya* in denominative stems (VV I p. 155), with which must properly be classed verbal adjectives in *u* from denominative stems, showing the same shift:

*devān devayate* (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *devā°*) *yaja* (MŚ. *yajamānāya svāhā*) RV. SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*agne prehi prathamo devayatām* (AV. *devatānām*, MS. KS. *devāyatām*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verse is meant for jagatī in all except AV.; meter favors *devā°*.

*apānudo janam amitrayantam* (AV. *amitrā°*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

*devayuvaṁ* (TS. TB. *devā°*) *viśvavārām* (AŚ. *°re*) TS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*devīr āpo agreguvo . . . devayuvam* (VSK. *devā°*) VS. VSK. ŚB.

**§479.** Similar conditions exist in the radical syllable of the causative (VV I p. 155):

*vasoṣpate ni ramaya* (N. *rām°*, so v. l. of AV.) AV. N.: *vasupate vi ramaya* MS.

*yāvayāsmad dveṣam* KS.: *yavayāsmad dveṣaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. Kauś.: *yavaya* (v. l. *yā°*) *dveṣo asmat* MS.: *yavayāsmad aghā dveṣāṅsi* TA.

*yāvayārātim* KS.: *yavayārātīḥ* (MS. Kauś. *°tim*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. Kauś. The p.p. of MS. has *yāvaya*.

*tatra havyāni gāmaya* (KS. *ga°*) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. But von Schroeder reads *gāmaya* in KS. with one of his three mss.

**§480.** There are shifts between strong and weak perfect stems which involve this variation; see VV I p. 187, to which our first variant should be added:

*aditsan vā* (MS. *dhipsyaṁ vā*, TB. *yad vādāsyan*) *saṁjagara* (TB. *°jagārā*, MS. *°cakara*) *janebhyaḥ* MS. TB. TA. These are first person forms, so that either *a* or *ā* is permissible by regular grammar.

*yat sāsahat* (SV. *sāsāhā*, KS. †*sāsāhat*) *sadane kaṁ cid atriṇam* RV. SV. KS.

*bibheda valaṁ* (AV. AŚ. *balaṁ*) *bhṛgur na sasāhe* (AV. *sasahe*) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. The *ā* is probably due to the meter here; in the middle it is highly irregular, tho not unknown (Whitney, *Grammar* §793h). But the AV. form is itself not regular; it should be *sehe*.

*svāṁ cāgne tanvaṁ* (TA. *tanuvaṁ*) *piprayasva* (AV. *piprā°*) RV. AV. TA. MahānU. See VV I p. 187. The *ā* here disturbs the meter, but is otherwise hardly much worse than the rival form.

**§481.** There are a number of cases of sigmatic aorists containing *a* or *ā*, or sigmatic aorists with *ā* varying with other aorists or presents in medial *a*. They are mostly collected in VV I pp. 128 f., 186. On the latter page, under §277, is to be added the following:

*ānyāvākṣīd* (VS. *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vāryāṇi* VS. TB. Cf. also:

*grāvāvādīd* (ApŚ. *grāvā vaded;* so KS. ed., with v. l. as Conc.) *abhi somasyāñśum* (ApŚ. °*śunā*) KS. ApŚ.

**§482.** Subjunctive forms with an ending containing *ā* often vary with indicative or imperative (injunctive) forms with endings containing short *a*. They hardly concern phonetics, and can be found in VV I, in the appropriate places (§§117, 124, 137, 152–4, 167f.). Nor shall we list here the different modal forms of the roots *dā* and *dhā* which show alternatively *a* and *ā* (VV I §193); or augmented and augmentless verb forms in initial *ā:a*, VV I pp. 180f., and elsewhere, of which the following may be mentioned here as examples:

*ayann* (TB. ApŚ. *āyann*) *arthāni kṛṇavann apāñsi* RV. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*ahā yad dyāvo* (AV. *devā*) *asunītim ayan* (AV. *āyan*) RV. AV. *āyan* is imperfect indicative, *ayan* subjunctive.

There are yet other variations in verbal endings showing this shift. We shall quote only one of the dual endings *-tam* and *-tām*, 2d and 3d persons, which should be added to VV I §337:

*ā mā gantāṁ* (VSK.† °*taṁ*) *pitarā mātarā ca* (VSK. †*yuvam*) VS. VSK. 10.3.12c, TS. KS. ŚB. Subject voc. in VSK., nom. elsewhere. Surrounding pādas have 3d person verbs.

### 3. Non-final *a:ā* in noun formation

**§483.** In this class nearly all traces of rhythmic or metrical influence disappear; the variants are almost exclusively morphological (occasionally lexical), and concern phonetics only to a slight extent. Yet even here it is hard to rule out altogether phonetic considerations. Our volume on Noun Formation will deal more extensively with this group.

**§484.** Most of them fall into two classes. First, there are variants in which two primary noun formations interchange, one having *a* and the other *ā* in the radical syllable, the suffix being usually tho not always the same. Included here are some obscure words of doubtful origin, where the original form is uncertain and the variation may be phonetic in some sense. Second, there are cases of variation between secondary formations with the vriddhi of secondary derivation and other, primary or secondary, formations without this vriddhi. The distinction between the two classes is not always clear or definite

**§485.** Under primary formations with radical *a* or *ā*, we may call attention first to a number of variations between the stems *yava(n)*, *yavas*, *yāv°*, and *ay°*, *āy°*, to which attention has already been drawn in §471. The original form of the word in question is unknown:

*sajūr abdo* (MS. **abdā*) *ayavobhiḥ* (KS. *āy°*, TS. ApŚ. *'yāvabhiḥ*, MS. MŚ. *āyavabhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*yavā ayavā ūmā abdaḥ* (KS. *āyavā ūmā* †*evā abdas;* TS. ApŚ. *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdaḥ*) *sagaraḥ sumekaḥ* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*yavānāṁ* (TS. *yāv°*) *bhāgo 'si* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ayavānām* (TS. *ayāv°*) *ādhipatyam* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*yavāś cāyavāś cādhipataya āsan* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *yāvānāṁ cāyāvānāṁ cādhipatyam āsīt* TS.

**§486.** Rather numerous are cases in which the primary suffix *a* is used with well-known roots in forming primary derivatives with either *a* or *ā* in the root syllable; type *bhaga:bhāga*. They call for no comment:

*subhagaṁkaraṇī mama* AV.: *subhāgaṁkaraṇaṁ mama* SMB. Most saṁhitā mss. of AV. *subhāg°*.

*mām agne bhāginaṁ kuru* ApMB.: *mām indra bhaginaṁ kṛṇu* AV.

*saṁsrāvabhāgā* (*°gāḥ*, *°gās*, VS. ŚB. KŚ. *saṁsrava°*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *bṛhantaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

*namaḥ parṇāya* (TS. KS.† *parṇyāya*) *ca parṇaśādāya* (TS. *°śadyāya*, VS. *°śadāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*prātaḥ prātaḥsavasya* (ApŚ. MŚ. *°sāvasya*) *śukravato . . .* ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *prātaḥsāva* is the only form known to RV., but the other is commoner later.

*prātaḥ prātaḥsavasyendrāya* (ApŚ. MŚ. *°sāvasyen°*) . . . KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*śrāvaś* (VS. *śravaś*) *ca me śrutiś ca me* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. *śravaś* might be taken as an *s*-stem, but not *śrāvaś*.

*kṣuro bhrajaś* (TS. *bhṛjvāñ*, MS. *bhṛjaś*, VS. *bhrājaś*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *bhrajaś* (KS. ed. †*bhrā°*, v. l. *bhra°*) *chandaḥ* VS. (in next verse) TS. KS. (in same verse) ŚB. Comm. on VS. *bhrajaś* for *bhrā°*.

*vahniḥ saṁtaraṇo* (TA. *saṁpāraṇo*) *bhava* VS. TA. Different but synonymous roots.

**§487.** Forms in primary *ya*, practically gerundives in meaning:

*yad bhūtaṁ yac ca bhavyam* (AV. *ArS. VS. *bhā°*, AV.* *yad vā bhāvyam*) RV. AV. (bis) ArS. VS. TA. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. *bhav°*. Metrical lengthening, possibly.

*uttarasyāṁ devayajyāyām upahūtaḥ* (TB. also *°tā*) TS. ŚB. TB.: *upahūto 'yaṁ yajamāna* (MS. *°nā*) *uttarasyāṁ devayajyāyām* (MS. *°yājyāyām*) MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§488. Forms in other suffixes:

*havanaśrun* (TB. *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV. TB. *hāvana-* is not otherwise recorded from root *hū*.

*dūṣīkābhir hrādunim* (KSA.† *hra°*) TS. KSA.: *hrādunīr dūṣikābhiḥ* VS. MS. The word is not otherwise recorded with short *a*; if KSA. is correct, it has probably suffered analogical influence from the sphere of *hrada*.

*divācarebhyo* (MG. *°cāribhyo*) *bhūtebhyaḥ* MG. ViDh.: *ahaścarebhyaḥ* ŚG. (Sc. *namaḥ* in both.) Also: *naktaṁcarebhyaḥ* ŚG. ViDh.: *naktaṁcāribhyo bhūtebhyaḥ* MG. Stems *cara* and *cārin*.

*tataṁ me apas* (TB. ApŚ. *ma āpas*) *tad u tāyate punaḥ* RV. KB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. Both *apas* and *āpas* are Rigvedic.

*vratāni* (MS. TB. ApŚ. *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhaḥ* (TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. *adābhyaḥ*) MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. Here the gerundive varies with a participle.

§489. The remaining variants under this head are in some way or other doubtful or obscure, but seem generally to be primary formations; occasionally they may be lexically different in origin:

*adayo* (TS. *adāyo*, MS. *ādāyo*) *vīraḥ* (AV. ed. with p.p. *adaya ugraḥ*, but mss. *adā°*, and so comm.) *śatamanyur indraḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. On the initial *ā* of MS. see §471. The second *ā* is anomalous if the word means 'pitiless' (so AV. comm.). Possibly 'without a share' (*dāya*), tho this fits none too well. For other suggestions see Keith's translation of TS. and note.

*marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo* (MS. *°dhebhyo*) *baṣkihān* (MS. *vaṣ°*, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*) VS. MS. ApŚ. Cf. §219. The word is obscure; is the *ā* somehow connected with the suppression of the second syllable in ApŚ.?

*vāṣaṭ* ApŚ.: *vaṣaṭkāraḥ* AG. ŚG. If Garbe's conjecture is right (all mss. of ApŚ. *vaṣaṭ*) it is a deliberate and artificial variation of the familiar exclamation *vaṣaṭ*.

*ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas* (MS. *mānthālavas*, VSK. *māndhālas*) *te pitṝṇām* VS. VSK. MS.: *pāṇktraḥ* (KSA.† *pāṇktaḥ*, but mss. of both texts *pāṁtra-*) *kaśo mānthīlavas* (KSA.† *man°*) *te pitṛṇām* (KSA.† *pitṝ°*) TS. KSA. See §77.

*hemantāya kakarān* (KSA.† *kakārān*) VS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. Name of an unknown animal or bird.

[*śiśirāya vikakarān* (KSA.† *vikarān*, Conc. *vikārān;* ApŚ. *vikirān*) VS. KSA. ApŚ.]

*āstāṁ jālma* (KS. *jalma*) *udaraṁ śraṅśayitvā* (KS. *sraṁs°*) AV. KS.

*nākro makaraḥ kulīpayas* (TS. *kulīkayas*, MS. *pulīkayas*, KSA. *pulīrayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA.† *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Read *kūvārasya* in KSA.; see §198.

*śaṇḍerathaś śaṇḍikera ulūkhalaḥ* ApMB.: *śāṇḍīkera* (PG. *śauṇḍikeya*) *ulūkhalaḥ* HG. PG. Fanciful names of demons.

*ākhuḥ sṛjayā śayaṇḍakas te maitrāḥ* (KSA. *śayāṇḍakās te maitryāḥ*, em. in ed. to °*kas te maitrāḥ*) TS. KSA.: *śārgaḥ sṛjayaḥ śayāṇḍakas te maitrāḥ* VS. MS. The word *śay*° is obscure, and may have been originally a compound.

*vāśā stha* VS. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *vaśāḥ stha* MS. KS. MŚ. Addressed to waters. *vāśā* probably 'bellowing' (BR. and Keith 'obedient', implausibly following one of Sāyaṇa's guesses); *vaśāḥ* 'cows'. It is held by some that *vaśā* is connected with the root *vāś*, 'bellow'.

**§490.** Coming to secondary noun formations, we find first a number of cases in which two secondary stems exchange, one having vriddhi in the first syllable and the other lacking it:

*tisraś ca rājabandhavīḥ* (HG. °*vaiḥ*) HG. ApMB.: *prajāḥ sarvāś ca rājabāndhavaiḥ* (MG. °*vyaḥ*) PG. MG.: *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavīḥ* (ŚG.† °*bāndhavaiḥ*) AG. ŚG. (Oldenberg suggests reading °*vīḥ* in ŚG.) Alternative stems *bandhava* and *bān*°, both from *bandhu*.

*mitrāvaruṇau praśāstārau praśāstrāt* (KŚ. *prā*°) KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The office of the *praśāstṛ* is *praśāstra* or *prā*°.

*divyaṁ suparṇaṁ vāyasaṁ* (AV. *payasaṁ*, KS VS. ŚB. TS.* *vayasā*, MS. TS.* *vayasaṁ*) *bṛhantam* RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. AŚ. Suparṇ. *vāyasa* and *va*° both 'bird'; *vayasā* is instr. of the unrelated *vayas* 'strength'.

*dhiṣaṇāsi parvatī* (TS. TB. ApŚ. °*tyā*, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārvatī*, but KS. mss. *par*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. In the Tait. texts a secondary adjective *parvatya*, in the Maitr. school an equivalent *pārvata;* the form *parvatī* must also have the same meaning (Mahīdhara seems to explain it as having 'Vedic' shortening); it is too well attested to make emendation advisable. See next.

*prati tvā parvatī* (TS. TB. °*tir*, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. See prec. Twice in KS.; once the sole ms. has *parv*°; the other time *pārv*°, but KapS. *parv*°.

*gārgī* (AG. *gargī*) *vācaknavī* (sc. *tṛpyatu*) AG. ŚG. Patronymics; *gārgī* is to be expected. See next.

*śakalyam* ŚG.: *śākalam* AG. (with both sc. *tarpayāmi*). Read no doubt *śākalyam* in ŚG. (misprint; Oldenberg's translation has Śākalya). Cf. prec.

*ya āntarikṣāḥ* (sc. *sarpās tebhya imaṁ baliṁ harāmi*) HG.: *ye sarpāḥ pārthivā ye antarikṣyā ye divyā* . . . AG.

*vāyur na īḍita īḍitavyair devair antarikṣyaiḥ* (ApŚ. *āntarikṣaiḥ*) *pātu* KS. ApŚ.

*āṅgūṣāṇām* (SV. *aṅgoṣiṇam*) *avāvaśanta vāṇīḥ* RV. SV. The SV. form in this and the next is dubious.

*āṅgūṣyaṁ* (SV. *aṅgoṣiṇaṁ*) *pavamānaṁ sakhāyaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. prec.

*śvetāya vaidarvāya* (°*vyāya*, °*dārvāya*, *vaitahavyāya*), see §315.

*suvarṇastainyam avrātyam* (BDh. *avratyam*) ViDh. BDh. Perfect equivalents.

*narāśaṅse* (VS. *nār*°) *somapīthaṁ ya āśuḥ* (KS. *ānaśuḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. It is at least conceivable that *narāśaṅsa*, as name of a certain libation, is a secondary derivative without vriddhi.

[*narāśaṅsa stavişyate* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. In the Berlin ed. of AV. is printed the false emendation *nārā*°.]

*sūyavasinī manave* (RV. TA. *manuṣe*, KS. *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA. °*sye*, TS. MS. KS. *yaśasye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *mānuṣa* of KS. = *manuṣa* of TA. (*manuṣe* in RV. is dative of *manus*, a more primitive form; all ultimately connected with *manu*, whence the dative *manave*.)

*agnīd rajanarauhiṇau* (so ed., v. l. *rāja*°; p.p. *rājan*, *rau*°) *puroḍāśāv adhiśraya* MS. A name of a sāman; see note in MS., and BR. s. v. *rājana*, which seems to be the true form; *rajana* would perhaps be an equivalent formation if it were acceptable.

*yakṣmaṁ śroṇibhyāṁ* (ApMB. *śroṇī*°) *bhāsadāt* RV. ApMB.: *yakṣmaṁ bhasadyaṁ śroṇibhyāṁ bhāsadam* AV.

*araṇyāya* (MS. *āraṇāya*) *ṣṛmaraḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Both mean 'of distance'.

*kalpayataṁ mānuṣīḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *dṛṁhantāṁ daivīr viśaḥ kalpantāṁ †manuṣyāḥ* KS.

*achinno divyas* (KS. ApŚ. *daivyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS. ApŚ. *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS. KS. ApŚ.

*bṛhaspatir devānāṁ* (ŚŚ. *daivo*) *brahmāhaṁ manuṣyāṇām* (ŚŚ. *mānuṣaḥ*) VSK. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

**§491.** In other cases a secondary formation with vriddhi of the initial syllable varies with some form of the primary word from which it is derived, or with a related word:

*śunaṁ vāhāḥ śunaṁ naraḥ* (TA. *nārāḥ*) RV. AV. TA. *naraḥ*, plur. of *nṛ*; *nārāḥ*, plur. of *nāra*, from *nṛ* or *nara*.

*namas te rathaṁtarāya* (AA. *rāth*°) . . . AA. LŚ. ŚŚ. Both words refer to

the Rathaṁtara sāman; AA. forms an adjective from the noun *rath°*, with *sāmne* understood.

*bhuvanam asi sāhasram* (MS. **sah°*, ŚG. *sahasrapoṣam*, MS. **sahasrapoṣapuṣi*, ApŚ. *sahasrapoṣaṁ puṣa*) MS. SMB. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. Probably read *sāhasraṁ* in MS.*; note that MŚ. has this.

*vāyosāvitra* (TS. p.p. *°traḥ*; MS. *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyāṁ caruḥ* (MS. *payaḥ*) TS. MS. KSA. Both = 'of Vāyu and Savitar.'

*tasmai brahma ca brāhmāś* (TA. *brahmā*) *ca* AV. TA.

*nāsām āmitro* (TB. *naínā amitro*) *vyathir ā dadharṣati* RV. AV. TB. *āmitra* = 'belonging to the enemy (*amitra*)'.

*agnes tvā* (MS. *agneṣ ṭvā*) *mātrayā jagatyai* (KS. *°tyā*, MS. *jāgatyā*) *vartanyā* . . . TS. MS. KS. 'with the path of the jagatī' or 'with the jagatī as path'. KS. v. l. *jāgatyā*.

*jagad asi* MS. MŚ.: *jāgatam asi* MS. TA. ApŚ.: *jāgatāsi* MS.: *jāgato 'si* MS. MŚ. All 'composed in jagatī meter'.

*prabhāyā agnyedham* (TB. *āgnendham*) VS. TB. The TB. form is problematic; comm. *agneḥ prajvalanakartāram*, which would make it equal to *agnyedham*. Should we read *āgnyendham*, 'having to do with fire-kindling'? Or *āgnīndham*?

*sadyaḥkrīś* (ApMB. *sādyaskrīś*) *chandasā saha* ŚG. ApMB. *sadyaskrī* (masc.!), name of an ekāha. The ApMB. form would seem to be a secondary derivative, but in that case would have to be fem., and there seems to be no fem. noun with which it could agree.

*prāvaṇebhiḥ sajoṣasaḥ* RV. VS. TS. ŚB.: *pravaṇena sajoṣasaḥ* MS. KS. The ἅπ. λεγ. *prāv°* is doubtful; Grassmann as secondary adj., '(fires) of the abyss'. But RV. p.p. *prav°*; possibly rhythmic lengthening (note that the following consonant is *v*, cf. §464). The primary word is probably to be derived from root *pru*, tho it has been interpreted as a compound of *pra* and *vana*; in that case it would belong to §465.

*śāśvatībhyaḥ* (AV. ApŚ. and TB. Poona ed. *śaś°*) *samābhyaḥ* AV. VS. TB. IśāU. ApŚ. The adjective *śāśvata* = *śaśvat*; fem. forms of both.

*yadi varuṇasyāsi* . . . Kauś.: *yadi vāruṇy asi* . . . Rvidh. ApG.: *yady asi vāruṇī* . . . GG.

*yathā yamāya harmyam* (TA. *hā°*) AV. TA.; and

*evā* (TA. *evaṁ*) *vapāmi harmyam* (TA. *hā°*) AV. TA. *hārmya* is recorded only here, and may mean the same as *harmya*, or be a corruption of that; but TA. takes it as a secondary adj., 'suitable for the house', supplying a noun; and this is also possible.

*sūpasthā asi vānaspatyaḥ* MŚ.: *sūpasthā devo vanaspatiḥ* TS. ApŚ.

*eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathaḥ* RV. SV.: *eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣā* VS. ŚB.

*adhyakṣāyānukṣattāram* TB.: †*ādhyakṣyāyānukṣattāram* VS.

*somo vaiṣṇavo rājā* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *somo vaiṣṇavas*) . . . *añgiraso* (AŚ. †*āñg*°, ŚŚ. *āñgiraso vedo*) *vedaḥ* . . . ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'The Añgirasas (i.e., the AV.) are the Veda'; so ŚB. The others mean the same thing: 'the (Veda) of the Añgirasas'.

**§492.** There remain a number of other cases which seem to concern noun formation in a broad sense. First a group of variants between *āgrayaṇa* and *āgrā*°, name of the first soma offering at the Agniṣṭoma, which is apparently derived from *agra*; the *ā* may be rhythmic in character. The variants seem to suggest a preference for the *ā* form in MS. MŚ. and KS., with short *a* elsewhere:

*nidhanavata āgrayaṇaḥ* (MS. KS. *āgrā*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*āgrayaṇaś* (MS. KS. *āgrā*°) *ca me* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

*āgrayaṇāt* (KS. MS. *āgrā*°) *trinavatrayastriṅśau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*āgrayaṇo* (MS. MŚ. *āgrā*°) *'si svāgrayaṇaḥ* (MS. MŚ. *svāgrā*°) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. MŚ.

*āgrayaṇas te dakṣakratū pātv asau* AŚ.: *ātmānaṁ ta āgrāyaṇaḥ* (ApŚ. †*āgra*°) *pātu* MS. ApŚ.

**§493.** When roots ending in *ā* are used as final parts of compounds, the *ā* is frequently shortened, bringing the word into the common *a* declension:

*ūrṇamradasaṁ* (etc., see §475) . . . *svāsasthaṁ* (VS.† ŚB.† °*sthāṁ*) *devebhyaḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. Kauś.: *uru prathasvorṇamradaṁ svāsasthaṁ devebhyaḥ* MS.

*kṛṣṇo 'sy ākhareṣṭhaḥ* (MS. KS. and most mss. of MŚ. °*ṣṭhāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApŚ.

*yuvā kaviḥ puruniṣṭha* (KS. °*ṣṭhā*) *ṛtāvā* RV. TS. MS. KS.

*mitro na* (MS. MŚ. *nā*) *ehi sumitradhaḥ* (TS. KS. °*dhāḥ*, MS.* °*dhaḥ saha rāyas poṣeṇa*) VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*yo devānāṁ nāmadhā* (AV. °*dha*) *eka eva* (KS. *eko asti*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*adabdho gopāḥ* (KS. †*gopaḥ*) *pari pāhi nas tvam* (KS. *pari pātu viśvataḥ*) RV. TS. KS.

*pravāyāhne 'har jinva* MS.: *pravayāhnāhar jinva* VS. The MS. form is suspicious in the light of the surrounding parallel formulas, which are instrumental in form. If correct it is a dative from *pra-va*; VS. has instr. of *pra-vā*. The root is *vā*, 'blow'.

**§494.** Other variants involving different related or quasi-related noun stems:

*aprajastāṁ pautramṛtyum* ApMB. HG.: *aprajasyaṁ pautramartyam* SMB.: *aprajāstvaṁ mārtavatsam* AV. On stems *prajas* and *prajās* (:*prajā*) see Wackernagel II. 1 p. 95 f.

*sa tvā manmanasāṁ karotu* (ApMB. °*saṁ kṛṇotu*) PG. ApMB. 'He shall make thee (fem.) me-minded.' Stems *man-manas* and *man-manasa*.

*agnir adhyakṣaḥ* (TA. °*ṣāḥ*) MS. TA. 'Agni is overlord.' There is no apparent explanation of the anomalous *ā* of TA., as if from stem *adhyakṣas*! It is repeated in the comm., with gloss *svāmī*.

*satvanāṁ* (MS. *satvānāṁ*, KS. †*sattvānāṁ*) *pataye namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. Stems *satvan* and *sattva*; MS. has a bad writing for *sattv*°, cf. §392.

*imāṁ narāḥ* (*naraḥ*) . . ., see §328. Nom. pl. of stems *nara* and *nṛ*.

*tisraḥ kṣapas* (TA. °*pās*) *trir ahātivrajadbhiḥ* RV. TA. Stems *kṣap* and *kṣapā*.

*tābhir* (TB. *yābhir*) *yāsi dūtyāṁ* (MS. °*yaṁ*) *sūryasya* RV. MS. TB. Stems *dūtyā* and °*ya* (Pischel, *VSt.* 1. 22; Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6. 58. 3).

*agne pṛthivīpate . . . varuṇa dharmaṇāṁ pate . . .* TB.: *agne pṛthivyā . . . varuṇa dharmāṇām . . .* ŚŚ. Stems *dharma* and °*man*. (Also listed in Conc. under *varuṇa . . .*)

**§495.** The numeral for 'eight' has stem final, in declensional forms as well as in composition, ending in both *ā* and *a*; the former predominates earlier, the latter in the later language; cf. Wackernagel III p 358 f.

*aṣṭasthūṇo daśapakṣaḥ* Kauś.: *aṣṭāpakṣāṁ daśapakṣām* AV.

*aṣṭābhyaḥ* (KSA. *aṣṭa*°, but ed. em. *aṣṭā*°) *śatebhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.

[*aṣṭābhyaḥ* (Conc. wrongly KSA. *aṣṭa*°) *svāhā* TS. KSA.]

[*agnaye gāyatrāya trivṛte rathaṁtarāyāṣṭākapālaḥ* (with varr.) VS. TS. MS. KSA. All texts *aṣṭā*°; Conc. *aṣṭa*° for VS.]

**§496.** A couple of doubtful cases:

*samudrasya tvāvakayā* (TS. ApŚ. *tvāvā*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. *avakā*, name of a water-plant, from *ava*; *avākā* presumably the same, perhaps with rhythmically lengthened *ā* before suffix *ka*, cf. similar cases before *vant* and *vin*, §467, and Edgerton, *JAOS* 31.118, where this should in that case be added. Boehtlingk, 'die untere Eihaut' for *avākā*, evidently thinking of *avā(ñ)c;* Keith, 'wind'; we see little reason for either interpretation.

*nirṛtiṁ nirjarjalpena* (MS. *nirjalpena*, TS. *nirjālmakena*, KS. *nirjālmāka*-) *śīrṣṇā* VS. TS. MS. KS. Obscure word; see §810. TS. comm., followed by Keith, 'bald'.

### 4. Non-final *a*:*ā* in Noun Declension

**§497.** In inflexional forms of nouns the shift between *a* and *ā* is regularly accompanied, and no doubt wholly determined, by morphological or syntactic changes. Rhythmic or other phonetic considerations enter in hardly at all. We begin with purely formal shifts, not accompanied by change of syntax; that is, the variant forms are felt as of the same case, number, and gender.

**§498.** First, the forms *apas* and *āpas* are frequently interchanged as nom. and acc. of stem *ap* (Wackernagel III p. 240):

*śaṁ no bhavantv āpa oṣadhayaḥ* (6. 23. 3 *apa oṣadhīḥ*) *śivāḥ* AV. 2. 3. 6, 6. 23. 3. But mss. at 2. 3. 6 also *apa* (comm. *āpaḥ*), which Whitney's Translation restores; and this despite the fact that both forms are nominatives! The shortening may be influenced by the meter; it furnishes the desired anapest after the cesura.

*apo* (RV. AŚ. *āpo*) *adyānv* (TS. TB. JB. ApŚ. *anv*; AV. *divyā*) *acārīṣam* (JB. †*acārṣam*, AV. *acāyiṣam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. JB. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB. ApG. MG. Here the form is accusative.

**§499.** Stems in *d* do not usually show ablaut in the stem syllable except in the case of *pad*, which shows some fluctuation in composition and in case-forms (Whitney §387.4; Wackernagel III p. 235 f.). The variants present a couple of cases of this stem, and also one of *sad*, not recognized as lengthening the stem *a* by Whitney §387 or Wackernagel III p. 237, foot:

*dvipac catuṣpad* (SV. *dvipāc catuṣpād*) *arjuni* RV. SV.

*dvipac catuṣpad* (AV. VS. Kauś. *dvipāc catuṣpād*) *asmākam* RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. Kauś.

*catuṣpadām uta yo* (TS. *ca*) *dvipadām* AV. TS.: *catuṣpāda uta ye dvipādaḥ* KS. MŚ. Here the ablaut is regular; different case forms.

*viśvā āśā dakṣiṇasat* (AB. AŚ. °*sāt*, ŚŚ. °*taḥ*, LŚ. °*dhak*) VS. MS. AB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.

**§500.** Twice Tait. texts present vriddhi-grade forms of *pitṛ* in the bahuvrīhi compound *dákṣa-pitṛ*, which Wackernagel II. 1 p. 101 (cf. also III p. 200) properly compares with *tvát-pitāraḥ*:

*sudakṣā dakṣapitarā* (TB. °*tārā*) RV. TB.

*ye devā manojātā* (MS. KS. MŚ. *manu*°) . . . *sudakṣā dakṣapitaras* (TS.† °*tāras*) . . . TS. MS. KS. BDh. ViDh.

**§501.** Of *n*-stems, there is one case of nom. pl. *vṛṣaṇaḥ* (Wackernagel III p. 267) replaced in a later text by the more regular-seeming *vṛṣāṇaḥ*:

*vṛṣaṇaḥ* (TB. *vṛṣāṇaḥ*) *samidhīmahi* RV. AV. SV. ŚB. TB.

**§501a.** And once a form with irregularly lengthened *a*, *paśumānti*, from a *mant* stem (noted RPr. 589 = 9. 30), is replaced in SV. by the regular form:

*miteva sadma paśumānti* (SV. °*manti*) *hotā* RV. SV.—Similarly:

*ava droṇāni ghṛtavānti sīda* (SV. °*vanti roha*) RV. SV.

**§502.** As to *s*-stems, the ending *as* in the neuter nom.-acc. of adjectives may be lengthened to *ās* (Wackernagel III p. 288):

*śarmā* (TA. °*ma*) *saprathā āvṛṇe* KS. TA.: *śarma yachātha saprathaḥ* AV. But all mss. of AV. °*thāḥ*, which should doubtless be read; comm. °*thaḥ*.

*yachā naḥ* (AV. *yachāsmai*) *śarma saprathaḥ* (AV. VS. KS. TA. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. °*thāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. SMB. HG. ApMB. N.

*viśām agnim atithiṁ suprayasam* (KS. °*yāsam*) RV. KS. The meter favors a long, and this may be the reason for KS's secondary reading; v. Schr. emends to °*yasam*, rather rashly, we think. Cf. Whitney §415b, 2, 3. (But Wackernagel III p. 282 denies *ās* to other words than *uṣas*.) Oldenberg, *Noten*, denies ground for emending the RV., which is unquestionably conservative and wise; but the meter is nevertheless poor, and he offers no explanation of it.

*ayā san* (so read; MS. *ayāḥ san*, KS. ms. *ayāsā*, ed. emend. *ayās san*) *manasā hitaḥ* (MS. *kṛttaḥ*, p.p. *kṛtaḥ*, KS. *kṛtaḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ. *vayasā*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ.: *ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ* ApŚ. ApMB. HG. See next.

*ayā san* (MS. ŚŚ. *ayāḥ san*, KS. *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyaṁ*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.: *ayasā ha*° *ū*° ApŚ. ApMB. HG. The old adjective *ayās* becomes *ayas* in oblique cases in some secondary texts; a natural change owing to the rarity of stems in *ās*, and to the agreement of the nom. form with noms. of stems in *as*. See Geldner *VSt.* 3. 122 n. 5; Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v.; Wackernagel III p. 282.

**§503.** A couple of miscellaneous equivalent noun forms:

*agne yan me tanvā* (TS. *tanuvā*) *ūnaṁ* (ŚŚ. *yan ma ūnaṁ tanvas*) *tan ma ā pṛṇa* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG. Abl.-gen. sing. of *u*-stem.

*anaḍvāṅs tapyate vahan* (MŚ. *talpate vahān*) ApŚ. MŚ. The passage of MŚ. is unpublished; if correctly reported, the ending of the nom. sing. pres. pple. would be lengthened by analogy with *mant* and *vant* stems.

**§504.** Concerning pronoun declension, we have one case in which the dual stem *yuva-* is replaced by the later *yuvā-*:

*athā somasya prayatī yuvabhyām* RV.: *adhā somasya prayatī yuvābhyām* KS. But v. l. of KS. *yuva°*.

**§505.** Coming now to forms involving some syntactic shift, we find first exchanges between forms of masculine and feminine gender in adjectives modifying nouns of common gender:

*svāṁ* (MS. KS. *svaṁ*, MG. *sva-*) *yoniṁ gacha svāhā* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MG. *yoni* may be masc. or fem.; the Tait. school makes it fem. in all the variants.

*agne svaṁ* (TS. TB. *svāṁ*, ŚB. *tvaṁ*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. See prec.

*svaṁ* (TS. *svāṁ*) *yonim ihāsadaḥ* VS. TS.† MS. KS. (No *svaṁ* in TS.)

*yajño bhūtvā yajñam ā sīda svāṁ* (MŚ. *svaṁ*) *yoniṁ* . . . TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

[*svāṁkṛto* (KS. *svaṁ°*) *'si* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Here both forms are quasi-adverbial, in a compound verb form.]

*dhruvaṁ* (TS. *°vāṁ*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*mā mā* (KS. *māṁ*) *hiṁsiṣṭaṁ svaṁ* (KS. *yat svaṁ*) *yonim* . . . MS. KS.: *mā mā hiṁsīḥ svāṁ* (KS. *svaṁ*) *yonim* . . . VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *mainaṁ hiṁsiṣṭaṁ svāṁ yonim* . . . AB.

*sa no dadātu tam* (AV. *tāṁ*) *rayim* AV. AA. ŚŚ. *rayi*, masc. or fem.

*athāsmabhyaṁ sahavīrāṁ* (AV. VSK. MS. KS. *°raṁ*) *rayiṁ dāḥ* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. HG. Cf. prec.

*abhīmaṁ* (TS.*°māṁ*, MS. MŚ. v. l. *°mān*) *mahinā* (VS. MŚ. v. l. *°mā*) *divam* (MS. *divaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

*yā* (MS. *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB. *iṣu*, m. or f.

**§506.** These are the only cases noted of this change due to change in gender of the noun modified (the words concerned being *yoni*, *rayi*, and *div*). There are not a few others in which the epithet is transferred to a different noun, involving change of gender. These will be treated in our volume on Noun Declension, and we deem it unnecessary to list them here. We may, however, quote a few examples of forms in *-am*: *-ām*, which are both adverbs equivalent in meaning, or of which the form in *-ām* is an adverb, that in *-am* a masc. or neut. adjective:

*indremaṁ prataraṁ* (VS. TS. ŚB. *°rāṁ*) *kṛdhi* (VS. MS. ŚB. *naya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ud enam uttaraṁ* (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *°rāṁ*) *naya* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

*jīvātave pratarāṁ* (RV. *°raṁ*) *sādhayā dhiyaḥ* RV. SV. SMB.

*drāghīya āyuḥ prataraṁ* (TA.† *°rāṁ*, MG. *pratiraṁ*) . . . RV. AV. TA. AG. MG. And others, see §575.

*asmin kṣaye pratarāṁ dīdyānaḥ* SV.: *adhi kṣami pratarāṁ dīdhyānaḥ* RV. AV.

**§507.** In the declension of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives there are quite a few case forms which differ from one another only or chiefly in the quantity of an *a* vowel. This is, for instance, true as between the instr. sing. and other singular oblique cases of *ā*-stems, and between the nom. masc. sing. and plur. of *a*-stems; as well as between masc. or neut. and fem. forms, treated in §§505–6. We give merely a couple of examples of these, followed by an exchange between the nom. and accus. pronouns *tvam* and *tvām*. Since this matter does not properly concern phonetics, we shall reserve a full list and discussion for our volume on declension:

*surayā* (MS. KS. *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanti* (VS. †MS. °*ta*) *retaḥ* VS. MS. KS.† TB. 'By (from) *surā* they generate(d) seed from urine.'

*surayā* (MS. *surāyāḥ*) *somaḥ suta āsuto madāya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*dīkṣayedaṁ* (KS. *dīkṣāy*°) *havir āgachataṁ naḥ* KS. TB. ApŚ. All mss. and ed. of KS. read so; but it seems that it must be an error for *dīkṣay*°.

*ā yat tṛpan maruto vāvaśānāḥ* (MS. °*naḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS. The originally plural epithet is transferred to a singular noun in MS.

*pra candramās tirate* (TS.† °*ti*, AV.† °*mas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N. Nom. voc.

*bhaga eva bhagavāṁ astu devāḥ* (AV.† *devaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. *devāḥ* voc. pl.; *devaḥ* (lect. fac.) nom. sing. Ppp. ms. *devāḥ*, wrongly emended to *devaḥ* by Barret *JAOS* 35. 88.

*namaḥ kṛtsnāyatayā* (VSK. °*yatāya*) . . . VS. VSK. Others, §311. Metathesis of quantity in VS., which simulates an instr. fem. but is really uninterpretable.

*tvāṁ* (TB. *tvaṁ*) *rāya ubhayāso janānām* RV. MS. KS. TB. The construction is changed; both readings are construable.

### 5. Non-final *a*:*ā* lexical and miscellaneous.

**§508.** In a considerable group of cases forms with the prepositional prefix *ā* vary with forms beginning in short *a*, of different origins; cf. the cases of *ā* and *a* privative, §§469 ff. First, cases in which the short *a* is the augment:

*vedhām aśāsata* (SV. *medhām āśā*°) *śriye* RV. SV.†

*akrān* (TA. *ākrān*) *samudraḥ prathame vidharman* RV. SV. PB. TA. MahānU. N. Comm. on TA. *ākrān ākrāntavān vyāptavān.*

*āgann apāna ātmānam* . . . ŚŚ.: *agan prāṇaḥ svargaṁ* . . . ŚŚ.

*āganma* (AŚ. *ag°*) *viśvavedasam* VS. ŚB. AŚ.

*āganma* (SV. *ag°*) *vṛtrahantamam* RV. SV. AA. ŚŚ.

*ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt* (VS. ŚB. *'dhvara āsthāt*, KS. *'dhvare sthāḥ*, ApŚ. *adhvare sthāt*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*agnaye samidham āhārṣam* (ŚG. GG. *ahārṣam*) AG. ŚG. SMB. GG. PG. HG. ApMB.

*yad gharmaḥ paryavartayat* (MŚ. *paryā°*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ājagan rātri sumanā iha syām* AV. SPP.; Berlin ed. *ajagan*, with slight ms. authority; some mss. *ājāgan*; see Whitney's note on AV. 19. 49. 3.

**§509.** Other cases involving presence or absence of the preposition *ā*, before forms in short *a*:

*āgne* (RV. *agne*) *yāhi suśastibhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*aryamāyāti vṛṣabhas tuviṣmān* TS.: *āryamā yāti vṛṣabhas turāṣāt* MS. KS.

*patho anaktu* (AV. KS. *°ti*, TS. *patha ānakti*) *madhvā ghṛtena* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*āsmāsu* (KB. *as°*) *nṛmṇaṁ dhāt* (KB. *dhāḥ*) MS. KB. TA. ŚŚ.

*kāny antaḥ puruṣe arpitāni* (AŚ. *°ṣa ār°*) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

*tāny antaḥ puruṣe arpitāni* (AŚ. Vait. *°ṣa ār°*) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. Vait.

*yasmin sūryā ārpitāḥ* (KS. †TB. TA. *ar°*) *sapta sākam* AV. KS. TB. TA.

*indraṁ yajñe prayaty ahvetām* (TB. Conc. *āhv°*, Poona ed. *ahv°*, comm. *ahv°* with v. l. *āhv°*) VS. TB.

*agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait.: *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* SMB.: *agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. In Vait. *upa* + *ā*.

[*antarikṣaṁ* (VS. *ān°*) *pṛthivīm adṛṁhīt* VS. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. *ān°*, which is clearly right.]

**§510.** The pronouns *asmat* 'from us' and *asmāt* 'from him, it' exchange:

*kṛtaṁ cid enaḥ pra mumugdhy* (AV. TS.* *mumuktam*) *asmat* (KS. *asmāt*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

*praty auhatām* (MS. *ūh°*) *aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV. *asmat*) AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. TA.

**§511.** The rest are miscellaneous:

*vrataṁ rakṣanti viśvahā* AV.: *vratā rakṣante viśvāhā* RV. Probably both forms are adverbial (not compounded with *-ahan*), and the penultimate vowel lengthened in the RV. form for some obscure reason; cf. *śivā viśvāhā* (*°ha*) etc., §477.

*ye te panthāno bahavo janāyanāḥ* AV.: *ye te 'ryaman* (KS. *arya°*) *bahavo devayānāḥ* TS. MS. KS.† 10. 13a. *jana-ayana: deva-yāna*. But rhythmic or metrical considerations may be involved here.

*gharmaṁ pāta vasavo yajata* (TA. °*tā*, see §448; MS. °*trā*) *vāṭ* (MS. *veṭ*, TA. *vaṭ*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. *vaṭ*, *vāṭ*, or *veṭ*, a meaningless sacrificial exclamation.

*āhalag* (MS. *ah*°, TS. TB. *āhalam*, KSA. *ahalam*) *iti vañcati* (TS. TB. *sarpati*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. An onomatopoetic interjection. All texts may intend *āh*°, since the vowel is fused with a preceding final *-ā*; comm. on VS. TS. *āh*°; p.p. of MS., to be sure, *ah*°; in default of comm. or p.p. there is no evidence as to which KS. intended.

*aṭṇārasya paraḥ putraḥ* ŚB.: *āhṇārasya parasyādaḥ* ŚŚ. Proper names of barbaric appearance and unknown relationships.

*śatakṣaraś chandasānuṣṭubhena* ApŚ.: *śatākṣarachandasā jāgatena* Kauś. The Conc. suggests *śatākṣ*° in ApŚ., but probably wrongly; Caland, 'der hundertströmige' (*sruva*).

*agdhād eko . . . samasanād ekaḥ* TS.: *adhvād eko . . . sanād ekaḥ sanāsanād ekaḥ* MŚ. See §181.

*agnaye tvā mahyaṁ . . . āyur* (MS. *mayo*) *dātra edhi . . .* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. Near-synonyms.

*aṅkāṅkaṁ* (MS. *aṅkāv-aṅkaṁ*, so p.p.; KS. *aṅkaṅkaṁ*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The curious shortening in KS. seems secondary, and may be related to the fact that two consonants follow (Prakritic shortening). Cf. §362.

*āptye* (AV. *apriye*) *saṁ nayāmasi* RV. AV. See §878.

*vātajavair* (HG. *vātājirair*) *balavadbhir manojavaiḥ* MS. HG. See §268.

*gāva upāvatāvatam* (SV. *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV. SV. See §60.

*āntrīmukhaḥ . . .* HG.: *ālikhann . . . hantrīmukhaḥ . . .* PG. See §386.

*viśvakarman bhauvana māṁ didāsitha* (ŚB. *manda āsitha*) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. See §840.

**§512.** Finally, a few cases with readings which are dubious or clearly erroneous:

*pra smā mināty ajaraḥ* RV. KS.: *prāsmā minoty ajaraḥ* ApŚ. We cannot interpret *prāsmā*, unless as *prā* (for *pra*) *smā* (for *sma*). In that case the writing of the two words together is merely an editorial error, and the variant should be added to §439.

*nīlāgalasālā* AV. 6. 16. 4c.: *nīlagalamālaḥ śivaḥ paśya* NīlarU. 22b. The true reading of NīlarU. is certainly that of AV., see Jacob's *Concordance* s. v.; two mss. and the comm. read so, and the comm. quotes AV. 6. 16. 4.

*aśīrṣāṇā ahaya* (SV. °*ṣāṇo 'haya*) *iva* RVKh. SV.: *aśīrṣāṇa ivāhayaḥ* AV. But we must read in RVKh. as in SV., with Scheftelowitz (p. 106).

*agniś ca dahataṁ prati* AV. SV. Misprinted *āgniś* in AV., see Whitney's note.

*atrā* (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sādanā* (TA. °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *kṛṇotu*) RV. AV. TA. Conc. *sadanā* for AV.

*asmān devāso 'vatā* (Conc. *'vata*) *haveṣu* AV.† And others, all with *avatā*.

*ā na indo śatagvinam* (SV. misprinted *śāta*°) RV. SV. See Benfey's Corrigenda.

*arvāñ* (GB. *ārvāñ*) *ehi somakāmaṁ tvāhuḥ* GB. etc. Gaastra correctly *arvāñ*.

*viśve devā udīcyāṁ tu abhiṣiñcantu* (error for °*cyāṁ tvābhi*°) *śreyase* Rvidh.: *udīcyāṁ tvā diśi viśve devāḥ . . . abhiṣiñcantv . . .* AB.

*jāmiṁ* (KS.†*cami*) *mā hiṁsīr amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB. MŚ.: *mā jāmiṁ moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV. The KS. (one ms. only) must certainly be emended to *jāmiṁ*.

*pavamāna vidharmaṇi* RV. SV. Once misprinted *pavamānā* in SV.; corr. Benfey's Corrigenda.

†*vārṣāharaṁ sāma gāya* (correct Conc.) MS. ŚB. MŚ.: *prastotar vārṣāharaṁ sāma gāya* ApŚ.

## CHAPTER XII. VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG I AND U

**§513.** In contrast to the *a:ā* variants, those between *i* and *ī* and between *u* and *ū* are both fewer in number and more miscellaneous in character. In particular they show relatively little clear evidence of the rhythmic lengthening which was so prominent a feature of the last chapter. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that variations between *i:ī* and *u:ū* as finals of noun stems are more often matters of morphology. To put it otherwise, there is great confusion in the Vedic language between the short and long *i* and *u* declensions, and only occasionally can such variation be plausibly attributed to rhythmic or other phonetic influences. On the other hand, these variants show a rather noteworthy number, proportionately speaking, of cases of 'phonetic' shortening of an *ī* or *ū* historically long. By this we mean a shortening which seems to have no justification in any known morphological category or any analogical influence.—See §§300–2 for variations between *ī*, *ū*, and short *i*, *u*, plus nasal, and §§395–8 for the like before single and double consonants.

### 1. Final short *i* lengthened phonetically

**§514.** We begin with cases in which final *i*, originally short, is lengthened, apparently as a matter of straight phonetics. As in the case of *a:ā*, we include not only absolutely final *i*, but *i* in the seam of compounds, before the suffix *vant*, and in the reduplicating syllable. Except the last, nearly all the cases concern prepositional adverbs in final *i*.

**§515.** The variants do not conform very well to the general principles established at the beginning of Chapter XI, except that the following syllable regularly begins with a single consonant, and that as a rule they do not occur at the end of a pāda. (On the one exception to this last, see §518.) The syllables surrounding the variant syllable are as apt to be long as short. A majority of the variants are prose; of the metrical ones, about half have the variant syllable as the second of the pāda. Only in one case can the lengthening be said to be required by the meter (*obhe aprā rodasī vi* [*vī*] *ṣa āvaḥ*, §516). There seems to be a special tendency for *i* to be lengthened before *v*, but also before *r* and sibilants (cf. §464, and Wackernagel I §§38, 41).

**§516.** First the cases of prepositional adverbs. Note that the following consonant is most commonly *v* (once *b*); but *r* is also frequent, and there are several cases of *ṣ*. The first five variants have *i* absolutely final, not in composition; in four of them the older form of the variant has short *i*. We add one case of the conjunction *yadi*:

*vidad yadī* (MS.† *yadi*, TB. ApŚ. *yatī*) *saramā* . . . RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. See §63.

*abhi* (SV. PB. *abhī*) *no vājasātamam* RV. SV. PB.

*tena somābhi rakṣa naḥ* RV.: *tebhiḥ somābhi* (TA. °*bhī*) *rakṣa naḥ* (TA. *ṇaḥ*) RV. TA.

*abhī na ā vavṛtsva* RV.: *agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva* (with variants; Kauś. *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §648.

*mā tvā sūryo 'bhi* (KS. *sūryaḥ pari*; ApŚ. *sūryaḥ parī*) *tāpsīn māgnir* (ApŚ. *mo agnir*) *vaiśvānaraḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*obhe aprā rodasī vi* (SV. *vī*) *ṣa āvaḥ* RV. SV. Here the meter favors *ī*, which SV. introduces secondarily.

*agnim atirugbhyām* (MS. *atī*°) VS. MS.

*adhīvāsaṁ* (MS. *adhi*°) *yā hiraṇyāny asmai* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*abhīvartaḥ* (TS. *abhi*°) *saviṅśaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*abhiṣāhe* (and *abhī*°) *svāhā* MS. (both)

*abhīṣāṭ* (so ed. em., Conc. with ms. °*ṣāś*) †*cābhīṣāhyaś ca* KS.: *abhīṣāṭ cābhīṣāhī cābhimātihaś* . . . LŚ.: *abhīṣāc cābhiṣavī ca* ApŚ.

*nīroho* (PB. *ni*°) *'si* TS. PB.

*namo nīveṣyāya* (p.p. *ni*°) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS.: *namo hradayyāya* (VS. *hṛdayyāya*, KS. *hradavyāya*) *ca niveṣyāya* (TS. °*ṣyyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. KS.

*parītoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ.: *pari doṣād ud arpithaḥ* KŚ.

*parivādaṁ parikṣavam* AV.: *parīvādaṁ parikṣapam* ApMB.

*ṛṣī bodhapratībodhau* AV.: *bodhaś ca tvā pratībodhaś ca rakṣatām* AV.: *bodhaś ca mā pratibodhaś* (KS. †*pratī*°) *ca purastād gopāyatām* KS. MŚ.: *bodha pratībodhāsvapnānavadrāṇa gopāyamāna* . . . KS.

*vivadhaś* (KS. *vī*°, MS. *vīvadhaṁ*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*vivarto* (MS. KS. *vī*°) *'ṣṭācatvāriṅśaḥ* (KS. *aṣṭā*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

**§517.** To these may be added a case of *antarīkṣa* for *antarī*°; the old adverb *antari* is fairly comparable with prepositions in *i* (most of which, presumably, were ancient prehistoric locatives, like *antari*). The form *antarīkṣa* crops up again in Buddhistic Sanskrit; *e.g.* Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, ed. Kern and Nanjio, 149. 1.

*svadhā pitṛbhyo 'ntarikṣasadbhyaḥ* (AV. *antarī*°, GG.† *'ntarī*°) AV. ApŚ. MŚ. GG. HG.

**§518.** The only other absolutely final *i*:*ī* concerns the imperative ending *dhi*, which appears sometimes as *dhī*, probably under the same general conditions as final *ā* for *a* in verb endings. It happens that almost no variants of this sort occur; we may note that in the pāda: *sa no bodhi śrudhī havam* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. several mss. of MS. read *śrudhi*; but the printed texts are all alike. The single variant noted is, in fact, not recorded in the Conc. Strangely enough, the variant syllable is at the end of its pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is generally not allowed. The following pāda begins with *havam*, and it has been plausibly suggested by Benfey (*Quant.* II. 51), and approved by Oldenberg (*Proleg.* 421), that the lengthening in RV. is due to the common cadence *śrudhī havam* (cf. *RVRep.* 673, top). In all texts but one this pāda has *śrudhī*, and that one (AŚ.) is the only one in which the word *havam* does not immediately follow (the pāda being quoted in isolation there):

*imaṁ me varuṇa śrudhī* (AŚ. *śrudhi*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ApMB.

**§519.** Next we find three cases concerning the reduplicating syllable. The lengthening here is doubtless rhythmic, except in the first variant where it is obviously secondary and late (occurring before two consonants; the only case of this kind among the phonetic lengthenings of *i*):

*imam agne camasaṁ mā vi jihvaraḥ* (TA. *jī*°) RV. AV. TA. AG.

*yiyapsyata* (AŚ. *yī*°) *iva te manaḥ* (AŚ. *mukham*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Desiderative from *yabh*; the form with *yī*° is not recorded lexically nor in Whitney's Roots.

*udgrābheṇod ajigrabhat* (KS. *ajīgrabham* and *ajīgṛbham*) MS. KS.

**§520.** There are two cases of apparently rhythmic lengthening of *i* before the suffix *vant:*

*mādhyaṁdinasya savanasya niṣkevalyasya bhāgasya śukravato* (ApŚ. adds *manthivato*) *madhuścuta* (KŚ.* *manthīvata*, v. l. *manthi*°) *indrāya* (MŚ. *savanasya śukra*° *manthivato niṣk*° *bhāgasyendrāya*) . . . KŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. Stem is *manthin* (weak *manthi*) + *vant.*

*parameṣṭhī tvā sādayatu . . . raśmivatīm* (MŚ. *raśmī*°) MS. KS.

**§520a.** In one case *ī* is required in composition with a derivative of the root *kṛ*, while the *i*-form (otherwise textually dubious) may possibly represent an *in*-stem before *cārin*:

*ima udvāsīkāriṇa ime* . . . TB. ApŚ.: *imā uddhāsicāriṇa ime* . . . MŚ. Cf. §59.

**§521.** And finally, a single case of a noun compound, with what looks

like genuine rhythmic lengthening of *i* as stem final of its first member: *yā te agne hariśayā* (VSK. *harī°*, MS. MŚ. *harā°*) *tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahvareṣṭhā* VS. VSK. ŚB. (Pratīkas MS. MŚ.)

2. Final ī in the seam of compounds shortened phonetically

**§522.** No wholly satisfactory formulation of the circumstances of this not uncommon phenomenon has yet been attained. We cannot improve on Wackernagel II. 1 §56 e-g (cf. also Leumann, *Gurupūjākaumudī* 13 ff.). It seems most likely to have been dependent originally on the opposite conditions to those which caused rhythmic lengthening; that is, to avoid a succession of long syllables, ī was shortened before two consonants and between long syllables. The variants are on the whole favorable, or at least not unfavorable, to this hypothesis.

**§523.** Radical ī is shortened in the word *senānī*, not only in composition but in case-forms (below, §527); the following group of variants occurs all in one passage, where TS. alone has the shortening:

*tasya rathagṛtsaś* (KS. *°kṛtsaś*, MS. *°kṛtsnaś*) *ca rathaujāś ca senānīgrāmaṇyau* (TS. *senāni°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. And so with *tārkṣyaś cāriṣṭanemiś ca, senajic ca susenaś ca, rathaprotaś* (TS. *rathe°*) *cāsamarathaś ca, rathasvanaś ca rathecitraś ca.*

**§524.** The other cases concern the feminine nouns *pṛthivī* and (once) *prapharvī*:

*yā devy asīṣṭake prāṇadā . . . prapharvīdāḥ* (ApŚ. *°vidāḥ*) . . . KS. ApŚ.

*namo 'gnaye pṛthivikṣite lokasprte* (ChU. *pṛthivīkṣite lokakṣite*, MU. *pṛthivīkṣite lokasmṛte*) TS. KSA. ChU. MU.

*pṛthiviṣadaṁ* (MS. *pṛthivī°*; VS.† *°sadaṁ*) *tvāntarikṣasadaṁ* (VS. †adds *divisadaṁ devasadaṁ*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*pṛthivispṛn̄* (MS. *pṛthivī°*) *mā mā hiṁsīḥ* MS. TA.

*ye devā divibhāgā . . . ye pṛthivībhāgās* (TS. KS. *pṛthivi°*, but 2 mss. of KS. *°vī°*) . . . TS. MS. KS.

*svadhā pitṛbhyaḥ pṛthiviṣadbhyaḥ* (MŚ. GG. *pṛthivī°*) AV. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. HG.

3. Miscellaneous final *i*:ī

**§525.** There is very little else. On *na ced avedī* (*avedi*) etc., see §530 below; it does not belong here except by grace of Boehtlingk's emendation, which is not justified. Otherwise we have noted only a few stray cases concerning noun declension, which really belong later and are placed here only because both forms happen to have final *i* or ī:

*agne tvaṁ sūktavāg asy upaśrutī* (MS. *°ti*, TB. *°śrito*) *divas* (TB. *divaḥ*) *pṛthivyoḥ* MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The form is locative of an *i*-stem:

MS. is anomalous (or possibly felt as a sort of neuter accusative adverb?).

*ado* (MŚ. *ato*, AV. *ado yad*) *devī* (AV. KS. *devi*) *prathamānā pṛthag yat* (AV. °*mānā purastāt*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Nominative and vocative.

*stomatrayastriṅśe bhuvanasya patni* TS. KS. AŚ.: *stomas trayastriṅśe bhu*° *patnī* MS. As prec.: see §818.

*saṁ devi* (KS. *devī*) *devyorvaśyā* . . . TS. KS. ApŚ.

*rātri* (TB. *rātrī*, v. l. of KS. *rātriḥ*) *stomaṁ na jigyuṣe* (KS.† TB. °*ṣī*) RV. KS. TB.

*satyād ā* (ApŚ. *satyā tā*) *dharmaṇas patī* (Vait. MŚ. *pari*) AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.

*aśvinendraṁ na jāgṛvi* (TB.° *vī*) VS. MS. TB. The *-vī* form is a dual adj., and so Mahīdhara takes the *-vi* form also; but possibly it may be a neut. sing. adverb.

*gāyatrī* (MG. °*tri*) *chandasāṁ mātā* (MG. *mātaḥ*) TA. TAA. MahānU. MG. Nom.: voc.

*na sīsarīdata* (HG.† *sīsaridataḥ*) ApMB. HG. See §384.

## 4. Noun stems in *i*:*ī*

**§526.** It is well known that the division between short and long *i*-stems is lax; many words slip over from one category to the other sporadically or even frequently, and in some cases it is hard to be sure to which they originally belonged. Practically all the variants in this division concern such fluctuations. Little evidence for rhythmic influence can be discerned.

**§527.** We begin with cases where the original is certainly or probably *ī*. First, a case of the stem *senānī*, where the root *nī* 'lead' guarantees the original length of the vowel. In §523 we have seen that the shortening occurs also in composition:

*namaḥ senābhyaḥ senānībhyaś* (VS. TS. °*nibhyaś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS TS. MS. KS.

**§528.** In the same context occurs the following variant. Boehtlingk takes the form in short *i* from a stem *śvan-in* 'having dogs', while he derives the other from *śva-nī* 'leading dogs'; this seems improbable in the light of the variants; both are probably from *śva-nī*, with (possibly rhythmic) shortening in the one case (so Mahīdhara, followed by Griffith and Keith):

*namaḥ śvanibhyo* (MS. *śvanī*°) *mṛgayubhyaś ca vo namaḥ* VS. MS. KS.: *namo mṛgayubhyaḥ śvanibhyaś ca vo namaḥ* TS.

Other cases of probably original ī are:

*sucakṣā aham akṣībhyām* (MG. *akṣi°*) *bhūyāsam* AG. PG. MG. N. The ī-form is regular in the older language: Wackernagel III p. 303.

*varūtrīṁ* (KS.† *varu°*, TS. *varūtriṁ*) *tvaṣṭur varuṇasya nābhim* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *tvaṣṭur varutrīm va° nā°* MS. MŚ.

*rātrīṁ-rātrīm* (AV. TS. *rātriṁ-rātrim*) *aprayāvaṁ bharantaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*rātriṁ* (KS. *rātrīṁ*) *jinva* TS. KS. PB. Vait.

*rātrīṁ* (TS. *rātriṁ*) *pīvasā* TS. KSA.

*śaṁ rātrī* (VS. *rātrīḥ*, VSK. TA. *rātriḥ*) *prati dhīyatām* AV. VS. VSK. MS. TA.

*rātriṁ* (SMB. PG. MG. *°rīṁ*) *dhenum ivāyatīm* (AV. *upāyatīm*) AV. HG. ApMB. SMB. PG. MG.

*ye rātrim* (KS. *°rīm*) *anutiṣṭhanti* (KS.† *°ṣṭhatha*) AV. KS.

*prati tvā parvatī* (TS. TB. *°tir*, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. See §490.

*veṣaśrīr* (TS.° *śrir*) *asi* TS. KS. GB. PB. Vait. LŚ.

*mahīnāṁ* (VSK. *mahināṁ*) *payo 'si* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. Even from the stem *mahi*, the VSK. form would be anomalous.

*hrādunībhyaḥ* (KSA. *°nibhyaḥ*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA. This is uncertain; both short and long *i* are otherwise known. RV. has *hrādunim*, but *hrādunī-vṛt*. See also *dūṣīkābhir hrādunim* etc., §543.

*śimībhiḥ* (KSA.† *śimi°*, VS. *śamī°*) *śimyantu* (VS. *śam°*) *tvā* VS. TS. KSA.

**§529.** But in the rest stems in short *i* seem to be primary:

*svāhākṛtibhyaḥ* (TS. ApŚ. and most mss. of MŚ. *°kṛtī°*) *preṣya* TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'To hail-makings'; suffix *ti*.

*ayāś cāgne 'sy anabhiśastiś* (AŚ. ApMB. HG. *°tīś*) *ca* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG. Suffix *ti*, as in the last.

*ākūtiṁ* (SMB. *°tīṁ*) *devīṁ manasaḥ* (SMB.°*sā*, AV. *subhagāṁ*) *puro dadhe* (SMB. *prapadye*) AV. TB. SMB. As prec.

*ātir* (TS. KSA. *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. *āti* is Rigvedic.

*abhiṣṭir* (HG. *°ṭīr*, ApMB. *abhiśrīr*) *yā ca no gṛhe* (RVKh. *ca me dhruvā*) RVKh. ApMB. HG.

*diva* (*divas*, *divaḥ*) *skambhanir* (VS. ŚB.° *nīr*, VSK.† *skambhany*) *asi* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Here fem. gender is responsible for the long ī.

*śiraḥ-śiraḥ prati sūrī vi caṣṭe* TS. ApŚ.: *śiro devī prati sūrir vi caṣṭe* KS. Here too *sūri* is made fem., agreeing with a fem. entity.

*śroṇibhyāṁ* (TS. *śroṇī°*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

*yakṣmaṁ śroṇibhyāṁ* (ApMB. *°ṇī°*, v. l. *°ṇi°*) *bhāsadāt* RV. ApMB.: *yakṣmaṁ bhasadyaṁ śroṇibhyāṁ bhāsadam* AV.

*mitrāvaruṇau śroṇibhyām* (TS. *śroṇī°*) TS. KSA.

*śaṁ methir* (ApMB. *śaṁ te methī*) *bhavatu śaṁ yugasya tardma* (ApMB. *tṛdma*) AV. ApMB.

*ṛtūn pṛṣṭībhiḥ* (KSA. em. *pṛṣṭibhiḥ*, ms. *bhṛ°*) TS. KSA. Cf. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2. 358 f.

*pṛṣṭībhyaḥ* (KSA.† *pṛṣṭi°*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

*imāṁ khanāmy oṣadhim* (ApMB. *°dhīm*) RV. AV. ApMB.

*oṣadhibhyaḥ* MG.: *oṣadhībhyaḥ* ŚG.

*kratvā variṣṭhaṁ vara āmurim uta* RV.: *kratve vare sthemany āmurīm uta* SV.

*sam arir* (VS. ŚB. *arīr*) *vidām* (KS. *vidaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Nom. sing. of stem *ari*; the anomalous VS. ŚB. form is noted in BR., s. v. 2 *arí*.

*adhā jivrī* (AV. *atha jivrir*, ApMB. *athā jīvrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthaḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB. Stem *jivri* (or, with most mss. of AV., *jirvi*). RV. has a dual form; ApMB. an isolated sing. from a stem in *ī*, perhaps due to confusion between the RV. and AV. forms. On the *ī* of the initial syllable see §544.

*plāśir* (TB. *°śīr*) *vyaktaḥ śatadhāra utsaḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

*ambā ca bulā ca nitatnī . . .* MS.: *ambā dulā nitatnir . . .* TS.

*apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamaḥ* RV.: *apo mahī vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamaḥ* SV. TB. Here we have a complete change of construction, in addition to (or perhaps rather than?) a change of stem-form.

*vi te bhinadmi takarīm* (KS.° *rim*, AVPpp. [Roth] *tagarim*, AV. *mehanam*) AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. See §49. There is no way to determine the original quantity of the *i* here.

**§529a.** There are also cases in which a nom. sing. in *ī*, apparently from a stem in *in*, varies with one in *iḥ* from a stem in *i*:

*vyānaśiḥ* (SV. *°śī*) *pavase soma dharmabhiḥ* (SV. *dharmaṇā*) RV. SV.

*tan no dantī* (TA. *°tiḥ*) *pracodayāt* MS. TA. MahānU. Comm. on TA. *mahādantaḥ*.

*dūrehetir indriyāvān* (PB.† *°yavān*) *patatrī* (PB. *°triḥ*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.: *dūr° patatrī vājinīvān* MŚ. MG.

*suparṇo avyathir* (SV. *°thī*) *bharat* RV. SV.

**§530.** In one variant there is multiple confusion, involving also verb forms:

*na ced avedī* (BṛhU. *avedi*) *mahatī vinaṣṭiḥ* ŚB. BṛhU. So Conc., with

the printed texts. But *avedi* is only Boehtlingk's emendation; mss. *avedī*. The Kāṇva recension, however, has *avedir*; and Kena Up. (not in Conc.) *avedīn*, a verb-form ('if he has not known [this, it is] a great disaster'). *avedir* would be nom. sing. of a noun stem *avedi*: 'if not, (there is) ignorance, a great disaster.' *avedī* is taken by comm. as nom. sing. of *avedin*: 'if not, (he is) ignorant', etc. These are surely enough variants, without Boehtlingk's additional one!

5. Verb forms containing *i*:*ī* and *i*:*ī* in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases

**§531.** This variation occurs in a considerable number of miscellaneous cases in the inflection of the verb, oftenest in root or stem syllables, in which may be included the second syllable of dissyllabic bases. Among the latter we find cases which may plausibly be interpreted as rhythmic or at least phonetic in character. We include with them also nouns which show the same shift in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases, since they are of the same phonetic character:

*suśami śamīṣva* (TS. TB. *śamiṣva*, KS. †*śamnīṣva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.

*avanty asya pavītāram* (SV. *pavi*°) *āśavaḥ* RV. SV. The shortening of SV. improves the meter (anapest after cesura).

**§532.** The next two concern noun forms which may possibly contain dissyllabic bases in their first elements, but they are very obscure:

*antarikṣaṁ purītatā* (TS. *puri*°, MS. *pulī*°, KSA. *puli*°) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA.

*ulo halikṣṇo* (TS. *ūlo halī*°) . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA. Name of some animal. A theory as to the origin of this ī in Wackernagel, I §39 note.

**§533.** At least in origin, the *i* of the *iṣ* aorist represents likewise an IE *schwa*, the second syllable of dissyllabic bases. For well-known phonetic reasons, it is regularly long in the 2d and 3d persons singular, short in the rest of the inflexion. When we find divergences from this scheme, they are to be regarded as analogical extensions in one direction or the other, cf. VV I p 189:

*tena* (TB. *tato*) *no mitrāvaruṇāv* (MS. °*ṇā*) *aviṣṭam* (TB. *avī*°) RV. MS. TB. The root *av* is undoubtedly dissyllabic in origin. The ī of TB. is due to the analogy of singular forms like *avīt*. So in the next.

*amīmadanta pitaro* (Kauś. also *patnyo*) *yathābhāgam* (. . .) *āvṛṣāyiṣata* (AŚ. °*yīṣata*) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. LŚ. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG. Cf. prec.

*mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd* (TS. °*yid*, KSA. °*yed*, MS. *dhanayīd*) *dhūmagandhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. This is the converse of the preceding; TS. shortens the vowel by analogy with dual and plural forms.

*ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi* TS.: *adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhīḥ* RV. AV. SV. AA. MŚ. On the anomalous TS. form see VV I p. 27.

*ā gharmo agnim ṛtayann asādi* (TA. °*dīt*) RV. TA.: *ā gharmo agnir amṛto na sādi* MS. See VV I §84.

**§534.** Probably rhythmic in character is the *ī* which varies with *i* in denominative stems before the *ya*-sign; cf. VV I p. 155, and above §478 where the same shift occurs between *a* and *ā*:

*putrīyantaḥ* (AV. *putriyanti*) *sudānavaḥ* RV. AV. SV.

*janīyanto nv* (AV. *janiyanti nāv*) *agravaḥ* RV. SV. AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

**§535.** In some cases we seem to have rhythmic or metrical lengthening of *i* in stem syllables; at least it occurs in positions where the meter favors a long:

*prati ṣma* (SV. *sma*) *deva rīṣataḥ* (SV. *riṣ*°, and so p.p. of RV. and MS.) RV. SV. MS. KS. TB. The p.p. readings confirm our opinion that the *ī* is metri gratia.

*avāmba* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *ava*) *rudram adimahi* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *adī*°, and so v. l. of MS. KS. MŚ., and p.p. of MS.) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

**§536.** But the same shift in root or stem syllables occurs in some cases where it cannot be rhythmic; the explanation varies and is sometimes obscure:

*sarvān patho anṛṇā ā kṣīyema* (AV. *kṣi*°) AV. TB. TA. ApŚ. The root *kṣi* 'dwell' here presents an exceptional form with *ī*, perhaps under the influence of the other root *kṣi* 'perish', from which *ī* forms are familiar.

*yūpāyocchrīyamāṇāyānubrūhi* (MŚ. °*chriya*°) ApŚ. MŚ. Here the *ī*, in the passive of *śri*, is regular, and is probably to be read also in MŚ. with most mss.

*samiñgayati* (ŚB. *samī*°) *sarvataḥ* RV. ŚB. BṛhU. The root *iñg* appears sporadically as *īñg* in the Brāhmaṇas; the true reading of BṛhU. is *samīñg*° in this passage (text emended).

**§537.** Jumbled participial forms of the parallel roots *ji* and *jyā*, *jī*:

*ajītāḥ* (TA *ajītāḥ*, ApMB. and one ms. of HG. *ajītā*) *syāma śaradaḥ śatam* TA. ApMB. HG.

*vājino vājajito vājaṁ sasṛvāṅso* (KS *jigīvāṅso*, TS. *sasṛvāṅso vājam jigivāṅso*) . . . VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

**§538.** We have classified the form *īyāna* 'going', as a reduplicated present from root *i*; see VV I p. 126:

*iyānaḥ* (SV. *īy°*) *kṛṣṇo daśabhiḥ sahasraiḥ* RV. SV. AV. KS. TA.

*stotṛbhyo dhṛṣṇav iyānaḥ* (SV. *īy°*) RV. AV. SV.

**§539.** The participle *īḍita* appears as *iḍ°*, probably under the influence of the nouns *iḍ*, *iḍā*:

*īḍito* (MS. KS. *iḍ°*, VSK. *īl°*) *devair harivāṅ abhiṣṭiḥ* VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB.

**§540.** The present and past passive participles of root *kṣi* 'perish', *kṣiṇat* and *kṣīṇa*, are concerned in the following:

*namo vikṣiṇatkebhyaḥ* (TS. KS. *vikṣīṇak°*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *nama ākṣiṇakebhyaḥ* MS. If MS. is right it has a blend of the other two readings; but the mss. vary, and it is likely that *ākṣīṇak°* was intended.

The 3 plur. perfect ending *ire* appears once as *īre*:

*tāḥ prācya* (Vait. *°yaḥ*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ.† *°īre*, Vait. *saṁjigāire*) KŚ. Vait. MŚ.: *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ.

### 6. Noun suffixes containing *i:ī*

**§541.** Twice in MS. the suffix *iya*, representing *ya* after two consonants, appears as *īya*; but both times the p.p. of MS. has *iya*:

*namo agriyāya* (VS. KS. *'gryāya*, MS. *'grīyāya*) *ca prathamāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*sahasriyo dyotatām* (TS. TB. *dīpyatām*; MS. *sahasrīyo jyotatām*) *aprayuchan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

**§541a.** We have quoted in §249 (q. v.) three variants in which AV. reads *varīyaḥ* for older *varivaḥ*:

*asmabhyam indra varivaḥ* (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *sugaṁ kṛdhi* RV. AV.: *asmabhyaṁ mahi varivaḥ sugaṁ kaḥ* RV.

*sakhā sakhibhyo varivaḥ* (AV. **varīyaḥ*; so one ms. of GB.; Ppp. *varivaḥ*) *kṛṇotu* RV. AV. **TS. KS. GB.

*tvaṣṭā no atra varivaḥ* (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *kṛṇotu* AV. TS.

**§542.** Several times forms in *īna* vary with other forms containing short *i*:

*yā sarasvatī veśabhagīnā* (ApŚ.* *viśobh°*, KS. *veśabhaginī*) . . . MS. KS. ApŚ. *-bhagīna*, from *bhaga*, seems to be found only here; KS. substitutes a more regular form (fem. of *bhagin*).

*tiraścirājī* (MS. *tiraścīnarājī*) *rakṣitā* AV. MS. Again *īna* varies with *in* (weak stem *i*).

*namo yuvabhyo nama āśinebhyaḥ* RV. ApŚ.: *namo yuvabhya āśinebhyaś*

(MS. *āśī°*, p.p. *āsi°*) *ca vo namaḥ* (MS. *namo-namaḥ*) MS. KS. *āśina* is ἅπ. λεγ. in RV.; in MS. it seems to be secondarily adapted in form to words in *īna*.

**§543.** The shortening of *ī* to *i* before suffixal *ka* may properly be classed with rhythmic shortenings. Cf. Edgerton, *JAOS* 31. 95 f., 111.

*dūṣīkābhir hrādunim* (KSA. †*hra°*) TS. KSA.: *hrādunīr dūṣikābhiḥ* VS. MS.

## 7. Miscellaneous *i* and *ī*

**§544.** Here, first, a few variants which seem to concern what are fundamentally related forms, one being usually more or less suspicious:

*īṁkārāya*, and *°kṛtāya* (KSA. *iṁ°*, VS. MS. ŚB. *hiṁ°*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*īryatāyā* (TB. *ir°*) *akitavam* VS. TB. From the equivalent adjective forms *irya* (RV.) and *īrya*, doubtless ultimately the same, tho the etymology is doubtful (cf. Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v. *irya*).

*uṣṭārayoḥ pīlvayoḥ* (ApŚ. *pilvayoḥ*) MS. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. the word *pilu* or *pīlu*, name of a tree. Obscure.

*vīḍvīr yāmann avardhayan* VS.: *viḍvīr yāman vavardhayan* TB. Comm. on TB. *dṛḍhaśaktayaḥ*, that is equivalent to *vīḍu*, for which *viḍu* is not recorded.

*adhā jivrī* (AV. *atha jivrir*, most mss. *jirvir*, which Whitney would restore; ApMB. *athā jīvrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthaḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB. Various theories connect the obscure word with either *jyā*(*ji*) or *jṛ*. The *ī* in the first syllable in ApMB. is isolated and no doubt due to popular etymology, thinking of *jīv* or of the *ī* forms of *jyā* or *jṛ* (*jīrṇa* etc.). See §529.

*anamīvāsa iḍayā* (MS. *anamīmāsā īḍayā*, p.p. *iḍayā*) *madantaḥ* RV. MS. TB. AŚ. The MS. form is probably a mere corruption (due to thought of *īḍ*? cf. the lexically quoted *īḍā*), corrected in p.p.

*dame-dame suṣṭutyā* (TS.° *tīr*, MS. *°tī*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *°tir*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV.° *nau*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iyānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Different case forms of an *i*-stem. See §236.

*śaṇḍerathaś śaṇḍikera ulūkhalaḥ* ApMB.: *śāṇḍīkera* (PG. *śauṇḍikeya*) *ulūkhalaḥ* HG. PG. See §489.

**§545.** The rest are more definitely lexical in character, but even they occasionally show traces of phonetic relations; thus in the first:

*subhūtāya pīpihi* (MS. *pipīhi*) MS. TA. ApŚ. And others, with *iṣe*, *ūrje*, *brahmavarcasāya*, etc. In MS. always *pipīhi*, probably from *pā* 'drink', while *pīpihi* is from *pyā*(*pī*) 'swell'. The result, how-

ever, gives the semblance of a mutual (quasi-rhythmic) shift of quantity; cf. VV I p. 182.

*sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak* (TB. ApŚ. *abhīṣṇāt*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. ApŚ. See §142.

*sudītir asi* TS. PB.: *suditir asi* KS. GB. Vait.: *suditinādityebhya ādityān jinva* MS. Boehtlingk: *suditi* Anklang an Aditi; *sudīti* glanzvoll (*dī*). *Sudīti* is Rigvedic.

*viśvam id dhītam* (MS. *dhitam*) *ānaśuḥ* (SV. *āśata*) RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ. Roots *dhī* and *dhā*.

*tigmam āyudhaṁ* (AV. *anīkaṁ*) *vīḍitaṁ* (AV. *viditaṁ*; KS. °*dham īḍitaṁ*) *sahasvat* AV. TS. MS. KS. See §169.

*kavir yaḥ putraḥ sa īm ā* (TA. *sā imāḥ*, Poona ed. *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV. AV. TA. N.

*ati vā* (AV. Kauś. *atīva*) *yo maruto manyate naḥ* RV. AV. Kauś. Metathesis of quantity.

*śaṁ padaṁ maghaṁ †rayīṣiṇe na kāmam* (AA. *rayiṣaṇi na somaḥ*) SV. AA. *rayi-iṣin: rayi-san* (so Keith; or, *-sani*).

*ghasinā* (ApŚ. *ghasīnā*) *me mā saṁpṛkthāḥ* VSK. ApŚ. Corruption in ApŚ.; perhaps for *ghāsinā* (RV. *ghāsi*), with metathesis of quantity? Cf. Caland's note.

*ā yāhi śūra haribhyām* (SV. KB. ŚŚ. *hariha*, AŚ. *harī iha*) AV. SV. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Doubtless read, in all except AV., *harīha* (=*harī iha*), with Whitney on AV. and Keith on KB.

*gaurīr* (TB. TA. °*rī*, AV. *gaur in*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG.

*indrāpāsya phaligam* ApMB.: *indrāyayāsya śepham alīkam* . . . HG. See §46.

*samiddho agnir vṛṣaṇāratir* (AV. °*ṇā rathī*, ŚŚ. °*ṇā rayir*) *divaḥ* AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*rādhāṅsīt* (MS. MŚ. °*si*) *saṁpṛcānāv* (MS. MŚ. °*nā*) *asaṁ*° MS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*nen na ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānaḥ* TA.: *nem na ṛṇān ṛṇavān īpsamānaḥ* MS. And others; see §180.

[*atikiriṭam* (comm. °*rīṭam*) *atidanturam* TB. So Conc. with Bibl. Ind. ed.; probably misprint; Poona ed. comm. with text *atikiriṭam*.]

[*†vaṅkrīr* (so all!) *aśvasya svadhitiḥ sam eti* RV. VS. TS. KSA.]

### 8. Final *u* lengthened

§**546.** As with the *a* and *i* vowels, we include here cases in which the vowel is relatively final, that is, final in its stem as prior member of

compounds, or before the suffix *mant*, or in the reduplicating syllable. The cases are still less numerous than those of *i: ī*, and add nothing further to the subject.

**§547.** Of absolutely final *u* lengthened to *ū* we have noted only four cases, three of the particle *u*, and one of *su*. All occur before single consonants (once *v*, twice a sibilant), and in most of them the surrounding syllables are short. In only one are both long, but here the original form has short *u*, and *ū* is introduced in a secondary text (MS.):

*o ṣu* (MS. *ṣū*) *vartta* (MS. KS. *varta*) *maruto vi'pram acha* RV. MS. KS.

*tam ū* (MS. *u*) *śuciṁ śucayo dīdivāṅsam* RV. ArS. TS. MS. KS.

*imam ū* (MS. *u*, p.p. *ū*[*ṁ*], and MŚ. *ū*) *ṣu tvam asmākam* (TA. ApŚ. *tyam asmabhyam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

*idaṁ ta ekaṁ para ū* (TB.† ApŚ.† *u*) *ta ekam* RV. AV. SV. KS.† TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. (*u-ta* = *uta*.) On *puru: purū*, a matter of noun inflexion, see §555.

**§548.** In the reduplicating syllable the change occurs in reduplicated aorists of root *gup*; the *ū* form is here more usual, and is doubtless a matter of rhythmic lengthening. Cf. VV I p. 182:

*gṛhān ajūgupataṁ yuvam* AŚ.: *gṛhān* (MŚ. *gṛhāñ*) *jugupataṁ yuvam* MS. MŚ.

*prajāṁ me* (ApŚ. **no*) *naryājugupaḥ* (ApŚ. and MŚ. v. l. °*jūgupaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*paśūn me* (ApŚ. **naḥ*) *śaṁsyājugupaḥ* (ApŚ. and MŚ. v. l. °*jūgupaḥ*) MS. MŚ. ApŚ.: *dhanaṁ me śaṁsyājugupaḥ* KS.: *śaṁsya paśūn me 'jugupas tān me pāhy eva* ŚŚ. And others in the same passages.

*ahirbudhnya mantraṁ me 'jugupaḥ* (v. l. *'jū*°) . . . MŚ.

**§549.** There is one doubtful case before the suffix *mant:*

*savitre tvarbhumate* (VS. ŚB. *tva ṛbhu*°, MS. *tvarbhū*°) . . . VS. MS. ŚB. TA. If MS. understands a form of *ṛbhu*°, as do the others, we have rhythmic lengthening in it. But this would imply anomalous sandhi for MS. (see §916); and two mss. read *svarbhūmate*.

**§550.** In the seam of compounds, we find first several variants of the preposition *anu*, lengthened to *anū*. The change occurs before either *v* or *r* in every case but one (cf. under §516).

*anurohaṁ jinva* Vait.: *anuroho* (KS. *anū*°) *'si* TS. KS. GB. PB. Vait.: *anurohāya tvā* PB. Vait.: *anūroheṇānūrohāyānūrohaṁ jinva* MS. (with p.p. and v. l. each time *anu*°).

*anuvṛd* (KS. *anū*°) *asi* KS. GB. PB. Vait.: *anuvṛte* (KS. *anū*°) *tvā* KS. PB. Vait.: *anuvṛtaṁ jinva* Vait.: †*anūvṛtānūvṛte 'nūvṛj jinva* MS.

*panthām anūvṛgbhyām* (KSA. *anu*°) TS. KSA.

*anukāśena bāhyam* MS.: *anūkāśena bāhvyam* VS.: *antareṇānūkāśam* TS. KSA.

**§551.** Among other compounds, we find several which quite clearly contain rhythmic lengthening of *u*; in the first two this is the older form, and is shortened in secondary texts:

*saṁdhātā saṁdhiṁ* (MS. °*dhir*) *maghavā purūvasuḥ* (TA. ApMB. and p.p. of MS. *puro*°; MS. *puru*°) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB.

*urūṇasāv* (TA. *uru*°) *asutṛpā* (AV. TA. °*pāv*) *udumbalau* (TA. *ulu*°) RV. AV. TA. AŚ.

*mithucarantam* (TS. *mithuś ca*°, KS. *mithū*°, AV. *mithuyā ca*°) *upayāti* (AV. *abhiyāti*) *dūṣayan* AV. TS. MS. KS.

*sindhoḥ śiṅśumāraḥ* (KSA.† *śiśū*°) TS. KSA.: *samudrāya śiśumāraḥ* VS. MS. See §305. Whether this is really a compound or not is wholly uncertain.

**§552.** Aside from one or two compounds where the *ū: u* concerns noun stem formation or inflexion (§§554 ff.), we find further only compounds of *su* (*suyama*) and its opposite *ku*, appearing also as *sū*, *kū* (cf. also §563):

*brahmaṇas pate suyamasya* (MS. *sū*°, p.p. *su*°) *viśvahā* RV. MS. TB. The *ū* is secondary and not favored by the meter (anapest after cesura).

*suyame me adya ghṛtācī bhūyāstaṁ svāvṛtau sūpāvṛtau* ApŚ.: *suyame me bhūyāstam* VS. ŚB: *sūyame me 'dya staṁ svāvṛtau sūpāvṛtau* MS. MŚ.

*kuyavaṁ ca me 'kṣitiś* (VS. °*taṁ*) *ca me* VS. MS. KS. (v. l. *kū*° in MS.): *akṣitiś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS.

### 9. Final *ū* shortened

**§553.** Only one variant, concerning the old adverb *kū* 'where?', which appears in SV. as *ku* before a consonant combination, so that it may be regarded as a case of rhythmic or quasi-Prakritic shortening:

*kūṣṭho* (read *kū ṣṭho*) *devāv aśvinā* RV.: *ku ṣṭhaḥ ko vām aśvinā* SV. See Oldenberg, *Noten* on 5. 74. 1.

### 10. Long and short *u* in noun stem formation and inflexion

**§554.** The words *hanu* and *tanu*, compounds of *-bhū*, and a few others, vary between *u* and *ū* forms, in case-forms and in composition:

*hanūbhyāṁ* (KSA. *hanu*°) *svāhā* TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

*hanubhyāṁ* (TS. *hanū*°) *stenān bhagavaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. In this and the prec. Tait. texts alone have *ū*, the others *u*.

*agne sadakṣaḥ satanur* (KS.† °*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.: *agniḥ sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ.

*śūrāso ye tanūtyajaḥ* (TA. *tanu*°) RV. AV. TA. Note that two consonants follow the *ū*, which opposes the possible theory of rhythmic lengthening.

*iyaṁ te yajñiyā tanūḥ* (VSK. *tanuḥ*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ApŚ.

*avasyur* (VS. ŠB. °*syūr*) *asi duvasvān* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. ŚŚ.

*śundhyur* (VS. TS. °*yūr*) *asi mārjālīyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. Only *-yu* in RV.

*ārādhyai* (see §474) †*didhiṣūpatim* TB : *arāddhyā edidhiṣuḥpatim* VS (on the latter see §381).

*vareṇyakratūr* (AV. °*tur*, ApŚ. *īḍenyakratūr*) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ. Whitney calls °*tūr* 'an improvement'. See also §383.

*vibhūr* (PB. *vibhur*) *asi pravāhaṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. PB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*vibhūr* (KSA. *vibhur*) *mātrā prabhūḥ* (KSA. *prabhuḥ*) *pitrā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*śambhūr* (KS. °*bhur*) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Note *mayobhūr* even in KS.

*ābhūr* (VS. TS. *ābhur*) *asya niṣaṅgathiḥ* (VS. °*dhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

*savitre tvarbhumate* (etc., §549) *vibhumate* (MS. *vibhū*°) . . . VS. MS. ŚB. TA.

*phalgūr* (KSA. °*gur*) *lohitorṇī* . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*havanaśrun* (TB. *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV. TB. Comm. on TB. *āhvānasya śrotā san*. Irregular lengthening of *śru* in composition.

**§555.** Neuter *u* stems in the Veda have nom.-acc. forms, both sing. and plur., in either *u* or *ū*:

*sa hi purū* (SV. *puru*) *cid ojasā virukmatā* RV. SV. Adverbial.

[*saṁ gṛbhāya purū* (TB. *puru*, Poona ed. *purū*-) *śatā* RV. AV. MS. KS. TB.]

Different forms of related stems *āyu* and *āyus*:

*dadhad ratnaṁ* . . . *āyuni* (AV. *āyūṁṣi*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §819.

*vṛṣā punāna āyuṣu* (SV. *āyūṁṣi*) RV. SV.

**§556.** In the first member of a dual devatādvandva, the *ū* may be understood as the dual ending, rather than lengthened stem vowel:

*kratūdakṣābhyāṁ me varcodā varcase pavasva* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *dakṣakratubhyāṁ* (sc. *me* etc.) TS. ApŚ.: *dakṣakratubhyāṁ me varcodāḥ pavasva* MŚ.

**§557.** The stem *dhur* regularly appears as *dhūr* before a consonantal ending (Wackernagel III §134c). In the ApŚ. form of the following

variant *ur* appears before the ending *bhiḥ*; and conversely in the KS. form *ūr* before vocalic endings. Both must be analogical, if textually sound; note that in the 'correct' MŚ. form both *dhur* and *dhūr* forms occur. Von Schroeder, followed by the Conc., stigmatizes KS. *dhūro* and *dhūran* (for °*raṁ*) as corrupt; and Knauer proposes to emend KS. on the basis of MŚ. But mechanical form-assimilation may account for all the variants:

*yathādhuraṁ* (KS. ms. °*dhūran*) *dhuro* (KS. *dhūro*) *dhūrbhiḥ kalpantām* KS. MŚ.: *yathāyathaṁ dhuro dhurbhiḥ kalpantām* ApŚ.

### 11. Other *u: ū*

**§558.** The remaining variants are so miscellaneous that they seem hardly worth subdividing. In verb inflexion there is practically nothing. Once TB. presents an anomalous *ūḥ* for the regular 3d plural secondary ending *uḥ*; it occurs at the end of a pāda, and remains unexplained:

*upo ha yad vidathaṁ vājino guḥ* (TB. *gūḥ*) RV. MS. TB.

**§559.** The various forms of the root *su, sū*, 'beget, enliven' etc., show some confusion as to the quantity of the radical vowel. Thus:

*praśāstaḥ pra suhi* (KŚ. *sūhi*, MŚ. *suva*, ApŚ. *suva pra suhi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Both *sūhi* and *suva* are regular forms, and in VV I p. 189 it is suggested that *suhi* is a blend of the two. Cf. next.

*ardhamāsyaṁ prasutāt pitryāvataḥ* JB.: *pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pitryāvataḥ* KBU. Both must apparently be from the same root, of which the regular participle is *sūta*, but *suta* is recorded otherwise. JB. 1. 18 has v. l. *prasūtāt* (see Oertel, *JAOS* 19 [2], 112, 115; delete in Conc. *tam ardhamāsaṁ . . .*).

1st and 2d aorists of *bhū*:

*abhyaṣikṣi rājābhūm* (ApŚ. °*bhūvam*) MS. ApŚ.: *abhiśikṣa rājābhuvam* (v. l. °*bhūvam*) MŚ.

**§560.** Quite similarly *vah* (weak stem *uh*) and *ūh* are 'in some forms and meanings . . . hardly to be separated' (Whitney, *Roots*); indeed, Whitney gives some forms (such as passive *uhyate*) as identical from the two roots. Of course they are ultimately variants of each other:

*mā hiṅsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam* (ApMB.† *ūhyamānām*) AV. ApMB. Here *ūh* does not fit very well; AV. means 'may they not injure the procession as it proceeds'. (In ApMB. the pple. is made to agree with the bride—'as she is being carried off'.)

*samuhyo 'si viśvabharāḥ* ŚŚ.: *samūhyo 'si viśvabharāḥ* ApŚ.: *samūhyo 'si viśvavedā . . .* VSK. KŚ. Here, contrary to the prec., it is *sam-ūh* that is meant, even in ŚŚ.

*phalgunībhyāṁ vy ūhyate* ApG.: *phalgunīṣu vy uhyate* AV. Kauś.

**§561.** The present participle of the 'root' *tūrv* varies with the related adjective *tura*:

*tūrvan* (KS. *turo*) *na yāmann etaśasya nū raṇe* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

**§562.** Several times the word *varutrī*: *varūtrī*, from the dissyllabic root *vṛ* 'cover', varies in its two forms:

*varūtrīṣ ṭvā* (KS. *varutrīs tvā*) *devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ* . . . VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.: *varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr* . . . TS.: *varūtrī* (once, 2. 7. 6, †*varu*°, and so v. l. in the other passage) *tvā devī viśva*° . . . MS. (bis)

*tvaṣṭur varutrīṁ varuṇasya nābhim* MS. MŚ.: *varūtriṁ* (VS. ŚB. °*trīṁ*, KS.† *varutrīṁ*) *tvaṣṭur var*° *nā*° VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

*varutrīr avayan* KS.: *varūtrayas* †*tvāvayan* ApŚ.

**§563.** The word *sumna* or *sū*° has been interpreted by some as a compound of *su*, but can scarcely have been felt as such in Vedic times; yet it is possible that the not infrequent *ū* in it may have been due to confusion with compounds of *su*, which as we saw (§552, cf. §547) also appear with *sū*:

*sumnāya* (VS. *sū*°) *nūnam īmahe sakhibhyaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

*dhīrā deveṣu sumnayā* (AV. °*yau*; VS. *sūmnayā*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

The word *stūpa*, of unknown origin, ordinarily appears in that form; but two variants show that the form *stupa* was fairly widespread:

*viṣṇo* (°*ṇoḥ*, °*ṇos*) *stupo* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *stūpo*) *'si* VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *viṣṇoḥ stupaḥ* MS. MŚ.

*reṣmāṇaṁ stupena* (MS. *stū*°, but p.p. *stu*°!) VS. MS.

**§564.** The word *ūrva*, on which see last Neisser *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v., may be ultimately connected with *uru*. At any rate forms which look like derivatives of these two words vary with each other in a confused way which usually suggests textual corruption:

*urvīṁ gavyāṁ pariṣadaṁ no akran* AV.: *ūrvaṁ gavyaṁ pariṣadanto agman* RV. KS. See §46.

*urv* (AŚ. once *urvy*, once *ūrvy*) *antarikṣaṁ vīhi* MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. AŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. We might be tempted to see in *ūrvy* a phonetic lengthening before *r* + consonant (cf. Wackernagel I §38), but it is probably only a misprint.

*ūrva* (TB. *urva*) *iva paprathe kāmo asme* RV. †3. 90. 19c, TB. N. Comm. on TB. *urva iva, vāḍavāgnir iva*, connecting the word with *aurva*, a derivative of *ūrva*.

*rudrāṇām urvyāyāṁ* (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyāṁ*, ŚŚ. *omyāyāṁ*) . . . ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. See §228.

**§565.** The word *kulyā* 'stream' is written *kūlyā* certainly once, and probably twice, probably under the influence of *kūla* 'bank':

*kulyābhyaḥ* (TS. *kū°*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. Here the TS. comm. takes *kūl°* as a secondary adjective from *kūla*; but it is probably only an equivalent of *kulyā*, cf. next. Keith, 'to those of the pools'.

*medasaḥ* (HG.* *ājyasya*) *kulyā* (HG. *kū°*) *upa tān* (AG. *upainān*, SMB. *abhi tān*) *sravantu* (HG. ApMB. *kṣarantu*) VS. AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. HG. ApMB.: *medaso ghṛtasya kulyā abhiniḥsravantu* MG. Cf. also *ghṛtasya kulyā(m)* . . . in Conc., and prec. Here there can be no question of the precise equivalence of *kūlyā* and *ku°*.

**§566.** The form *pūruṣa* for *puruṣa* is familiar in all periods of the language, beginning with RV., but is almost if not quite restricted to positions where the first syllable must be metrically long, such as the following variant, where TA. Poona ed. reads *pū°* with v. l. *pu°*:

*ato* (AV. ArS. ChU. *tato*) *jyāyāṅś ca pūruṣaḥ* (TA. *pu°*) RV. AV. ArS. VS. TA. ChU.

**§567.** Twice the RV. writes *ūgra* for *ugra*. According to Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1. 165. 6, following an earlier suggestion of Haug's, the *ū* would be due to the fact that the syllable has *kampa* (*svarita* accent followed by an accented syllable; cf. Wackernagel I p. 293 f.). One might think of understanding the particle *u* plus *ugra*, but p.p. *hi*, *ugraḥ*. Both pādas occur in the same hymn:

*ahaṁ hy ugras* (RV. *ū°*) *taviṣas tuviṣmān* RV. MS. KS. TB.

*ahaṁ hy ugro* (RV. *ū°*) *maruto vidānaḥ* RV. MS. KS.

**§568.** Other cases concerning different readings of what is apparently the same word or related words:

*ūlena parimīḍho 'si* HG.: *ulena pariṣīto 'si* ApMB. Followed by: *parimīḍho 'sy ūlena* HG.: *pariṣīto 'sy ulena* ApMB.: *utūla parimīḍho 'si* PG. The meaning of *ula* or *ūla* is unknown. Cf. next.

*ulo halikṣṇo* (TS. *ūlo halī°*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA. Cf. prec. Here apparently some animal is meant.

*godhūmāś ca me masūrāś* (TS. and KapS. *masu°*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. Both forms are otherwise known; *masūra* seems to be commoner.

*hotā vediṣad atithir duroṇasat* (VS. *dū°*, but comm. *du°*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. TA. MahānU. KU. NṛpU. VaradapU. The word *dūroṇa*, for the usual *duroṇa* 'house', seems to be otherwise unrecorded.

*kurkuro nīlabandhanaḥ* HG.: *kūrkuro bālabandhanaḥ* (ApMB. *vāla°*) PG. ApMB. The usual form is *kurkura*; perhaps cf. Wackernagel I §38 (lengthening before *r* + consonant). Cf. next.

*kurkuraḥ sukurkuraḥ* HG.: *kūrkuraḥ* (ApMB. °*ras*) *sukūrkuraḥ* PG. ApMB. Cf. prec.

*kuṣmāṇḍāḥ*, °*ḍāni*, °*dyaḥ*, and *kuś*°, *kūṣ*°, *kūś*°. See §290.

*prathamāya januṣe bhūmaneṣṭhāḥ* (AV. *bhuvane*°, ŚŚ. *bhūma ne*°) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Different but related stems *bhuvana* and *bhūma*(*n*).

*ā pūṣā etv ā vasu* TS.: *ā puṣṭam etv ā vasu* AV.

*āpura stā* ŚŚ.: *āpūryā sthā* . . . TS. AŚ.

*atikulvaṁ* (VSK. °*kūlvaṁ*) *cātilomaśaṁ ca* VS. VSK. *kulva* 'bald', regularly with short *u*.

*agnaye dhūñkṣṇā* (KSA. °*kṣā*) TS. KSA.: *dhuñkṣāgneyī* (VSK. °*kṣvā*° or °*kṣyā*°) VS. VSK. MS. Said to mean a sort of bird; original form and precise meaning unknown.

*uṣo* (PB. *ūṣā*) *dadṛkṣe* (PB. *dadṛśe*) *na punar yatīva* RV. PB. Conc. suggests reading *uṣā* in PB.

*pūlyāny* (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB. The latter is secondary if not corrupt (note metathesis of consonants). Cf. §151.

**§569.** The rest concern lexically different words, and are all isolated, except that there are two cases of interchange between the stems *ugra* and *ūrdhva*:

*ugro* (HG. *ūrdhvo*, MG. *agne*) *virājann* (MG. °*jam*) *apa* (MG. *upa*-) *sedha* (AV. *vṛñkṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB. HG. MG.

*ugradhanvā* (TS. MS. KS. *ūrdhvadha*°) *pratihitābhir astā* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*ud vaṅśam iva yemire* RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mbh.

*yad annam admi* (PrāṇāgU. *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrāṇāgU. *virāddham*, vv. ll. *virājam*, *viruddham*) AV. TA. PrāṇāgU.

*brahmādhiguptaḥ* (etc.) . . .: *brahmābhigūrtaṁ* . . ., see §742.

*athā jīvaḥ* (KS. *adhā viṣitaḥ*, VS. ŚB. *athaitaṁ*, AV. *adomadam*) *pitum* (AV. *annam*) *addhi prasūtaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *pramuktaḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*aghnyau śūnam* (AV. *aghnyāv aśunam*) *āratām* RV. AV. *śūna* 'want': *aśuna* 'unprosperity'.

*suhutakṛtaḥ stha* AŚ.: *subhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ.

*utem* (SV. *ūtim*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV. AV. SV. MS. In RV. etc. *uta-īm*, in SV. acc. of *ūti*. But the Saṁhitās contain no actual variation in quantity of the *u* vowel, since in all it is fused with a preceding final *u*.

*sā brahmajāyā vi dunoti rāṣṭram* AV.: *sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahmajyasya* AV. 'Burns up': 'shatters'.

*trīṇi padāni rūpo anv arohat* AV.: *pañca padāni rupo anv aroham* RV. Read *rupo* in AV., with many mss., comm., and Whitney's Transl.

*udno* (AV. text *ūdhno*) *divyasya no dehi* (AV. MS. *dhātaḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. *ūdhno* is a false emendation, withdrawn in Whitney's note. Cf. §106.

*namo vaḥ pitaraḥ śuṣmāya* (VS. ŚŚ. *śoṣāya*, SMB. GG. KhG. *śūṣāya*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG. See §720.

## CHAPTER XIII. QUALITATIVE INTERCHANGES OF A, I, AND U VOWELS

### 1. Short *a* and *i*

**§570.** The variations between *a* and *i* are numerous, but also rather miscellaneous. One large group stands out among them as concerning noun suffixes which differ only or chiefly in containing the vowels *a* and *i* respectively. These have little phonetic interest. At the opposite pole stands the only other considerable group which appears prominently in this section, namely *a: i* in radical syllables which concern ablaut, or quasi-ablaut. That is, the *i* forms are, or have the aspect of being, reduced ablaut grades corresponding to full-grade forms in *a*, which vary with them. That *ir* and *ur* may appear historically in such relations to *ar* is recognized by all (cf. Wackernagel I §21). Whether the same is true of *i* in relation to short *a* (as distinguished from *ā*) before other consonants, is a disputed question. Cf. Wackernagel I §15 note, where this possibility is denied and the attempt is made to explain otherwise some of the seeming instances.

**§571.** We shall content ourselves with recording the variants which seem to concern this real or supposed ablaut; it will of course be understood that we do not claim that they prove or disprove either side. We shall begin with one in which an otherwise unrecorded *śikya* appears persistently for the common *śakya* (by which TA. comm. glosses *śikya*). One naturally thinks of comparing *śikvan* and other forms of the sort with *i* (*śikman, śikvas*); according to Wackernagel (l. c., p. 17) *śikvan* would be etymologically unrelated to root *śak*, which seems to us doubtful. But the forms in *i* might perhaps be influenced by *śikṣ: satāṁ śikyaḥ* (MahānU. *śa*°, v. l. *śi*°) *provācopaniṣat* TA. MahānU.

A form of *śikṣ* itself varies with one from *śak* in:

*dātuṁ cec chikṣān sa* (TA. *chaknuvāṁsaḥ*, or °*vāṁ sa*) *svarga eva* (TA. *eṣām*) AV. TA. See §826.

**§572.** Several variants concern the root or roots *śam: śim*, which certainly are synonymous, but according to Wackernagel (p. 18) ultimately unrelated. In the variant pādas VS. uses only *śam*, TS. KS. only *śim:*

*śamībhiḥ śamyantu tvā* VS.: *śimībhiḥ* (KSA. †*śimi*°) *śimyantu tvā* TS. KSA.

*kas te gātrāṇi śamyati* (TS. KSA. *śim°*) VS. TS. KSA.

*māsā ākhyantu śamyantaḥ* VS.: *māsāś chyantu śimyantaḥ* TS. KSA.

*śimāḥ* (KSA. Conc. *śimāṁ*, ed. with v. l. *śimāḥ;* VS. *simāḥ*) *kṛṇvantu* (VS.* *śamyantu*) *śimyantaḥ* (VS. *śamyantīḥ*) VS. TS. KSA. Note that VS. denies consciousness of relation between the verb and the noun by reading *simāḥ* with *s*, not *ś* (comm. interprets by *sīmā rekhāḥ*).

*sūcībhiḥ śamyantu* (TS. KSA. *śim°*, MS. *śamayantu*) *tvā* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

**§573.** Next a few variants which either contain or have the aspect of containing ablaut between *ir* and *ar* (or *ri* and *ra*), cf. Wackernagel I §21; but most of the cases are obscure or dubious; only the first is a clearly genuine instance, and there too both forms are familiar; SV. has merely substituted a more commonplace synonym (*hari*) for the old and rarer *hiri:*

*hiriśmaśruṁ* (SV. *hari°*) *nārvāṇaṁ* (SV. *na varmaṇā*) *dhanarcam* (SV. *°cim*) RV. SV.

*asyai nāryā upastare* (ApMB. *°stire*) AV. ApMB. Infinitive forms; Whitney emends to *°stire* with Ppp.

*śiśirāya vikakarān* (KS. *†vikarān*, ApŚ. *vikirān*, vv. ll. *vikakarān, vikikirān*) VS. KS. ApŚ. Name of an animal, of uncertain form, origin, and meaning.

*sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan* JB.: *sugaṁ tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ. With *karasyu* cf. the noun *káras*, RV.?

*rudra yat te krayī* (VS. KS. *krivi*, VSK. *kravi*, MS. MŚ. *giri°*) *paraṁ nāma . . .* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47; all the forms are unintelligible.

**§574.** There is a sort of superficial resemblance to these cases in certain verb forms (e.g. the desideratives mentioned in §583), to be dealt with presently; and ablaut of a different kind (*ay* for *e: i*) also appears among the verbal variants (§582). Here we shall append a number of variations between words which, while actually of independent origin, simulate the kind of ablaut relation here considered, being usually quasi-synonyms and (but for the shift between *a* and *i*) nearly or quite homonyms.

**§575.** First, cases in which *r* follows (cf. §578). Here we find two cases in which *pratara*, that is *pra-tara*, a comparative from *pra*, varies with forms in *pra-tir-* (verbal or nominal), in which *tir* is connected with the root *tṛ* 'cross'. The psychological affinity between this root as commonly used in Sanskrit and the comparative suffix is evident.

*drāghīya āyuḥ prataraṁ* (TA. †*pratarāṁ*, MG. *pratiraṁ*) *dadhānāḥ* (AV. **te dadhāmi*) RV. AV. TA. AG. MG.: *dīrgham āyuḥ pratirad bheṣajāni* TB.: *āyur dadhānāḥ prataraṁ navīyaḥ* AV. Here *pratirad* is a verb-form (*prakarṣeṇa dadātu*, comm.); *pratarām* an adverb (comm. *prakarṣeṇa*); *pratiram*, if correct, is the Rigvedic infinitive *pratiram*, but all but one of Knauer's mss. read *prataraṁ* in MŚ.

*aganma yatra pratiranta* (MG. *prataraṁ na*) *āyuḥ* RV. AV. MG.

**§576.** Before other consonants than *r* (cf. §§570 ff.); here might be mentioned, first, the three variants concerning the synonymous roots *saṁ-vas* and *saṁviś*, which are listed in §281. Formally even closer are two variants between *kṣan* 'injure' and *kṣi* 'destroy', also virtual synonyms:

*indra ivāriṣṭo akṣataḥ* (AV. *akṣitaḥ*) RV. AV.

*akṣatam asy* (SMB. omits *asy*) *ariṣṭam* . . . SMB. ŚG.: *akṣitam* (*akṣitir*) *asi* . . . (see §586).

*pṛthivī darvir akṣitāparimitānupadastā* (ViDh. *akṣatā*) . . . Kauś. ViDh.: *yathāgnir akṣito* . . . ApMB. HG.

**§577.** Other near-synonyms:

*yajñaṁ devebhir anvitam* (TS. TB. *inv°*) TS. MS. ApŚ. TB. †1. 4. 4. 5b. 'Accompanied' (*anu* + *i*): 'impelled'.

*śiśīte śṛṅge rakṣase* (AV. *rakṣobhyo*) *vinikṣe* (KS. *vinakṣe*, AV. mss. °*nikṣve*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. *nikṣ* 'pierce': *naś* (as if causative) 'destroy'. But no such form of *naś* is otherwise recorded, and the KS. form is questionable.

*pavamāno daśasyati* (SV. *diś°*) RV. SV. Benfey would derive the SV. form from stem *diśas* = *diś* (lex., and class. in composition).

**§578.** Since it is impossible to draw a sharp line between these cases and other lexical variants, we shall add here other cases which seem to us purely lexical, concluding with some false readings or corruptions. First, there are a number that concern pronouns (the bases *a* and *i*) and particles (*ha: hi*, etc.):

*ato* (AV. MahānU. *ito*, TB. *tato*) *dharmāṇi dhārayan* RV. AV. SV. VS. TB. MahānU.

*pūrvo ha* (TA. MahānU. *hi*) *jātaḥ* (JUB. *jajñe*) *sa u garbhe antaḥ* VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. JUB.

*ṛṣir ha* (ŚŚ. *hi*) *dīrghaśruttamaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*eṣo* (TA. MahānU. *eṣa*, ŚirasU. *eko*) *ha* (TA. MahānU. *hi*) *devaḥ pradiśo 'nu sarvāḥ* VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU.

*viśvaṁ hi* (KS. *ha*) *ripraṁ pravahanti* (MS. °*tu*) *devīḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*agniḥ sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ.: *agne sadakṣaḥ satanur* (KS.† °*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.

*śreṣṭho ha* (Sāyaṇa, AV. Introd. p. 5, *hi*) *vedas tapaso 'dhijātaḥ* GB.

*amutrabhūyād adha* (AV. *adhi*) *yad yamasya* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TAA.

*anūdhā yadi jījanad* (SV. *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*) RV. SV. Two cases in the same pāda.

*vācā cit prayataṁ* (AŚ. *ca prayutī*) *devaheḍanam* TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*duraś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ* RV.: *turaś cid viśvam arṇavat tapasvān* AV.

*tāv ehi* (AV. *iha*, AB. *eha*, MG. *tā eva*) . . . AV. AB. AG. ŚG. PG. MG. Others, §888. *ehi* contains the verb *ihi*; *eha* is probably corrupt (Weber, *ISt.* 10. 160), and *eva* is certainly secondary.

*anu manyasva suyajā yajāma* (MŚ. *yaje hi*, most mss. *yajeha*) TS. MŚ.

*asūrte* (TS. MS. KS. °*tā*) *sūrte* (TS. °*tā*) *rajasi* (TS. °*so*) *niṣatte* (MS. °*tā*, KS. *na sattā*, TS. *vimāne*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.

*mā no agne 'va* (MG. *vi*) *sṛjo aghāya* RV. AG. MG.

*sūryo apo vi* (MG. *'va*) *gāhate* MS. ApŚ. MG.

Miscellaneous pronominal forms:

*āre asman* (MS. NīlarU. *asmin*) *ni dhehi tam* VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. *asmat* 'from us': *asmin* 'in it' or 'in him'. MS. has v. l. *aṣman*, and its p.p. *asmat*.

*prajāyai kam* (AV. *kim*) *amṛtaṁ nāvṛṇīta* RV. AV. Both forms are used as particles here.

*yad vā me api* (LŚ. *'pi*, Vait. *apa*) *gachati* AŚ. Vait. LŚ.

*yo gā udājad apa* (MS. *api*) *hi valaṁ* (MS. *balaṁ*) *vaḥ* RV. MS.

*ahir jaghāna* (PG. *dadarśa*) *kaṁ* (AG. MG. *kiṁ*) *cana* AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Here true pronoun forms; 'no one': 'nothing'.

*māmīṣāṁ kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* RV SV. VS.: *maiṣāṁ kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *maiṣām uc cheṣi kiṁ cana* AV. As in prec.

**§579.** Remoter lexical variants:

*mā no vidad* (KS. *vadhīd*) *abhibhā mo aśastiḥ* AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. These forms are still quasi-synonyms; 'find' (in a hostile sense): 'injure'.

*dyutāno vājibhir yataḥ* (SV. *hitaḥ*) RV. SV. 'Guided': 'placed'.

*jāmim itvā* (Poona ed. *jāmi mitvā*) *mā vivitsi lokān* (Poona ed. *lokāt*) TA.: *jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV. See §198.

*śukrāṁ vayanty asurāya nirṇijam* RV.: *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirṇije* SV.

*vātajavair* (HG. *vātājirair*) . . ., see §268.

*anarśarātiṁ* (SV. *alarṣirātim*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV. SV. AV. N. See §292.

*hṛtsu kratuṁ varuṇo* (°*ṇaṁ*) *vikṣv* (*apsv, dikṣv*) *agnim*, see §360.

*mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnāṁ* (MS. °*nā*) *cikitnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikitvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45.

*tisro yahvasya* (MS. MŚ. *jihvasya*) *samidhaḥ parijmanaḥ* RV. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §192.

*viśvakarman bhauvana māṁ didāsitha* (ŚB. *manda āsitha*) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. See §840.

*abhi dyumnaṁ* (RV. VS. *sumnaṁ*) *devabhaktaṁ yaviṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitaṁ yaviṣṭhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

*rāyaḥ syāma rathyo vayasvataḥ* (TB. *vivasvataḥ*) RV. MS. TB. See §255.

*yaśo* (AŚ. *diśo*) *yajñasya dakṣiṇām* (AŚ. °*ṇāḥ*) TB. AŚ.

*agniḥ pareṣu* (AŚ. *pratneṣu*, SV. VS. ŚB. *priyeṣu*) *dhāmasu* AV. SV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*hinvāno hetṛbhir yataḥ* (SV. *hitaḥ*) RV. SV.

*alivandāya svāhā* KSA.: *iluvardāya svāhā* TB. ApŚ. Followed by *balivardāya* (KSA. °*vandāya*), which suggests that KSA. has an assimilated form.

*śaṁ padaṁ maghaṁ* †*rayīṣiṇe na kāmam* (AA. *rayiṣaṇi na somaḥ*) SV. AA. See §545.

*vasūni cārur* (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, HG. *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhṛjāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. HG. ApMB.

*mihaṁ na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV.: *mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV. Metathesis of *a* and *i*.

**§580.** The following seem to be false readings:

*ahiṁ* (RVKh. *ahaṁ*) *daṇḍenāgatam* RVKh. AV. Both words make good sense; but Scheftelowitz (p. 62) reads *ahiṁ* for RVKh. with his ms.

*tādītnā* (TB. Poona ed. †*tādīknā*) *śatruṁ* (TB. *śatrūn*) *na kilā vivitse* (TB. *vivatse*) RV. TB. But Poona ed. *vivitse;* comm. gloss *na labhase*.

*gāvo bhago gāva indro me achān* (AV. *ma ichāt;* TB. with two AV. mss. †*achāt*) RV. AV. KS. TB. *achān* is the only intelligible reading and is adopted by Whitney; see VV I p. 130.

[*añjisakthāya* (KSA. °*ṣak*°, Conc. °*ṣik*°) *svāhā* TS. KSA.]

[*namaḥ śaspiñjarāya* (TS. *sasp*°; Conc. wrongly *śiṣp*° for MS.) *tviṣīmate* VS. TS. MS. KS.]

[*mā no vadhīḥ* (Conc. *vidhīḥ* for TS., wrongly) *pitaraṁ* . . . RV. VS. TS. TAA. MŚ.]

**§581.** In verbal inflexion there are a number of miscellaneous variants. Thus the reduplicating syllable contains variously *a* or *i;* included are some noun or adjective forms based on reduplicated stems:

*pra bhānavaḥ sisrate* (SV. *sa°*) *nākam acha* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. On this and the two next see VV I §272.

*vṛṣāva cakradad* (and *°do*) *vane* RV.: *vṛṣo acikradad vane* SV. See prec.

*tāḥ prācya* (Vait. *°yaḥ*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ. *°īre*, Vait. *saṁjigāïre*) KŚ. Vait. MŚ.: *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ. See prec. two.

*stotāram id didhiṣeya* (SV. *dadhiṣe*) *radāvaso* RV. AV. SV. See VV I p. 90.

*hastagrābhasya didhiṣos* (AV. *da°*) *tavedam* (TA. *tvam etat*) RV. AV. TA. Many mss. of AV. *di°*, which Whitney would read. Cf. however next.

*vahā* (TB. N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS. *da°*) *havīṁṣi* MS. KS. TB. N. Cf. prec. The MS. reading is not certain; several mss. *di°*.

**§582.** In present formations of different classes:

*suvīrābhis †tirate* (SV. TS. *tarati*) . . . RV. SV. TS. KS. Note the following *r* (§573).

*anāgaso adham it saṁkṣayema* TB.: *anāgaso yathā sadam it saṁkṣiyema* Vait. 1st and 4th class presents; VV I p. 125. In the latter *y* is epenthetic.

*yac ca prāṇiti* (AV. *°ati*) *yac ca na* AV. ŚB.† TB. BṛhU.† 1st and 2d class presents; VV I p. 123.

*yaḥ prāṇiti* (AV. *prāṇati*) *ya īṁ śṛṇoty uktam* RV. AV. Cf. prec.

*kati kṛtvaḥ prāṇati cāpānati ca* (ŚB. *prāṇiti cāpa cāniti*) GB. ŚB. Cf. prec. two.

*ni ṣṭanihi* (AV. *abhi ṣṭana*) *duritā bādhamānaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. prec. three.

**§583.** The *i* of the following is of desiderative character, cf. Whitney §1030:

*na yac chūdreṣv alapsata* (ŚŚ. *ali°*) AB. ŚŚ. An aorist in AB. See VV I p. 87.

*sa bhikṣamāṇo* (SV. *bha°*) *amṛtasya cāruṇaḥ* RV. SV. Both *bhikṣ* (a sort of desiderative) and *bhakṣ* are derived from *bhaj*, but function as quasi-independent roots.

**§584.** In various miscellaneous verb forms;

*ajījapata* (TS. TB. *°jipata*) *vanaspatayaḥ* TS. MS. TB. MŚ. See VV I p. 192. Both are reduplicated (causative) aorists; the form with radical *a* is influenced by the vocalism of the causative, the other by that of the simple root.

*gṛhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam* (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. *vepiḍhvam*) VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. See VV I p. 133.

*nābhā saṁdāyi navyasī* (SV. *°dāya navyase*) RV. SV. *saṁdāyi* is 3d sing. passive aor.; *saṁdāya* gerund (but awkward, with no finite verb).

*yenā samatsu sāsahaḥ* (SV. °*hiḥ*, MŚ. °*hi*) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Whereby thou shalt conquer in battles', RV. (perfect subj).: 'whereby (thou shalt be) conqueror in battles' SV. (adjective). In MŚ. the adjective is made neuter, agreeing with *manas* '(thy) mind' in prec.

*sam indra no* (*ṇo*) *manasā neṣi* (AV. *neṣa*) *gobhiḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. See VV I p. 105.

*pitā no bodhi* (TA. *bodha*) VS. ŚB. TA. See VV I p. 123.

### *a: i* in noun formation

**§585.** The remaining cases, considerable in number, concern different noun suffixes. Phonetics has little to do with them; at most they show how easily different suffixal forms containing *a* and *i* may exchange. Most of the variants are in fact practically synonymous. Thus there are many interchanges of past participles in *ta* with nouns of action or abstracts in *ti;* the change may or may not be accompanied by slight changes in the psychology of the passages. Thus the participial forms may be used as nouns, practically equivalent to the nouns in *ti;* or the nouns in *ti* may become concrete in meaning, approaching the meaning of the participles. Besides these cases, we find suffixal forms in *na: ni* (the latter sometimes influenced by feminine stems), and *ra: ri;* patronymics in *ka: ki;* heteroclitic stems in *a(an): i;* stems in *ana: in(a);* stems in *in* (in composition *i*): *a(n)*; stems in *a-ka: ikā;* and a remnant of unclassifiable *a: i* forms.

**§586.** We begin with the suffixes *ta: ti,* and first with those in which the participles stay close to their original meaning; see also §599 below:

*yam akṣitam* (ŚŚ. N. °*tim*) *akṣitayaḥ pibanti* TS. ŚŚ. N.: *yam akṣitam akṣitā bhakṣayanti* AV.: *yathākṣitim akṣitayaḥ pibanti* (KS. °*yo madanti*) MS. KS. 'Which imperishable one (imperishableness) the imperishablenesses (AV. imperishable ones) drink (or the like).'

*akṣitam asi mā pitṝṇāṁ* (with variants) *kṣeṣṭhā* . . . ApG. ApMB. HG. BDh.: *akṣitam asi mā me kṣeṣṭhāḥ* TS.: *akṣitam asy akṣitaṁ me bhūyāḥ* MS.: *akṣitir asi mā me kṣeṣṭhā* . . . VSK. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. And other variations.

*apā vṛdhi parivṛtaṁ* (TB. Conc. °*vṛttiṁ*, Poona ed. text and comm. °*vṛtiṁ*) *na rādhaḥ* RV. TB. 'Open up as it were hidden treasure': 'open up treasure, as it were a fence'.

*bradhnaś cid atra* (SV. *yasya*) *vāto na jūtaḥ* (SV. *jūtim*) RV. SV. *jūtaḥ* 'speedy', adj. with *vāto; jūtim* 'speed', with change of construction.

*pra samrājo* (SV. °*jam*) *asurasya praśastim* (SV. °*tam*) RV. SV. KB.
*atirātraṁ varṣan pūrtir āvṛt* (MS. *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ*, KS. *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS.

§**587.** These are supported by other cases in which the participle is used as a noun, practically equivalent to the noun in *ti:*
*puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe* . . . MS.: *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ. °*pate*) *puṣṭiś* . . . AŚ. ApŚ.
*pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣkṛtam* RV. SV. PB.: *pra vā etīndur indrasya niṣkṛtim* AV.
*nyañ* (AV. *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV. °*tim*) RV. AV. KS.
*ākūtim* (MS. MŚ. MG. °*tam*) *agniṁ prayujaṁ svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.
*vāco vidhṛtim* (MS. °*tam*) *agniṁ prayujaṁ svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In same passage with prec.
*sviṣṭaṁ* (MŚ. v. l. °*ṭiṁ*) *no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS. MŚ.: *sviṣṭiṁ no abhi* (KŚ. *'bhi*) *vasīyo* (AV. *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS. KŚ.
*kṛṇutaṁ naḥ sviṣṭim* (MS. KS. °*ṭam*) VS. TS. MS. KS.
*mayi puṣṭiṁ* (AV. °*ṭaṁ*) †*puṣṭipatir* (AV. *puṣṭa*°, KS. **puṣṭipatnī*) *dadhātu* (AG. †*dadātu*) AV. MS. KS. (four times) TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. AG. SMB.
*kuyavaṁ ca me 'kṣitiś* (VS. *'kṣitaṁ*) *ca me* VS. MS. KS.: *akṣitiś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS.
[*ādityās te citim* (KS. Conc. wrongly *citam*) *āpūrayantu* KS. ApŚ.]
*punar brahmāṇo* (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °*nītir*, KS.* °*dhītaṁ*, v. l. °*dhītiṁ;* KS.* [38. 12b] †°*nītha*, KapS. °*dhītam* or °*tiṁ*, MS. °*dhīte*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. °*nītha* is a variant for °*nīta*, see §93.

§**588.** Coming to variants between *na* and *ni*, we find in several cases that the *i* is apparently due to influence of the feminine ending *ī:*
*asapatnā sapatnaghnī* (ApMB. °*nighnī*) RV. ApMB. ApG. Cf. *sapatnī*, for which *sapatni* is recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa (BR.).
*gandharrāya janavide* (ApMB. *jani*°) *svāhā* ApMB. MG. Cf. the stems *jani* and *janī*. Here, strictly speaking, the *i* and the *n* are both radical, not suffixal (dissyllabic root *jan*).
*somāya janivide* (MG. *jana*°) *svāhā* ApMB. MG. In same passage as prec.
*teṣāṁ yo ajyānim* (PG. *'jyānim*) *ajītim āvahāt* (SMB. Conc. *ajījim āvahāḥ*, but Jörgensen text and comm. as others) TS. SMB. PG. BDh.: *teṣām ajyānīṁ* (MŚ. °*naṁ*) *yatamo vahāti* (KS. MŚ. *na āvahāt*) AV. KS. MŚ. *a-jyā-ni*, 'non-oppression': *a-jyā-na* id., not recorded lexically, contains properly the suffix *ana*, which appears as *na* after *ā*.

*hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ* HG.: *hiraṇyaparṇa śakune* PG.: *hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ* MU.

*pururūpaṁ suretasaṁ maghonam* (TB. °*nim*) VS. TB. *maghonam* may be taken either as an irregular acc. sing. of *maghavan* (cf. RV. *maghonas*, nom. plur.) or as from an *a*-extension of the weak stem; *maghonim* (masc.) can only be from an *i*-extension of the same. TB. comm. *annavantam;* VS. comm. *maghavantaṁ dhanavantam.*

**§589.** Of the suffixes *ra: ri* we have only noted one variant, of the word *tittiri: °ra.* The usual form is °*ri*, but °*ra* occurs elsewhere; however in this passage the MS. p.p. reads *tittiriḥ:*

*maṇḍūko mūṣikā tittiris* (MS. °*ras*) *te sarpāṇām* VS. MS. Cf. §598, *varṣābhyas . . .*

**§590.** The suffixes *ka* and *ki* exchange in patronymics; really the exchange is doubtless between *a* and *i*, since probably in all cases the primary noun contained *k;* all occur in the same passage:

*śaunakam* (ŚG. °*kim*) AG. ŚG.

*kaholaṁ kauṣītakam* (ŚG. °*kim*) AG. ŚG.

*mahākauṣītakam* (ŚG. °*kim*) AG.†ŚG.

**§591.** Next, *a* and *i* as finals in inflexion or composition of heteroclitic stems in *an* (weak grade *a*, always used in compounds, and tending to pass into the *a*-declension) and *i*, of the type *asthan: asthi:*

*asthabhyaḥ* (KSA. *asthi*°) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA.

*ut tiṣṭha puruṣa harita piṅgala lohitākṣi* (MahānU. *puruṣāharitapiṅgala lohitākṣa*) *dehi dehi dadāpayitā me śudhyantām* TA. TAA. MahānU.

And extensions of such stems in suffixal *ka* (in compounds):

*anakṣikāya* (KSA. °*akāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

*anasthikāya* (KSA. °*akāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

**§592.** A few cases of interchange between adjectives in *i* and participles (or quasi-participles, *mahat*) in *at:*

*dhruvas tiṣṭhāvicācaliḥ* (AV. MS. KS.° *calat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*parvata ivāvicācaliḥ* (AV. MS. KS. °*calat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*dadhir* (SV. *dadhad*) *yo dhāyi sa te* (SV. *sute*) *vayāṅsi* RV. SV.

*enaś cakṛvān mahi baddha eṣām* TS.: *eno mahac cakṛvān baddha †eṣa* MS.

**§593.** Variations between suffixal *ana* and *in* (*ina*):

*tan nau saṁvananaṁ kṛtam* MG.: *tena saṁvaninau svake* HG. *saṁvanana* 'concord': *saṁvanin* 'concordant'.

*manyoḥ krodhasya nāśanī* PG.: *manyor mṛddhasya* (ApMB. *mṛdhrasya*) *nāśinī* ApMB. HG. Feminines of *nāśana: nāśin.*

*mā no vidad* (KS. *vṛdhad*) *vṛjinā* (KS. TB. ApŚ. °*anā*) *dveṣyā* †*yā* AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Both words mean 'deceit', and seem to be otherwise unknown.

*śunām agraṁ suvīriṇaḥ* (ApMB. *subīraṇaḥ*) ApMB. HG. Cf. next.

*subīraṇa sṛja-sṛja śunaka* ApMB.: *suvīriṇaḥ sṛja-sṛja* HG. Epithets of dogs, of unknown origin and meaning.

**§594.** Variations between stems in *in* (in composition *i*) and stems in *a* or *an* (once *an* by sandhi for *at*):

*tasya te* †*vājipītasyopahūtasyopahūto* (Vait. *vājipītasyopahūto*, LŚ. *vājapītasyopahūta* [text °*hata*] *upahūtasya*) *bhakṣayāmi* AŚ. LŚ. Vait.: *tasya te vājibhir bhakṣaṁkṛtasya vājibhiḥ sutasya vājipītasya vājinasyopahūtasyopahūto bhakṣayāmi* ApŚ.: *vājy ahaṁ vājinasyopahūta upahūtasya bhakṣayāmi* VSK. KŚ.

*vājaṁ tvāgne* . . . Vait.: *vāji tvā* . . . ApŚ. MŚ.: *vājinaṁ tvā vājin* . . . KS.: *vājinaṁ tvā vājedhyāyai* (*sapatnasāham*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.

*ava jyām* (HG. *dyām*) *iva dhanvanaḥ* (HG. *dhanvinaḥ*) AV. ApMB. HG. See §159.

*matsvā suśipra* (SV. °*prin*) *harivas tad* (SV. *tam*) *īmahe* RV. SV.

*bodhinmanā* (SV. *bodhan*°) *id astu naḥ* RV. SV. In SV. pres. pple., *bodhat*.

**§595.** Before feminine forms of the suffix *ka*, most commonly *i* replaces *a*, see Edgerton, *JAOS* 31. 95 f.:

*vidyutaṁ kanīnikābhyām* (VS. *kanīna*°) VS. MS. KSA.: *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS.

*vṛtrasyāsi* (KS. *mitrasy*°) *kanīnikā* (VS. ŚB. °*akaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK. °*akāsi*) VSK. TS. ApŚ.

*agner akṣṇaḥ kanīnakam* (VSK. °*kām*, TS. MS. KS. °*ikām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ni galgalīti dhārakā* VS. ŚB.: *ni jalgulīti* (KSA. ms. †*jalgalūti*, em. °*līti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA.

*avajihvaka nijihvaka* ApMB.: *avajihva nijihvika* HG. Here, in a masculine form, the *i* before *ka* is anomalous; it may be corrupt, or may be based on thought of a form **jihvin*, with suffixal *in*.

**§596.** The rest are miscellaneous cases of *a*: *i* in suffixes and endings:

*tasmin ma indro rucim ā dadhātu* AV.: *tasmin somo rucam ā dadhātu* HG. ApMB. Stems *ruci* and *ruc*. Cf. next.

*hiriśmaśruṁ nārvāṇaṁ dhanarcam* RV.: *hariśmaśruṁ na varmaṇā dhanarcim* SV. Stems *ṛc* and *ṛc-i* (possibly with confused thought of *arcis*?).

*kuvayaḥ* (KSA. °*yiḥ*, VS. TS. *kvayiḥ*) *kuṭarur dātyauhas te vājinām* (TS. KSA. *sinīvālyai*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. A name of an unknown animal; p.p. of MS. also *kuvayiḥ*.

*indraḥ* (ŚŚ. °*as*) *patis tuviṣṭamo* (AA. ŚŚ. *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ. *janeṣu*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. Stems *tavas* and *tuviṣ-* (the latter not used as a separate word).

*tilvilāstām* (ed. misprinted *tilva*°, see Stenzler's Transl. p. 83 n.) *irāvatīm* AG.: *tilvilā sthājirāvatī* ŚG.: *tilvalā sthirāvatī* MG.† 2. 11. 12b: *tilvilā syād irāvatī* ApMB. The word is otherwise *tilvila;* probably MG. is to be emended.

*vi śloka etu* (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*, KS. †*sūraḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.

*agne varcasvin* (VSK. °*van*) *varcasvāṅs* (ŚŚ. °*vī*) *tvaṁ deveṣv asi varcasvān* (ŚŚ. °*vy*) *ahaṁ manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.

*pradakṣiṇin* (AV. °*ṇaṁ*) *marutāṁ stomam ṛdhyām* (MS. *aśyām*) RV. AV. MS. TB. The old adverb *pradakṣiṇit*, of anomalous appearance, is replaced by a more ordinary form in AV.

*mānasya patni śaraṇā syonā* AV.: *mā naḥ sapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā* HG.

*harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣitā* (TB. °*atā*) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N. See §122 and VV I §86.

*kṛkalāsaḥ* (KSA. *kṛki*°) *pippakā śakunis* (TS. KSA. *śak*° *pi*°) *te śaravyāyai* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Of uncertain origin; simulates a compound of a stem *kṛka-* or *kṛki-*.

## 2. Long *ā* and *ī*

**§597.** These variants are few. The most interesting group concerns *ā* varying with *ī* as ending of the first part of a compound or seeming compound. We seem justified in thinking of the parallel feminine stem-endings *ī* and *ā* in this connexion. These feminine endings exchange themselves a number of times, as we shall see in our volume on Noun Inflection, which we may anticipate here by quoting the following examples:

*saṁhitāsi viśvarūpā* (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. °*pī*, TS. ApŚ.* °*pīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. (bis)

*upasthāvarābhyo dāśam* VS.: *upasthāvarībhyo †baindam* (so Poona ed. text and comm.) TB.

*sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB. °*padā*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. MG.

*śivā rutasya* (TS. and v. l. of MS. *rudrasya*, VSK. *śiva ṛtasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °*jā*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

The compounds in question are, however, so obscure that it is hardly ever possible to be sure that they contain such feminine stems, or indeed even that they are really compounds (the last one certainly is not):

*gṛdhraḥ śitikakṣī vārdhrāṇasas te divyāḥ* (KSA. *vārhī*°, ed. em. *vārdhrī*°, *te 'dityāḥ*) TS. KSA. The word (otherwise spelled with *ī*) seems at least to be felt as a compound; cf. *vārdhra*?

*uṣṭro ghṛṇīvān vārdhrīnasas* (MS. *ghṛṇāvān vārdhrā*°) *te matyai* VS. MS. Cf. prec.; p.p. of MS. *vārdhrī*°. In *ghṛ*° we have another animal name, of unknown meaning and apparently found only here.

*ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas* (MS. °*thālavas*, VSK. *māndhālas*) *te pitṝṇām* VS. VSK. MS.: *pāñktraḥ* (KSA. †*pāñktaḥ*; mss. of both *pāṁtra-*) *kaśo mānthīlavas* (KSA. †*man*°) *te pitṛṇām* (KSA. †*pitṝ*°) TS. KSA. See §77.

*yā te agne hariśayā* (VSK. *harī*°, MS. MŚ. *harā*°) *tanūr . . .* VS. VSK. ŚB. (Pratīkas MS. MŚ.) *harāśaya* is doubtless influenced by *haras*.

*vidyutaṁ kanīnikābhyām* (VS. *kanīna*°) VS. MS. KSA.: *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS. Certainly not a compound, but seems to belong psychologically here.

**§598.** The other variations of *ā* and *ī* are very miscellaneous; mostly they concern inflexional endings of some sort.

*agne tejasvin tejasvī tvaṁ deveṣu bhūyāḥ* TS.: *agna āyuḥkārāyuṣmāṁs tvaṁ tejasvān deveṣv edhi* MS. See also *agne varcasvin* etc., §596.

*indrasyāhaṁ devayajyayendriyāvī* (KS. °*yāvān*, MŚ. °*yavān*) . . . TS. KS. MŚ.

*śivā viśvāha* (VS. °*hā*) *bheṣajī* (TS. °*habheṣajī*; MS. °*jā*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

*viśvacarṣaṇiḥ sahuriḥ sahāvān* (AV. *sahīyān*) RV. AV. MS.

*śilpā vaiśvadevīḥ* (VS. °*vyaḥ*) VS. MS.: *śilpās trayo vaiśvadevāḥ* TS. KSA. Fem. and masc. forms, nom. plur.

*samānī va ākūtiḥ* RV. AV. TB. AG.: *samānā vā* (KS. *va*) *ākūtāni* MS. KS. MG. *ī* of fem. sing.: *ā* of neut. plur.

*varṣābhyas tittirīn* (MS. °*rān*) VS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ. Acc. plur. of the words which vary in §589.

*dhiyā manotā prathamo manīṣī* (SV. °*mā manīṣā*) RV. SV. 'The foremost intelligent one': '. . . intelligence'.

*sā śamtāti* (SV. °*tā*, TB. ApŚ. °*cī*) *mayas karad apa sridhaḥ* RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *śaṁtāti* acc. neut., and *śaṁtātā* loc. sing., from *śaṁtāti*; on *śaṁtācī* see §156.

*aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni* (VS. and v. l. of MS. *'sthīni*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. Stems *asthan: asthi.*

*teṣāṁ saṁ hanmo akṣāṇi* (AV. *saṁ dadhmo akṣīṇi*) RV. AV. (Ppp. has *akṣāṇi.*) Stems *akṣan: akṣi.*

*bahu ha vā ayam avarṣīd . . .* MS.: *bahu hāyam avṛṣād* (KS. °*ṣad*) . . . TS. KS. See VV I p. 129.

*tisro ha prajā atyāyam āyan* (JB. *īyuḥ*) AV. JB. Imperfect and perfect of *i.*

In VV I p. 185 are collected some variations between strong and weak verb stems in *(n)ā: (n)ī*, which we shall not repeat here. Add the following:

*śṛṇīhi viśvataḥ prati* RV.: †*śṛṇāhi viśvatas pari* SV.

§**598*a***. There are a number of cases of interchange between gerunds in *tvā* and *tvī*. As was to be expected, the form in *tvī* is regularly the older:

*avāḍ ḍhavyāni surabhīṇi kṛtvā* (RV. VS. *kṛtvī*) RV. AV. VS. TS. ApŚ. SMB.

*kṛtyaiṣā padvatī bhūtvā* (RV. °*tvī*) RV. AV. ApMB.

*kṛtvī* (AV. *kṛtvā*) *devair nikilbiṣam* RV. AV.

*kṛtvī* (AV. *kṛtvā*) *savarṇām adadur* (AV. *adadhur*) *vivasvate* RV. AV. N.

*pītvī* (SV. TS. *pītvā*) *śipre avepayaḥ* RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. ŚB.

*vayo ye bhūtvī* (AV. °*tvā*) *patayanti naktabhiḥ* RV. AV.

*svinnaḥ snātvī* (AV. °*tvā*, VS. ŚB. *snāto*) *malād iva* AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*hitvī* (SV. *hitvā*) *śiro jihvayā vāvadac* (SV. *rārapac*) *carat* RV. SV.

*apālām indra* (MG. °*ras*) *triṣ* (*triḥ*) *pūtvī* (AV. *pūtvā*, ApMB. *pūrtvī*, MG. *pūrty a-*) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG.

### 3. *a* and *i* with shift of quantity

§**599.** Here are found only a few stray variants: too few to classify. Some of the variants in the preceding sections show shift of quantity as well as quality; these will not be repeated. We begin with variants of *ā* and *i;* the first two belong with those of *a* and *i* in §586:

*prācīṁ jīvātum akṣitām* (ŚŚ. ŚG. °*tim*) AV. TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. AG.† (Stenzler's Translation, p. 36 n.) ApMB. N.

*vyacasvatīṣayantī subhūtiḥ* AŚ. MS.: *viśvavyacā iṣayantī subhūtiḥ* (KS. °*tā*) TS. KS. In the latter *subhūtā* is an adjective going with *aditir* in the next pāda.

*tan no durgā* (TA. °*giḥ*) *pracodayāt* TA. MahānU. Durgi for Durgā seems to occur only here.

*śriyo* (AV. TB. °*yaṁ*) *vasānaś carati svarociḥ* (TB. °*cāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. KS. TB.

*āṅgūṣāṇām* (SV. *aṅgoṣiṇam*) *avāvaśanta vāṇīḥ* RV. SV. Different case-forms of *a* and *in* stems.

*adhi kṣami viṣurūpaṁ* (ArS. *kṣamā viśva°*) *yad asti* (ArS. *asya*, MS.† *āsta*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB.

*kara ād* (SV. *id*) *arthayāsa it* RV. SV.

*anādhṛṣṭā* . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anibhṛṣṭā* . . . TS. See §176.

**§600.** Between *a* and *ī* the cases are even fewer and equally sporadic:

*sīrāḥ* (TS MS. KS. *sarāḥ*, AV. *sarā*) *patatriṇī* (TS. MS. KS. *°ṇīḥ*) *sthana* (KS. *stha*, AV. *bhūtvā*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Besides the synonymous *sarā* and *sīrā*, *sirā* is also found (RV.). All are from root *sṛ;* cf. §§570, 573.

*amṛtenāvṛtāṁ puram* (TA. *purīm*) AV. TA. Equivalent stems *pur* and (later) *purī*.

*yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṇṭakīkārīm* (TB. *kaṇṭakakāram*) VS. TB. Both the stem of the first member, and the entire cpd., show shift in gender.

*nayanto garbhaṁ vanāṁ dhiyaṁ dhuḥ* RV.: *nayantaṁ gīrbhir vanā dhiyaṁ dhāḥ* SV. Lexical.

*āsminn* (KS. *ā sīm*) *ugrā* (MS. *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuḥ* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Lexical.

*vīreṇyaḥ kratur indraḥ suśastiḥ* RV.: *vareṇyakratūr* (AV. *°tur*, ApŚ. *īḍenya°*) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ. See §§383, 554.

### 4. Interchange of short *a* and *u*

**§601.** Under this head we find a clearly defined group of cases, which seems to have no parallel among the *a: i* variants, in which *a* varies with *u* before a following *v*, the influence of which must be partly concerned in the shift. To be sure both forms can as a rule be explained historically, the *av* forms as full ablaut grade, the *uv* as weak grade forms, representing *ū* before a vowel, or—in the few forms concerning roots in short *u*—epenthesis of *v* between *u* and following vowel. Phonetic and morphological matters are no doubt blended here. But the occurrence of some forms which are morphologically anomalous confirms us in the belief that phonetics cannot be entirely excluded. The great majority of the forms concern roots in *ū*. There is to be observed a striking tendency to prefer the *u* forms in SV.; and the like seems to be largely true of MS.

**§602.** In VV I §23 we have already collected most of the verb forms which show this variation. The following are those from *ū* roots:

*acikradat svapā iha bhuvat* (Ppp. *bhavat*, Barret, *JAOS* 30. 244) AV. Ppp. Add to VV I l. c.

*tasmai devā adhi bravan* (MS. KS. TB.† [Poona ed. text and comm.] ApŚ. *bruvan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*tasmai somo adhi bravat* (KS. *bruvat*) RV. AV. KS.

*yatra* (SV. *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV. *bruvan*) RV. SV.

*pra bravāma* (MS. *bruvāma*, v. l. *bra°*) *śaradaḥ śatam* VS. MS. TA. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG.

*saṁmiślo aruṣo bhava* (SV. *bhuvaḥ*) RV. SV.

*uta trātā śivo bhavā* (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Kauś.

*nemiś cakram ivābhavat* (SV. MS. *°bhuvat*) RV. SV. TS. MS.

*yat some-soma ābhavaḥ* (SV. *ābhuvaḥ*) RV. SV.

*yad dūre sann ihābhavaḥ* (SV. *°bhuvaḥ*) RV. SV. MŚ. N.

*tatra pūṣābhavat* (SV. *°bhuvat*) *sacā* RV. SV. KS.

*asapatnā kilābhuvam* (ApMB. *°bhavam*) RV. ApMB.: *asapatnaḥ kilābhuvam* RV.

*saṁpriyaḥ* (TA. *°yaṁ prajayā*) *paśubhir bhava* (TB. TA. ApŚ. *bhuvat*) MS. TB. TA. ApŚ.

*marutvantaṁ sakhyāya havāmahe* (SV. †*huvemahi*) RV. †1. 101. 1–7, SV.

[*svāveśo anamīvo bhavā* (Conc. wrongly *bhuvā* for ApMB.) *naḥ* RV. TS. MS. SMB. PG. ApMB.]

**§603.** From roots in short *u* the cases are much fewer:

*abhi pra ṇonuvur* (SV. *nonavur*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. (It is not quite clear whether this is originally a short or long *u* root.) Here SV. goes counter to its usual tendency, with *av* for RV. *uv*.

*upa śravat* (MS. *śruvat*, p.p. *śra°*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV. MS. On the anomalous and doubtful MS. form cf. VV I p. 106.

*tad ahaṁ nihnave* (ŚŚ. *°nuve*) *tubhyam* AB. ŚŚ. To be added to VV I §193, since it is a case of 1st and 2d class presents; the latter (*hnute*) is more regular.

*nedīya it sṛṇyaḥ pakvam ā yavan* (Ppp. *yuvan*, Barret, *JAOS* 30. 207) AV. Ppp. (Others, see Conc.) Add to VV I l. c.

**§604.** The same shift is found in noun formation and declension, both *ū* stems (placed first in the list) and short *u* stems:

*abhibhuve* (MS. *°bhve*, KS. *°bhave*) *svāhā* MS. VS. KS. TB. ApŚ. And, in same passage:

*vibhuve* (MS. *vibhve*, KS. †*vibhave*) *svāhā*, same texts.

*samudraṁ na suhavaṁ* (*suhuvaṁ*, *subhuvas*) . . .; *mahiṣaṁ naḥ subhvaṁ* (*subhavas*) . . ., see §119.

*indraḥ* (ŚŚ. *°as*) *patis tuviṣṭamo* (AA. ŚŚ. *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ. *janeṣu*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. Cf. §596.

*śitibhravo* (MS. °*bhruvo*) *vasūnām* VS. MS.

*puṅsavanaṁ puṅsavanam* AG.: *puṅsuvanam asi* ApMB. The form in *av* is regular in the earlier language, but that in *uv* occurs first (in AV.).

*tad viprāso vipanyavaḥ* (SV. °*yuvaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. NṛpU. VasuU. SkandaU. AruṇU. MuktiU.

*tā vāṁ gīrbhir vipanyavaḥ* (SV. °*yuvaḥ*) RV. SV.

*sumnāyuvaḥ* (KS. °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnaṁ* (KS. *sumnyaṁ*) *dhatta* MS. KS. MŚ.

*tasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvaḥ* (MS. *bhīravo nāma*) TS. MS.

**§605.** Of other variations in radical syllables between *a* and *u*, analogous to the variations between *a* and *i* treated in §§570 ff., we have noted surprisingly little. We might have expected to find a number of cases especially before *r* (cf. §573, and Wackernagel I §21), as in the two forms of the present stem *karo: kuru*. The chief cases we have noted, however, concern adverbs and adjectives in *par-: pur-*, which we shall list below in §615, along with other variations in adverbs and particles. Otherwise the only case we have noted—the first in the following list—is of very dubious character. In it and practically all the others in this section assimilation or dissimilation seems to have been at work:

*sukarīrā svopaśā* (v. l. *svau°*) MS.: *sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. The usual form is *kurīra;* the etymology is unknown. If MS. is correct, it may have dissimilation to the preceding *u* (*su*).

*avabhṛtha nicumpuṇa* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nicaṅkuṇa*, MS. KS. MŚ. *nicuṅkuṇa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. N. See §150. Here dissimilation seems highly likely as an explanation of the *a* form, despite the obscurity of the words.

*nicerur asi nicumpuṇaḥ* (TS. TB. *nicaṅkuṇa*, MS. KS. *nicuṅkuṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. Cf. prec.

*saṁkasuko vikasukaḥ* AV. MS.: *saṁkusuko vikusukaḥ* TA. ApŚ. The root is *kas* and the *kus* forms are certainly secondary, and apparently assimilated to the suffixal *u* which follows. Cf. next.

*asmin vayaṁ saṁkasuke* (ApŚ. °*kusuke*) AV. ApŚ. Cf. prec.

*ni nivartana vartayendra nardabuda* (KS. *nandabala*) TS. KS. ApMB. See §273. Note that the variant vowel is preceded by *b*, a labial consonant.

*etāṁ saṁkṛṣya* (MS. MŚ. °*kaṣya*, v. l. °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ. Here the original form was neither *a* nor *u*, but *ṛ;* see §631.

*tuce tanāya* (SV. Svidh. *tunāya*) *tat su naḥ* RV. SV. Svidh. The SV. form is isolated, and probably due to the adjoining and synonymous *tuce*.

Benfey tries to explain it independently, which seems to us highly improbable.

**§606.** Next comes a rather interesting, if somewhat heterogeneous, group in which the *a: u* is found in the second syllable of a word, yet is not clearly suffixal; assimilation or dissimilation may again explain some of the changes, but in one or two, at least, it seems that we are dealing with dissyllabic roots, or root-determinatives, in *u*, of the type *karo-*, *karu-* (VV I p. 116 f., and references there quoted). Most of the other words are obscure; often one is inclined to suspect that the variations in spelling point to a real uncertainty or ambiguity in the pronunciation of an unaccented vowel:

*karaṇam* (TS. *karuṇam*) *asi* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Both words occur in the sense of 'religious work'; but *karaṇam* is much commoner, and is secondarily substituted for the rarer but original *karuṇam* in this variant.

*varaṇo vārayātai* (and, *vārayiṣyati*) AV.: *varuṇo vārayāt* TA. The root *vṛ*, like *kṛ*, has dissyllabic forms in *u*. It is unnecessary here to consider the old question whether *Varuṇa* is derived from it; the god's name (if the reading is correct; Poona ed. has *varaṇo* with v. l. *varuṇo*) is here used obviously with punning intent.

So with the verb-forms *vanate: vanute* and the like, on which see VV I p. 121; whatever their grammatical classification (discussed l. c.), they seem ultimately to have a sort of root determinative *u:*

*agnir no vanate* (VSK. *vanute*, SV. TS. KS. *vaṅsate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

*tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate* (MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. *vanutām*) TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

**§607.** The rest are more dubious in character:

*pitvo* (VS. MS. *pidvo*, KSA. *bidvo*) *nyañkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS. *kakuṭhas*, TS. KSA. *kaśas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA. °*yāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. There may be assimilation in VS. or dissimilation in MS., but the forms are wholly obscure.

*tad vo astu sucetanam* (JB. °*tunam*, ŚŚ. *sajoṣaṇam*) AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ. Here both *a* and *u* may perhaps be called suffixal; yet the variant seems to belong in feeling to this group. No uncompounded *cetuna* is found, but *sucetuna* is recorded later, and cf. RV. *cetu*.

*somasya rājñaḥ kuluṅgaḥ* TS.: *somāya kuluṅgaḥ* (MS. *kulaṅgaḥ*) VS. MS.: *somāya rājñe kuluṅgaḥ* KSA. The usual form is *kuraṅga*, and the medial *u* is apparently due to assimilation to *u* of the first syllable. In both this and the next variant MS. p.p. has *kulu*°; contrariwise VS. comm. reads in both *kula*°, glossing *kuraṅga*.

*sādhyebhyaḥ kuluṅgān* (MS. *kulaṅgān*) VS. MS. Cf. prec.

*yādase śābalyām* (TB. *śābulyām*) VS. TB.: *parā dehi śāmulyam* (ApMB. *śābalyam*) RV. AV. ApMB. Popular etymology has confused two originally distinct words; *śāmulya* means a kind of woolen garment, and is not connected with *śabala* 'spotted'. A derivative of the latter is concerned in VS. TB., whose comms. interpret 'a woman with spotted skin'; the *u* of TB. is either due to vague reminiscence of *śāmulya*, or to phonetic influence of the labial consonant *b*. ApMB. is clearly thinking of *śabala*, and intends the meaning 'spotted garment'; in RV. AV. ApMB. reference is made to the bridal garment, spotted and impure after the wedding night. Cf. §241.

**§608.** Next we come to cases in which the variant vowels are more definitely suffixal, and matters of noun formation. First a group in which the common synonyms *cakṣas* and *cakṣus* interchange. Note the misreading *cakṣaṣī sāmavedasya* in GB. Bibl. Ind. ed., which is a mere misprint for *cakṣuṣī* as shown by the following ṣ; Gaastra reads correctly *cakṣuṣī*. *Cakṣas* is an older form, which later texts tend to replace by *cakṣus*:

*namaḥ samudrasya cakṣase* (PB. *cakṣuṣe*) TS. MS. KS. JB. PB. LŚ.

*apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamaḥ* RV.: *apo mahī vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamaḥ* SV.

*āyuś ca prāyuś ca cakṣaś ca vicakṣaś* (ApŚ. *cakṣuś ca vicakṣuś*) *ca . . .* MS. ApŚ.

**§609.** Other, miscellaneous cases of noun formation:

*tarakṣuḥ* (KSA.† °*kṣaḥ*) *kṛṇaḥ . . .* TS. KSA. Both forms otherwise recorded; original unknown.

*sādhu* (SV. *sādhaḥ*) *kṛṇvantam avase* RV. SV. As the accent of *sā'dhu* shows (see Wackernagel II. 1 p. 20), it is a noun, not an adjective or adverb. It occurs only here, and is replaced in SV. by the equally unknown *sā'dhas*.

*tā mandasānā manuṣo duroṇa ā* RV. ApMB.: *sā mandasānā manasā śivena* AV. Really a lexical variant, even tho the words may be related prehistorically; but resembles the case of *cakṣas: cakṣus*, §608, superficially.

*daivyā minānā manasā* (VS. *manuṣaḥ*) *purutrā* VS. MS. KS. TB.

*sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan* JB.: *sugaṁ tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ. Cf. §573.

*ārdraḥ prathasnur* (MŚ. †*pṛthusnur*, v. l. *prathasnur*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Knauer, note on MŚ., would understand *prathasnu* (TB. comm. *prathanaśīlo*) as dialectic by-form of *pṛthusnu*.

*saṁsṛṣṭam ubhayaṁ kṛtam* (KŚ. *abhayaṁ kratum*) KS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. Note metathesis of *a: u* in KŚ., which is poor and secondary; and cf. next.

*puñjikasthalā* (KS.† *puñjiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS. ŚB. *kratu°*) *cāpsarasau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Proper names, compounded of *kṛta: kratu*; cf. prec. Really lexical, since the words are radically not related.

*dhanaspṛtaṁ* (MS. *dhanu°*, but p.p. *dhana°*) *śūśuvāṅsaṁ sudakṣam* RV. MS. *dhanu°* could only mean 'winning by the bow', instead of 'wealth-winning'; it is doubtless a blunder, perhaps helped by assimilation to the *u* vowels of the following.

**§610.** We have noted only one case concerning noun inflection, a shift between the genitive and vocative forms of the stem *savitar: ghṛtavatī savitar* (MS. KS. *°tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS. *°tyaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'In Savitar's overlordship' or 'in (thru) thy overlordship, O Savitar'.

**§611.** In verb inflexion, morphological change between *a* and *u* vowels is fairly common in shifts between imperative and injunctive (imperfect indicative) endings, *(n)tu: (n)ta*. The instances are gathered in VV I, mainly in §§136, 156, 159, and need not be repeated here, since phonetics are hardly concerned. We add a few other stray cases:

*adārasṛd bhavata* (AV. *°tu*) *deva soma* AV. TB. ApŚ. *bhavata* seems uninterpretable and may be a mechanical form-assimilation, see VV I p. 283.

*ā pitaraṁ vaiśvānaram avase kaḥ* (PB. *kuḥ*! comm. *akaḥ*, glossed *kuru*) PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *kuḥ* is impossible and, if not a misprint, must be a gross corruption for *kaḥ* (*'kaḥ*); VV I p. 283.

**§612.** The remaining cases of *a: u* are purely lexical. A large group concerns the prefix *sa* and the particle *su*, which are practically synonyms as used in composition, and which exchange often with each other; also the pronoun *sa*, and other exchanges of the syllables *sa: su*, of various character, are included here:

*ye sajātāḥ samanasaḥ* (Kauś. *su°*) TB. ApŚ. Kauś.: *ye samānāḥ samanasaḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*śataṁ jīvema śaradaḥ sarvavīrāḥ* (TB. *savīrāḥ*, ApŚ. *suvīrāḥ*) AV. TB. ApŚ.

*ā tvā vahantu harayaḥ sucetasaḥ* (ApMB. *sa°*) MS. ApMB. HG.

*ādityāsaḥ sumahasaḥ* (SV. *sa°*) *kṛṇotana* RV. SV.

*agniḥ sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ.: *agne sadakṣaḥ satanur* (KS.† *°nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.

*namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe* (TS. *saṁvṛdhvane*, KS. *savṛdhvane*, MS. *suvṛdhvane*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*sajātānāṁ śraiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam* AV. TS.: *sa° madhye śraiṣṭhyā ā dhehi mā* MS.: *sujātānāṁ śraiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam* KS.

*tad vo astu sucetanam* (JB. °*tunam*, ŚŚ. *sajoṣaṇam*) AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

*marutvāṅ astu gaṇavān sajātavān* (AŚ. *sujātaiḥ*) TB. AŚ.

*akaḥ su* (TS. *sa*) *lokaṁ sukṛtaṁ pṛthivyāḥ* (VS. ŚB. °*vyām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* exchanges with *su*.

*ayaṁ sa* (ŚŚ. *su*) *vām aśvinā bhāga ā gatam* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*pra sumartyaṁ* (*su mṛtyuṁ*) *yuyotana* SMB. ApMB.: *pra sa mṛtyuṁ yuyotana* HG. Here *sa* seems uninterpretable; Conc. would read *su*.

*dadhad yo dhāyi sute vayāṅsi* SV.: *dadhir yo dhāyi sa te vayāṅsi* RV. Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* varies with a syllable *su* of different character, involving false divisions of words.

*saṁsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *saṁsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro gaṇeṣu* MS.

*nṛcakṣāḥ* (MŚ. *sucakṣāḥ*) *soma uta suśrug* (comm. and Poona ed. *śuśrug*; MŚ. *sasrud*) *astu* TB. MŚ. If Poona ed. is right, TB. has *śu-*, the reduplicating syllable. See §145.

**§613.** Similarly, the particle *u* varies with *a-* of the augment, or with other *a-*:

*yajñaḥ pratyaṣṭhāt* (v. l. *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS.: *yajñaḥ praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matīnām* MŚ.

*tam ahve* (SV. *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV. In VV I p. 26 we have suggested here possible influence of the following *v*, separated from the vowel only by the aspirate.

*irām u ha* (AV. *aha*) *praśaṅsati* AV. ŚŚ. AG.

**§614.** The particle *nu* varies with the negative *na*, or with other *na*, sometimes involving false division of words:

*taṁ te vi ṣyāmy āyuṣo na madhyāt* (MS. KS. *nu madhye*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *idam te tad vi ṣyāmy āyuṣo na madhyāt* TS.

*yajñāyate vā paśuṣo na* (MS. *nu*) *vājān* RV. MS. KB.

*upānasaḥ saparyan* RV.†: *upo nu sa saparyan* SV.

*avasyuvātā bṛhatī* (TS. °*tīr*) *na* (TS. *nu*, AŚ. *tu*) *śakvarī* (TS. °*rīḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*mahāṅ indraḥ paraś ca nu* (SV. *puraś ca naḥ*) RV. AV. SV. Metathesis of *a: u*.

**§615.** Various adverbs and adjectives in *pur-*, *par-* interchange; this goes back to the same prehistoric phonetic relations dealt with in §605, q. v. Besides the last variant in §614, the following occur:

*pari pūṣā parastāt* (AV. *pu°*) RV. AV.

*yasmāj jātā na parā naiva kiṁ canāsa* TA.: *yasmāj jātaṁ na purā kiṁ canaiva* VS.: *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ. *anyo*) *asti* JB. ŚŚ.: *yasmāt paraṁ nāparam asti kiṁcit* TA. MahānU. N.: *yasmād anyan na paraṁ kiṁ canāsti* Vait.: *yasmād anyo na paro asti jātaḥ* PB.: *yasmān na jātaḥ paro anyo asti* (NṛpU. *'sti*) VS. TB. ApŚ. MahānU. NṛpU.

[*ye devāḥ puraḥsado* . . . TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. BDh.: *ye devā agninetrāḥ puraḥsadas* . . . VS. ŚB. Conc. quotes *paraḥsado* for TS.]

**§616.** Miscellaneous variations involving other particles, adverbs, and light words; sometimes with false division of words:

*pra ṇa* (SV. *na*) *indo mahe tane* (SV. *tu naḥ*) RV. SV.

*sarve rādhyāḥ stha* (ŚŚ. °*yās tu*) *putrāḥ* AB. ŚŚ.

*devāñśo yasmai tveḍe tat satyam upariprutā* (ApŚ. *apariplutā*) *bhañgena* (ApŚ. *bhañgyena*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*ugro* (MG. *agne*, HG. *ūrdhvo*) *virājann* (MG. *virājam*) *apa* (MG. *upa-*) *sedha* (AV. *vṛñkṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB. HG. MG.

*upaśṛṇvate* (ŚŚ. *apa*°; corrupt?) *tvā* AŚ. ŚŚ.

*apa snehitīr* etc. RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi* etc. TA. See §110.

*tāni brahmā tu* (AV. ApMB. *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV. *śumbhati*, ApMB. *śaṅsati*) RV. AV. ApMB.

**§617.** The same change occurs in other lexical variants, in words still fairly close in meaning to one another:

*mitro yatra* (AV. *no atra*) *varuṇo ajyamānaḥ* (AV. *yujya*°) RV. AV.

*devebhir aktam* (VS. TS. *yuktam*) *aditiḥ sajoṣāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*vācā cit prayataṁ* (AŚ. *ca prayutī*) *devaheḍanam* TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*pramade* (TB. °*mude*) *kumārīputram* VS. TB.

*anu stomaṁ mudīmahi* (PB. *mademahi*) RV. AV. PB.

*asmin goṣṭhe karīṣiṇīḥ* (Kauś. °*ṇaḥ*, MS. *purīṣiṇīḥ*) AV. MS. Kauś. See §152; note *p* before *u*.

*sā saṁnaddhā sanuhi vājam emam* (MŚ. *sunuhi bhāgadheyam*) AV. MG. (Others, §52.) *ā-san: su*, near-synonyms.

*añjanti suprayasam* (Ppp. *yuñjanti suprajasaṁ*) *pañca janāḥ* RV. AVPpp. MS. See §192.

*vāyosāvitra* (MS. *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyāṁ caruḥ* (MS. *payaḥ*) TS. MS. KSA.

*pratnāso agna ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ* (AV. *āśaśānāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS.

*aśīmahi* (MS. *uś*°) *tvā* MS. TA.

*ā raśmīn* (RV. °*miṁ*) *deva yamase* (TB. *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV. TB. °*vaḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

*ni galgalīti dhārakā* VS. ŚB.: *ni jalgulīti* (KSA. ms. †*jalgalūti*, ed. em. °*lūti*) *dhāṇikā* TS. KSA. Onomatopoetic forms?

*ye pūrvāso ya uparāsa* (AV. *ye apa°*, some mss. *ya upa°*; comm. *u. parāsaḥ*) *īyuḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS.

[*yaje saṁrādhanīm aham* ŚB. BṛhU. AŚ. SMB. ApMB.: *yuje* (but read *yaje* with most mss., Hillebrandt, p. 250) †*samardham īm aham* ŚŚ.: *agnau saṁrādhanīṁ yaje* HG.]

**§618.** And finally, in words that are psychologically more remote:

*pratīpaṁ prātisutvanam* (AB. *°satvanam*) AV. AB. ŚŚ. Boehtlingk regards the reading *°sutv°* as a corruption of the other. But the word is probably a proper name, and may as well contain *sutvan* as *satvan*.

*svasti naḥ putrakṛtheṣu* (MG. *pathyākṛteṣu*, v. l. as RV.) *yoniṣu* RV. AB. MG.

*vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiñgīni kośyābhyām* VS.: *oṣiṣṭhahanaṁ śiñgīnikośyābhyām* (TA. *°kośā°*) TS. TA.

*yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat* (TA. *āya*, MS. *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV. MS. TA. See §401.

*adha syāma* (MS. *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ. *syām asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu* AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. See §840.

*pratiśrutkāyā artanam* (TB. *ṛtulam*) VS. TB. See §651.

*śumbhānas* (*stambh°*) . . ., see §287.

*vi no rāṣṭram unattu* . . . TB.: *saṁ te rāṣṭram anaktu* AV. See §139.

*bhakṣīmahi* (TS. MS. KS. Vait. *dhukṣ°*) *prajām iṣam* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. PB. Vait.

*rajani* . . ., *rajjuni* . . ., see §107.

*īḍe agniṁ svavasaṁ* (AV. *svāvasuṁ*) *namobhiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. AŚ. See §466.

*imau stām anupakṣitau* (ApMB. *anapekṣ°*) AV. ApMB.

*āśuṁ jayantam anu* (KS. *yā saṁjayantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*abhi spṛdha usro vediṁ tatarda* ŚŚ.: *vy usridho asro adrir bibheda* TB. The TB. looks generally secondary. Comm. *asro nirasanakuśalo*.

*priyāṇy aṅgāni svadhitā parūṁṣi* (Vait. *aṅgā sukṛtā purūṇi*) TB. Vait.

[*hotā yakṣat tvaṣṭāram aciṣṭum* (TB. Conc. *°ṭam*, Poona ed. *°ṭum*, which certainly read) . . . MS. KS. TB.]

[*havir haviṣṣu* (SV. *haviḥṣu*) *vandyaḥ* (SV. Conc. wrongly *°yuḥ*) RV. SV.]

[*asmākam aṁśuṁ maghavan puruspṛham* SV. Conc. 'read *aṁśaṁ*' for *aṁśuṁ*; but cf. Benfey's Glossary; perhaps *aṁśuṁ* is correct.]

[*upa drava payasā godhug oṣam* (ŚŚ.† *oṣum*, AŚ.† *payasā goṣam*) AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Both AŚ. and ŚŚ. probably contain misprints, as suggested by Whitney on AV.]

### 5. Other interchange of *a* and *u* vowels

**§619.** The variations between long *ā* and *ū*, and between *a* and *u* with shift of quantity, are negligibly few and scattering. We have noted only the following of *ā* and *ū*:

*divyo gandharvaḥ ketapūḥ* (VSK. °*pāḥ*) *ketaṁ naḥ* (MS. KS. omit *naḥ*) *punātu* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. SMB. 'Purifying (protecting) the will'; the verb *punātu* is cognate with *-pūḥ* of the original reading.

*pitā devānāṁ janitā vibhūvasuḥ* (ApŚ. MŚ. *vibhā*°) RV. SV. ApŚ. MŚ.

*drapsaś caskanda pṛthivīm anu dyām* (RV. *prathamāṁ anu dyūn*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*aghadviṣṭā devajātā* AV. Kauś.: *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāḥ* ApŚ.

*yad annam admi* (PrāṇāgU. *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrāṇāgU. *virāddham*, vv. ll. *virājam, viruddham*) AV. TA. PrāṇāgU.

**§620.** Besides the last, which also includes a form with short *u*, we find short *u* and *ā* varying in:

*sakhā suśevo advayāḥ* (Mahānāmnyaḥ °*yuḥ*) RV. KS. AA. Mahānāmnyaḥ. Nom. sing. masc. of *as: u* stems.

*yo naḥ* (AV. *mā*) *kadācid abhidāsati druhā* (AV. *druhuḥ*) RV. AV. *druhā*, instr. sing. of stem *druh; druhuḥ*, nom. sing. of adj. *druhu*.

*sā prasūr* (ŚG. *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG. °*gā*) *bhava* AV. ŚG. ApMB. HG. Pronoun *sā*: prefix *su*.

*pumāṅsam u* (ŚG. *ā*) *dadhad* (ŚG. †*dadhād*) *iha* AV. ŚG. Add to VV I §§167, 193.

**§621.** Variants of *a* and *ū*:

*yad adya hotṛvarye* (ŚŚ. °*vūrye*) ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. °*vūrya* is Rigvedic; its long *ū* seems anomalous. For the *u*-vocalism cf. *vurīta* etc. (VV I §10).

*nakiḥ* (RV. *nū cit*) *sa dabhyate janaḥ* RV. SV. *nū* = *nu*.

*druhaḥ pāśān* (TS. KS. *pāśaṁ*) *prati sa* (KS. *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* RV. TS. MS. KS. See §612.

*utsaṁ juṣasva madhumantam ūrva* (KS. MŚ. *ūrmim*, VS. *arvan*, VSK. °*sva śatadhāram arvan*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §228.

### 6. Interchanges of short *i* and *u*

**§622.** These variants are not numerous, and chiefly morphological or lexical. Of phonetic interest is, however, a small but striking group of cases in which texts of the Taittirīya school show a tendency to substitute *u* for *i*, in various formative syllables. These are to be considered in connexion with the tendency of the same school to substitute suffixal

*v* for *y* (§§247–8). The tendency seems to us undeniable, even tho in nearly every case one or another special consideration may have contributed to the change; so in:

*pareyivāṅsam* (TA. ApŚ. *pareyu°*) *pravato mahīr anu* (AV. *iti*) RV. AV. MS. TA. AŚ. N. (Pratīkas, ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. Rvidh.) This form of the perfect active participle of *parā* + *i* is certainly anomalous enough in appearance; possibly the *u* may be partly due to assimilation to the following *v*.

*hlādike hlādikāvati* (TA. *hlāduke hlādu°*) RV. AV. TA. Here, too, another motive is discernible. The word is felt as a kind of primary derivative of root *hlād*, 'cooling'. This meaning in the Brāhmaṇa language is expressed by the suffix *uka*; cf. Edgerton, *JAOS* 31. 104 ff. But again the form appears only in a Tait. text.

*goṣv aśveṣu śubhriṣu* (TB. *°uṣu*) RV. AV. KS. TB. The stem *śubhru* occurs only here; the surrounding *u* vowels may have assisted (assimilation).

*made-made hi no dadiḥ* (TB. *daduḥ*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. *daduḥ* can only be a noun form equal to *dadiḥ*, and otherwise unknown (a 3d plural verb is not construable). The saṁhitā mss. of MS. have a different phonetic corruption, *dadṛk*; ed. follows p.p.

**§623.** In other texts *i* and *u* occasionally interchange in formative elements of the same type, but in these the *u* forms are less anomalous:

*acety agniś cikituḥ* (SV. KS. *°tiḥ*) RV. SV. KS. Perhaps assimilation in SV. KS.

*daivyā* (AV. *daivā*) *hotāro* (TS. *°rā*, AV. *°raḥ*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vaniṣ°*, KS.† *vaniṣan na*, AV. *saniṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV. KS. *etat*) RV. AV. TS. KS. The ancient aorist *vanuṣanta* is based on *vanu-*, the same element mentioned above in §606, end. It is historically quite as justified as *vaniṣanta*, which is substituted for it in later texts (TS., contrary to its general trend!) to bring it into a commoner type of aorist formation.

**§624.** In two other rather obscure words assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned:

*ṛkṣo jatūḥ suṣilīkā* (MS. *śuśulūkā*) *ta itarajanānām* VS. MS. (p.p. of MS. *suṣilīketi suṣi-līkā*). See §279.

*dṛśe ca* (MS. *dṛśā ca*, RV. *abhikhyā*) *bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvaniḥ* (RV. *śuśu°*; KS. *°vabhiḥ*; MS. *suśikmanā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §240.

**§625.** In verb inflexion there are many cases of variation between indicative endings in *i* and imperatives in *u*. They need not be listed here; see VV I, e.g. §116. Otherwise the remaining variants seem to be

sporadic and purely lexical, so far as not corrupt; unless one make an exception of the following which shows two mere interjections, *him* and (commoner) *hum*:

*paśūnāṁ tvā hiṁkāreṇābhijighrāmy* (GG. °*mi;* HG. *huṁ*°) *asau* . . . SMB. GG. ApMB. HG.

**§626.** In several variants forms of root *śri* exchange with *śru* or *sru*:

*agne tvaṁ sūktavāg asy upaśruti* (ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. °*tī;* TB. *upaśrito*) *divas* (TB. *divaḥ*) *pṛthivyoḥ* MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *upaśrito divaḥ pṛthivyoḥ* TS.

*śavasā hy asi śrutaḥ* (AV. *śritaḥ*) RV. AV. But SPP. *śrutaḥ* for AV., with many mss. (other mss. *śṛtaḥ*); and so Whitney's Transl.

*ā tvā parisrutaḥ* (MG. °*sṛtaḥ*, mss. °*taṁ;* AG. °*śritaḥ*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB.† °*āḥ*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. And others; see §275.

**§627.** The rest are sporadic:

*prajāvatīḥ sūyavasaṁ* (AV. °*se*) *ruśantīḥ* (RV. TB. comm. *riś*°) RV. AV. TB. See Whitney's note on AV. *ruś*° 'shining', tho no doubt secondary to *riś*° 'grazing', is not impossible of interpretation and is clearly the reading of AV. tradition.

*priyo me hṛdo* (MŚ. *hito*, v. l. *huto*) *'si* (MŚ. †*bhava*) TS. MŚ. This, as between *i* and *u*, concerns of course only a textual corruption in the mss. of MŚ.

*svarvido abhi gā adrim uṣṇan* (SV. *iṣṇan*) RV. SV. See §401.

*pāti priyaṁ ripo* (and, *rupo*) *agraṁ padaṁ veḥ* RV. (both): *pāty agnir vipo agraṁ padaṁ veḥ* ApŚ. Read *rupo* in both RV. passages; cf. Ludwig ad loc., Bloomfield, *JAOS* 27. 75, and *RVRep.* 184.

*apāṁ tvā sadhiṣi* (MS.† *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §353. The MS. is mangled; is its ending felt as loc plur.? (*sadhiṣi* loc. sing.)

*upa yajñam asthita* (MŚ. *astu no*, AV. comm. *astṛta*) *vaiśvadevī* RV. Kh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ā śuṣe* (SV. *āśiṣe*) *rādhase mahe* RV. SV. The RV. has a verb form from *ā-śvas:* 'I fan (instigate) you unto great bounty'. In SV. we have an interesting case of assimilation in sense to outward form. The ending *e* suggests a dative matching the following *rādhase;* hence *āśiṣe* 'unto blessing', which leaves the sentence without a verb. Benfey supplies 'we summon'.

*ṛtasyartena mām uta* (TA. *ita*) TB. TA.: *ṛtasya tv enam āmutaḥ* (p.p. *tú, enaṁ, mā'ṁ, uttáṁ ma*!) MS. (corrupt in both forms). TA. comm. takes *ita* as a verb form (= *prāpnuta*).

*mandāna ud vṛṣāyate* (SV. *id vṛṣāyase*) RV. SV.

*ṣaḍ id yamā* (TA. *udyamā*) *ṛṣayo devajā iti* RV. AV. TA. N.

*ud it te vasuvittamāḥ* ApŚ.: *ud u tye* (MS. MŚ. *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS. GB. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ.

*sarvāṅ it tāṅ anu vidur vasiṣṭhāḥ* RV.: *sarvam uktam anuvidur vasiṣṭhāḥ* JB.

*viśvair devai rātibhiḥ saṁrarāṇaḥ* (MG. *devair ṛtubhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ*) ApMB. MG.

*sugandhiṁ* (*subandhuṁ*) . . ., see §152.

*lokam* (RV. *ulokam*) *u* (ApŚ. *id*) *dve upa jāmī* (RV. *jāmim*) *īyatuḥ* RV. MS. ApŚ.

[*vātāpe pīva id bhava* RV. KS.†—Conc. *ud* for KS. *id*.]

*nādya śatruṁ nanu* (ŚB.† *na nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŚB. *yuyutse*) RV. SV. See §255; and other interchanges of *vi: yu* in §805.

*alivandāya svāhā* KSA.: *iluvardāya svāhā* TB. ApŚ. See §579.

*achidrā uśijaḥ padānu takṣuḥ* TS.: *achidrośijaḥ kavayaḥ padānutakṣiṣuḥ* (so text, em. by Caland; ms.† *padānitakṣiṣvat*) KS.

*vratāni* (MS. TB. ApŚ. *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhaḥ* (TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. *adābhyaḥ*) MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

### 7. Interchanges of long *ī* and *ū* (*u*)

§623. Here are found only a few stray variants:

*ūrjaṁ saṁsūdena* (KSA. °*sīdena*) TS. KSA. Parts of a horse's body; wholly obscure. TS. comm.: *saṁsūdaṁ saṁtatakṣaraṇo nāsikādiḥ*.

*viṣṇur āprītapā āpyāyyamānaḥ* VS.: *apūtapā ādhūyamānaḥ* TS. The passages are rather low bathos.

*ahir na jūrṇām* (TB. *ahir ha jīrṇām*) *ati sarpati tvacam* RV. SV. TB. Both participles of the dissyllabic root *jṝ*. The *ī* form is regular in Sanskrit, but the Vedic *ū* form survives in Prakrit (Edgerton, *Ind. Stud. C. R. Lanman* 27).

*ṛkṣo jatūḥ suṣilūkā* (*śuśulūkā*) . . ., see §624.

*sam īṁ* (SV. *u*) *rebhāso asvaran* RV. AV. SV.

*dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāḥ* . . . VS.: *pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhruvanūkāśān* ApŚ. See §742.

## CHAPTER XIV. VOCALIC LIQUIDS AND OTHER VOWELS

**§629.** With this chapter we once more enter definitely into the sphere of Prakritism. In a considerable number of cases the variations seem to be, in fact, strictly Prakritic. That is, *a*, *i*, or *u* vowels are historically secondary, and are derived from *ṛ* (*ḷ*) by phonetic changes as in the Prakrit dialects. These are flanked by cases of hyper-Sanskritism, in which an older *a*, *i*, or *u*, which is conceived (perhaps wrongly) as Prakritic, is replaced by *ṛ* in a secondary text. These are not less interesting than the other cases from the phonetic standpoint, as helping to show the wide spread of Prakritism in Vedic times.

**§630.** We also find not a few variations between vocalic *ṛ* and consonantal *r* with another vowel; especially when that other vowel is *i* or *u*, we are reminded of the later pronunciation of *ṛ* as *ri* or *ru*. On the other hand the not infrequent variations between *ṛ* and *ra* or *ar* are mainly matters of ablaut, in so far as they are not lexical. Perhaps the majority of variants in the entire chapter are indeed in some sense lexical; that is they concern, or at least may concern, lexically independent forms. But even then it is still perfectly possible, and indeed highly likely, that Prakritic influences have been influential in the shift, even tho the exact extent of that influence cannot be determined. Cf. our remarks in §20.

### 1. *ṛ* and *a* (one anomalous case of *ā*)

**§631.** We shall quote first the cases which can with most confidence be classed as purely phonetic (Prakritic), beginning with one in the Rigveda itself:

*ava sma durhaṇāyataḥ* (SV. *durhṛṇ°*) RV. SV. The SV. has (secondarily, of course) restored Sanskritic vocalism in the Prakritized form of the RV. The root is originally *hṛṇ*, and this form continued to flourish by the side of the early Prakritism *haṇ*.

*īṣāṁ khṛgalyaṁ śavam* (ApŚ. *khagalyaṁ śapham*) MS. ApŚ. An uncertain part of a wagon is meant. The natural presumption of Prakritism arising from the juxtaposition of the two forms is supported by the form *khṛgala*, RV., if that word (of uncertain meaning) may be assumed to be related.

*paṣṭhavāḍ* (MS. *pṛṣṭhavāḍ*, p.p. *paṣṭavāḍ*) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS. MS. KS.

TB. The p.p. form of MS. suggests that its saṁhitā form may be a hyper-Sanskritism; in any case it is hardly to be doubted that it gives the original form of the word.

*etāṁ saṁkṛṣya* (MS. MŚ. °*kaṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ. The MS. MŚ. forms are not incapable of interpretation as lexically independent words; Boehtlingk chooses the form °*kuṣya*. But they are probably Prakritic after all.

*achalābhiḥ* (KSA. °*rābhiḥ*, MS. [*m*]*atsarābhiḥ*, VS. *ṛkṣalābhiḥ*) *kapiñjalān* VS. TS. MS. KSA. See §184. The AV. knows *ṛcharā*; probably *ṛ* is older than *a*.

**§632.** The following cases seem more or less clearly to contain hyper-Sanskritism in the forms with *ṛ*:

*sarvaṁ taṁ masmasā* (VS. *bhas*°) *kuru* VS. TS. ŚB.: *sarvāṁs tān maṣmaṣā* (MS. †*mṛsmṛsā*) *kuru* MS. KS. TA.: *sarvān ni maṣmaṣākaram* AV. In this onomatopoetic word (cf. Eng. mash) there is no doubt that the *a* vowel is original; MS. pedantically tries to make it sound Sanskritic and 'hifalutin'.

*atirātraṁ varṣan pūrtir āvṛt* (MS. *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ*, KS. *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*) TS. MS. KS. And various other formulas in the same passages, all containing the same exclamations. Despite the lingual *ṭ* in MS. *rāvaṭ*, which might be argued to point to an original *ṛ*, we believe with Keith that *āvṛt* is a mere hyper-Sanskritism, without real standing. Cf. §168.

*vanasade* (MS. *vanarṣade*, KS. *vanṛṣade*) *veṭ* (TS. MS. *vaṭ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §650.

*vasūni cārur* (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, HG. *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhṛj*°, HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. The SMB. form is certainly a hyper-Sanskritism if it is not corrupt; one ms. *bhajāsi*; Stönner 'geniessen' (as if *bhaj*).

*yajuryuktaṁ sāmabhir āktakhaṁ tvā* (MS. *ṛktakhaṁ tā*, p.p. *ṛktakhám iti ṛkta-kháṁ*, *tā* [unaccented]) MS. TA. This is the only case of *ā* varying with *ṛ*; it is highly problematic. See §365.

**§633.** The remaining cases are more clearly lexical in character. In the first we have probably a mere textual error:

*jīvasūr devakāmā* (HG. *vīrasūḥ*) *syonā* ApMB. HG.: *prajāvatī* †*vīrasūr devṛkāmā* AV.: *vīrasūr devakāmā* (AV. *devṛ*°, SMB. °*sūr jīvasūr deva*°, GG. °*sūr jīvasūr*) *syonā* (AV. omits; GG. *jīvapatnī*) RV. AV. SMB. GG. PG. MG. Most mss. of AV. read *deva*° both times, and this is doubtless the true AV. reading, as Whitney observes. Either reading would however make sense.

*indro nāma śruto gṛṇe* (TB. ApŚ. *gaṇe*) SV. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *gṛṇe* is dubious; Benfey suggests taking it as 3d sing. passive; *gaṇe* is simple enough but may be a lect. fac.

*jātena jātam ati sa pra sarsṛte* (TB. *ati sṛt pra sṛṅsate*) RV. MS. TB. Comm. on TB. *sṛt prasṛtam, ati prasṛṅsate 'tiśayena prasraṅsayaty adhaḥ karoti.* TB. is evidently secondary.

**§634.** In the other lexical changes the two forms are less close to each other in form, the vowel change being accompanied by other changes in the words. We omit cases of *bṛhat* and *mahat*, cf. §241.

*vadhūr jajāna* (AV. *jigāya*, MS. KS. *mimāya*) *navagaj* (ŚG. *navakṛj*) *janitrī* AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚG. ApMB. See §46.

*jagdhā vitṛṣṭir* (HG. *vicaṣṭir*) . . . ApMB. HG.: *jagdho maśako jagdhā vitṛṣṭir* (HG. *vicaṣṭir*) . . . ApMB. HG.: *jagdho vyadhvaro jagdho maśako jagdhā vitṛṣṭi svāhā* ApMB.: *jagdho vyadhvaro jagdhā vicaṣṭir jagdho maśakaḥ* HG. See §156.

*ud usriyāḥ sṛjate* (TB. *sacate*) *sūryaḥ sacā* RV. SV. TB. See §3.

*dadhṛg* (TA. *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan* (AV. °*kṣan*) *paryañkhayāte* (TA. °*tai*, AV. *parīṅkhayātai*) RV. AV. TA. See §145.

*ajanti* (SV. *mṛjanti*) *vahniṁ sadanāny* (SV. °*neṣv*) *acha* RV. SV.

*savitā bhṛtyām* (KS. †*manyām*) TS. KS. So ms. of KS.; ed. em. *bhṛtyām.*

*yad adya dugdhaṁ pṛthivīm asṛpta* (TB. ApŚ. *asakta*, MŚ. *abhakta*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See §152.

*satyaujasā dṛṁhaṇā* (MS. *durhṛṇā*, KS. †*dṛhaṇā*) *yaṁ nudethe* TS. MS. KS.: *sacetasau druhvaṇo yau nudethe* AV. See §305.

*somaḥ sutaḥ pūyate ajyamānaḥ* (SV. *suta ṛcyate pūyamānaḥ*) RV. SV. See §57.

*rasena sam asṛkṣmahi* (RV. *agasmahi*, KS. LŚ. *aganmahi*, AV. JB. *aprkṣmahi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB.

*yāv* (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS.† °*tho*, AV. *viśato*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (AV. KS.† °*thaḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

*deva puraścara saghyāsaṁ* (MS. *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsaṁ*) *tvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. But cf. §838; it is doubtful if this belongs here.

*ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny ānṛdhuḥ* (TS. *ānṛhuḥ*, MS. *ānaśuḥ*) AV. TS. MS.

*āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

### 2. *ṛ* and *i* (once *ī*)

**§635.** Here most of the variants can be justified lexically in either form. Perhaps the clearest cases of Prakritism are the two following.

The first is striking because of the persistence with which the Prakritic form occurs, in three out of four texts; and even in the fourth a v. l. has it:

*tejo yaśasvi sthaviraṁ samiddham* (ŚG. *samṛddham*, v. l. *sami°*) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34; *samiddham* is pretty clearly for *samṛddham*.

*dadhiṣa ehi* ApŚ.: *dadhṛṣy ehi* MS. The forms are voc. sing. fem., and the first can hardly be anything but a Prakritic form of root *dhṛṣ*; so apparently Caland, who renders 'Kühne'.

To these may be appended another, in which however *i* for *ṛ* seems to be a textual corruption:

*ayaṁ śatrūn jayatu jarhṛṣāṇaḥ* (AŚ.† *jarhiṣ°*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. But elsewhere AŚ. has the vikāra: *ahaṁ śa° jayāmi jarhṛṣāṇaḥ*, indicating that *jarhiṣ°* is corrupt.

**§636.** An interesting case, with a sort of lexical hyper-Sanskritism, is the next; *gotrabhṛd* is probably felt sophistically as 'supporting the gens', but is fundamentally hyper-Sanskritic (the true epithet of Indra can only be the familiar *gotrabhid*), cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34:

*puraṁdaro gotrabhid* (MS. *°bhṛd*, all mss.; TB. *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

**§637.** In words closely related in meaning, when the only or chief difference of form is the shift between *i* and *ṛ*, it is fair to assume some degree of Prakritic influence, even if the forms are both historically correct:

*jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV. *jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān* TA. The roots *ṛ* and *i* are synonyms. But Poona ed. of TA. *jāmi mitvā*.

*ādityānāṁ prasitir* (MS. *°sṛtir*) *hetir ugrā* MS. TB. TA. 'Extension': 'progress'. Cf. next two.

*prayatiś ca me prasitiś* (MS. KS. *°sṛtiś*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. prec. and next.

*dīrghām anu prasitim* (KS. *samṛtim*) *āyuṣe dhām* (KS. *tvā*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *dīrghām anu prasṛtiṁ saṁspṛśethām* MS. Cf. prec. two.

*tāṁ dhīrāso anudṛśya* (VSK. *°diśya*) *yajante* (KS. †*anudṛśyāyajanta kavayaḥ*) VSK. TS. KS. TB.: *tāṁ dhīrāsaḥ kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta* MS.: *tām u dhīrāso anudiśya yajante* VS. ŚB. *anu-diś* 'assign': *anu-dṛś* 'survey'.

*taṁ ghed* (MS. *hed*) *agnir vṛdhāvati* (MS. *vidh°*) RV. TS. MS. In the original there are two words, *vṛdhā avati*. MS. is obscure and probably corrupt; p.p. *vadhā* (sic!), *avati*.

**§638.** To this same group belongs the single case involving long *ī*; it is of doubtful validity, since most MŚ. mss. read °*mṛte* with the rest, and probably this should be adopted in the text. But the form as printed can be interpreted as a negative past participle of root *mi* 'change, alter':

*tasmin sīdāmṛte pratitiṣṭha* (MŚ. text *sīdāmīte pratitiṣṭhan*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Add to VV I §250.

**§639.** Still pretty close to each other in meaning are the variants between *hita* (or *dhita*), participle of *dhā*, in compounds, and *bhṛta* (once *hṛta*), from *bhṛ* (*hṛ*):

*sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu* (Ppp. *pipartu*) AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitaṁ dadhātu* TB.

*gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtaṁ guhā sat* VS.: *ga*° *nāma nihitaṁ guhāsu* TA. MahānU. And others; §855.

*devair devīḥ samāhitāḥ* RVKh. (but Scheftelowitz °*hṛtāḥ*): *devīr devaiḥ samāhṛtāḥ* (TB. °*bhṛtāḥ*) SV. TB.

*yad agne pūrvaṁ prabhṛtaṁ* (AŚ. *prahitaṁ*, MŚ. *nihitaṁ*) *padaṁ hi te* TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*hiraṇye 'smin samāhitāḥ* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz °*hṛtāḥ*, HG. °*bhṛtāḥ*) RVKh. ApMB. HG.

*garbha iva* (SV. KU. [Poley's ed.] *ivet*) *subhṛto garbhiṇībhiḥ* (RV. *sudhito garbhiṇīṣu*) RV. SV. KU.

*sūryaraśmiṁ samābhṛtam* TS. TB.: *sūryāñ* (p.p. °*yāt*) *śukraṁ samābhṛtam* MS.: *sūrye santaṁ* (KS. TA. *śukraṁ*) *samāhitam* (KS. TA. *samābhṛtam*) VS. KS. ŚB. TA.

**§640.** Rather remoter are the remaining lexical variants:

*priyo ma hṛdo* (MŚ. *hito*, v. l. *huto*) *'si* (MŚ. †*bhava*) TS. MŚ.

*imā* (MS. *idaṁ*) *brahma pīpihi* (MS. *pipṛhi*, v. l. *pipīhi*) *saubhagāya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*vṛṣajūtir no 'vṛtaḥ* (SV. *'vitā*) RV. SV. *a-vṛ-taḥ: av-i-tā* (nom. ag., root *av*).

*hotrāvidaḥ* (RV. °*vida*, TB. °*vṛdha*) *stomataṣṭāso arkaiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB.

*mā no vidad* (KS. *vṛdhad*) *vṛjinā* (KS. TB. ApŚ. °*anā*) *dveṣyā* † *yā* AV. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*indrartubhir brahmaṇā vāvṛdhānaḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *indra ṛbhubhir brahmaṇā saṁvidānaḥ* ŚŚ.

*āñjanena sarpiṣā saṁ viśantu* (AV. *spṛśantām*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.

*atrāha tad urugāyasya viṣṇoḥ* (RV. N. *vṛṣṇaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Viṣṇu is meant even in RV.; later texts substitute the name for the epithet.

*prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvirīr* (SV. *prāntarikṣāt sthāvirīs te*) *asṛkṣata* RV. SV.

*vācaspate hṛdvidhe nāman* (MS. MŚ. *hinvidhe*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. MŚ. All mss. and p.p. of MS. agree on the strange form. Even *hṛdvidhe* is none too clear (TA. comm. *hṛdayasya vidhātaḥ cittaprerakety arthaḥ*).

*vṛtrasyāsi* (*mitra*°) . . . see §235.

*made-made hi no dadiḥ* (TB. *daduḥ;* MS. saṁh. mss. *dadṛk*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. See §622.

*adṛṁhathāḥ śarkarābhis triviṣṭapi* (MŚ. *tribhṛṣṭibhiḥ*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §222.

*īśāno vi ṣyā* (=*ṣiyā;* TS. *sṛjā*) *dṛtim* AV. TS. MS. KS.

*upa yajñam asthita* (AV. comm. *astṛta,* MŚ. *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RV. Kh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ.

*dame-dame suṣṭutyā* (TS. °*tīr,* MS.° *tī,* AŚ. ŚŚ. °*tir*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV. °*nau,* AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iyānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §236.

[*eṣa iṣāya* (AV. Berlin ed. *ṛṣaye,* emendation) *māmahe* AV. ŚŚ. Keep *iṣāya* with AV. mss.]

### 3. *r* (*r̄*) and *u*(*ū*)

**§641.** The not very numerous variants under this head seem to be prevailingly Prakritic in character. We should expect *u* for *r* especially in the vicinity of labial consonants; but except in the first variant (before *m*), we hardly find this to be the case; the only other instances with labials (e.g. *bhṛ* and *bhū*) are lexical. The most clearly Prakritic cases are:

*tvaṣṭṛmantas* (MS. MŚ. *tvaṣṭṛi*°, ApŚ. *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. *tvaṣṭṛīmatī* (TS. ApŚ. and TA. Poona ed. *tvaṣṭī*°) *te sapeya* TS. TA. ApŚ. The Taittirīya form is feminized.

*ut* (Vait. *adhāma*) *sakthyā* (ŚŚ. Vait. °*yor*) *ava gudaṁ* (TS. KSA. ApŚ. *sakthyor gṛdaṁ*) *dhehi* VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. Altho *gṛda* seems not to be recorded elsewhere, it may be presumed to be the original form of *guda*.

*etāṁ saṁkṛṣya* (MS. MŚ. °*kaṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §631.

*ṛtaprajātā* (MŚ. *uta pra*°) *bhaga id vaḥ syāma* TS. MŚ. This may be called a lexical variant, since MŚ. makes sense; but it is doubtless fundamentally Prakritic.

**§642.** Some variants are on their face hyper-Sanskritic, but probably both are mere textual errors or corruptions:

*sa nirudhyā nahuṣo* (TB. Conc. *nahṛṣo*) *yahvo agniḥ* RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *nahuṣo*, the only possible reading.

*devaṁ manaḥ kuto* (AV. *kṛto*) *adhi prajātam* RV. AV. Altho all mss. of AV. apparently agree on *kṛto* (if we understand Whitney's meaning), it seems that we must read *kuto*, with Whitney.

*made-made hi no dadiḥ* (*daduḥ, dadṛk*), see §§622, 640.

**§643.** More purely lexical variants are:

*priyo me hṛdo* (MŚ. *hito* or *huto*) *'si* (MŚ. †*bhava*) TS. MŚ. See §640.

*agner* (ApŚ. *devā*) *akṛṇvann* (RV. *apunann*) *uśijo amṛtyave* (RV. °*vaḥ;* ApŚ. *amartyave*) RV. MS. ApŚ.

*vaniṣṭhor hṛdayād* (AV.* *udarād*) *adhi* RV. AV. (both) ApMB.

*upa yajñam asthita* (*astṛta, astu no*) . . ., see §640.

*avimuktacakra* (°*rā*) *āsīran* PG.: *vivṛttacakrā āsīnāḥ* HG. ApMB. Note labial consonants preceding *ṛ*: *u*.

*āyurdā deva* (AV. *agne*) *jarasaṁ vṛṇānaḥ* (ApMB. ApG. HG. *gṛṇ*°) AV. MS. KS. MŚ. ApMB. HG. ApG.: *āyurdā* (VS. ŚB. *āyuṣmān*) *agne haviṣo juṣāṇaḥ* (VS. ŚB. ŚG. *haviṣā vṛdhānaḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

**§644.** The only cases of long *ū* and *ṛ* concern compounds of the roots *bhū* and *bhṛ*, which are practically synonyms here:

*adbhyaḥ saṁbhṛtaḥ* (TA. MahānU. ApŚ. *saṁbhūtaḥ*) *pṛthivyai* (MS. KS.† °*vyā*) *rasāc ca* (KS. *rasaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. KŚ. ApŚ. PG.

*saṁveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai* (PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. also *triṣṭubhe* and *jagatyai;* TS. ApŚ. *gāyatriyās triṣṭubho jagatyā anuṣṭubhaḥ pañktyā*) *chandase* (TS. ApŚ. omit) *'bhibhūtaye* (TS. ApŚ. *abhibhūtyai*, ŚŚ. *'bhibhṛtyai*, KŚ. *'bhibhūtyai*) *svāhā* TS. PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ.: *ariṣṭyā avyathyai saṁveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryā* (also *triṣṭubho, jagatyā, anuṣṭubho, pañktyā*) *abhibhūtyai svāhā* ApŚ.

Once *ṝ* is corruptly written *ū* in a single ms.:

*tāsāṁ svasṝr ajanayat* (MS. *svar ajanan*, KS. ms.† *svasūr* [ed. em. *svasṝr*] *ajanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS. MS. KS.

### 4. *ḷ* and *u*

**§645.** There are two cases, both concerning the same very interesting form. A perfect middle participle of root *kḷp* appears twice in ApŚ. with *u* for *ḷ*. There is no doubt whatever of the correct interpretation of the form, which is established by the KS. variant, with correct Sanskrit vocalism. It is the clearest kind of Prakritism, but seems not to be recorded in any grammar or lexicon, nor in Whitney's Roots.

*saṁvatsara ṛtubhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ* (KS. °*bhiś cākḷpānaḥ*, ApŚ. °*bhiś cākupānaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ.

*satyaṁ pūrvair* (KS. °*vebhir*) *ṛṣibhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ* (KS.† °*bhiś cākḷpānaḥ*, ApŚ. *cākupānaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ.

### 5. *ṛ* and *o*

§**646.** In a single lexical variant, showing forms from the roots *gṛh* and *guh:*

*gṛhyopagṛhyo mayobhūr* . . . ŚG.: *gohya ṭupagohyo* . . . SMB. PG.

### 6. *ṛ* and *ar*

§**647.** The variants under this head are not very numerous, and are almost exclusively concerned with ablaut. That is, the variant forms are nearly all nil-grade and full-grade formations from the same root, in verb inflexion or noun formation. Usually both forms can be justified by regular grammar, altho a number of them are grammatically more or less irregular.

§**648.** The following concern various finite verb forms:

*pary agnim ahṛṣata* (VSK. ṭarṣata or *aharṣata*) RV. VS. VSK.: *parīme 'gnim arṣata* AV. (Ppp. ms. *aharṣata*; Barret *JAOS* 43. 99 em. *ahṛṣata.*) Sigmatic aorists from *hṛ*, weak-grade or guṇa; the latter is ungrammatical, and if it is to be accepted (cf. VSK. and AVPpp.) it is to be regarded as a blend of *ahṛṣata* and *arṣata.*

*bahu hāyam* (MS. *ha vā ayam*) *avṛṣad* (TS. *avṛṣād*, MS. *avarṣīd*) *iti śruta rāvat* (MS. °*vaṭ*, TS. *śrutar āvṛt*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS. See VV I p. 129.

*praty u adarśy* (TB. *uv ṭadṛśy*) *āyatī* RV. SV. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. This can only be a 3d sing. aor. pass., with *ṛ* in TB. anomalously for *ar* (comm. *dṛśyate*). To be added to VV I §281.

*bhartam* (VS. ŚB. *bhṛtam*) *agniṁ purīṣyam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See VV I p. 188.

*agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva* (TS. *abhi na ā vartasva*, KS. *abhi no nivartasva*, MS. *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś. *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.: *abhī na ā vavṛtsva* RV. See VV I p. 126.

*punar ūrjā ni vartasva* (Kauś. *ūrjā vavṛtsva*) SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

*ime jīvā vi mṛtair āvavṛtran* (TA. *āvavarttin*, Poona ed. °*rtin*) RV. AV. TA. See VV I p. 42.

*nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate* (AA. *dadharṣa*, ŚŚ. *dadharṣayā*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. See VV I p. 89.

**§649.** In various participles and gerundives:

*atirātraṁ varṣan pūrtir āvṛt* (MS. *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ*, KS. *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS. See VV I p. 147.

*jāgaritāya* (KSA. *jāgṛtāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. Both equivalent participles.

*adhā te viṣṇo viduṣā cid ardhyaḥ* (TB. *ṛdhyaḥ*) RV. TB. Gerundives; cf. Whitney §963b, 4.

*dāma grīvāsv avimokyaṁ yat* (TS. *avicartyam*) AV. TS.: *pāśaṁ grīvāsv avicartyam* (VS. ŚB. °*cṛtyam*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec. AVPpp. according to Whitney has °*cṛtyam*.

**§650.** In other noun and adjective formations:

*śaṁ methir* (ApMB. *śaṁ te methī*) *bhavatu śaṁ yugasya tardma* (ApMB. *tṛdma*) AV. ApMB. No stem *tṛdman* is otherwise known.

*atandrāso yuvatayo* †*vibhṛtram* (TB. *vibhartram*) RV. TB. Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *bibhartram*. Agni is referred to; TB. comm. *poṣakam*.

*aprajastāṁ pautramṛtyum* ApMB. HG.: *aprajasyaṁ pautramartyam* SMB. Comm. on SMB. repeats the form, glossing *putrasaṁbandhimaraṇam*.

*pra sa* (tead *su*?) *mṛtyuṁ yuyotana* HG.: *pra sumartyaṁ* (ApMB. *su mṛtyuṁ*) *yuyotana* ApMB. SMB.: *prathamam artiṁ yuyotu naḥ* MG.

*agner* (ApŚ. *devā*) *akṛṇvann* (RV. *apunann*) *uśijo amṛtyave* (RV. °*vaḥ*, ApŚ. *amartyave*) RV. MS. ApŚ. In ApŚ. a blended stem *-martyu* (fused from *marta*, *martya*, and *mṛtyu*); cf. prec.

*jīvātave na mṛtyave* (PB. *martave*) RV. PB. Infinitive in PB.

*sarūpavarṣā ehi* MS.: *sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahi* SV. JB.

*vanasade* (MS. *vanarṣade*, KS. *vanṛṣade*) *veṭ* (TS. MS. *vaṭ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The stem *vanar*, equivalent to *vana*, is found in RV. in compounds. It does not occur independently, and *vanṛ* is not recorded even in compounds except here. The next preceding phrase in KS. is *nṛṣade veṭ*; the *ṛ* of *nṛ* has perhaps been responsible for *vanṛ*°.

*devāḥ pāntu yajamānaṁ nyarthāt* (AV. *nirṛthāt*) RV. AV. TS. Synonyms, both meaning 'perdition'; *nirṛtha* also Rigvedic.

[*niṣkartā* (RV. KŚ. *iṣ*°, ApMB. Conc. wrongly *niṣkṛtā*) *vihrutaṁ* (PB. TA. ApMB. *vihṛtaṁ*) *punaḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB.]

**§651.** Miscellaneous and apparently unrelated words:

*pratiśrutkāyā artanam* (TB. *ṛtulam*) VS. TB. *artanam*, comm. *duḥkhinam*; BR. 'reviler'; *ṛtulam*, comm. *deśarājavārtākathanaśīlam*.

*sarṇīkāya tvā* TS.: *sṛdīkāya tvā* MS. Both words wholly obscure; said to mean 'water'.

*dviṣas taradhyā* (ApŚ.° *yai*) *ṛṇayā na īyase* (SV. *īrase*) RV. SV. KB. AB. ApŚ.: *dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveṇeyase* AV.

### 7. *ṛ* and *ār*

**§652.** Here we find only a few cases, in most of which *ār* shows the vriddhi of secondary derivation, varying with the primary word with *ṛ*. Once a form with prefixed preposition *ā* varies with the same form without *ā*:

*aprajāstvaṁ mārtavatsaṁ* AV.: *aprajastāṁ pautramṛtyum* ApMB. HG. Others, §650.

*ārtavā* (MS. KS. *ṛtavo*) *adhipataya* (MS. KS. *'dhi°*) *āsan* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt* TS.

*ṛtavo 'sṛjyanta* VS. TS. ŚB.: *ārtavā asṛjyanta* MS. KS.

*agnir gṛhapatīnām* (MS. KS. *gārhapatyānām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ārtyai* (TB. *ṛtyai*) *janavādinam* VS. TB. Stem *ṛti*, from *ṛ: ārti*, from *ā* + *ṛ*.

### 8. *ṛ* and *ir*, *ur*, *ūr*

**§653.** Here are found only a handful of cases, almost all of which seem highly questionable or certainly corrupt. Even corruptions are interesting in such a case, however, as signs of phonetic tendencies in later times at least. As to *ṛ: ir*, we find just two cases in which the saṁhitā mss. of MS. (the same text each time!) read *ṛ* for proper *ir*. In both cases the p.p. points to the reading *ir*. Von Schroeder inconsistently retains *ṛ* in one case and emends to *ir* in the other; there is as much, or as little, justification in one as the other:

*nama ānirhatebhyaḥ* (MS. *ānṛ°*, p.p. *ānir°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu* (MS. mss. *nakṛṇu*, ed. em. *nakir ṇu*; p.p. *nakis, tu*) RV. VS. MS. KS.

**§654.** Under *ṛ: ur* we also find only a couple of cases, equally dubious:

*agnir dvārā vy ṛṇvati* RV. TB. Conc. quotes *urṇvati* for TB.; but Poona ed. text and comm. *ṛṇ°* without v. l.

*satyaujasā dṛṁhaṇā* (MS. *durhṛṇā*, KS. †*dṛhaṇā*) *yaṁ nudethe* TS. MS. KS. And others: see §305.

*nābhimṛśe* (MS. KS. *nābhidhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS. *tanuvā*) *jarbhurāṇaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *jarhṛṣāṇaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Might also be classed in §643.

**§655.** Of *ṛ: ūr* we find only the following, in which the root *ṛ* varies with the so-called 'root' *ūrṇu*, really a form of *vṛ:*
*tveṣas te dhūma ṛṇvati* (AV. *ūrṇotu*) RV. AV. SV. LŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

### 9. *ṛ* and *ra, rā*

**§656.** In so far as this variation is properly phonetic, it is mainly a matter of that form of ablaut which is called by modern westerners 'Saṁprasāraṇa', with a misapplication of a term used differently in Hindu grammar. On this see Wackernagel I pp. 69–71, and cf. the similar variations of *i* and *u* with *ya* and *va* in the next chapter. There is one case, also, of *ṛ* varying with *ra* which stands for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant, by the phonetic law formulated in Wackernagel I p. 212 f. There are likewise a few variants which concern morphology (verb inflexion, and noun formation): and a few that are purely lexical, with some border-line cases which seem to be half-lexical, half-morphological.

**§657.** The cases of so-called Saṁprasāraṇa concern to some extent roots which are familiarly known in both forms (such as *grah, grabh*), to some extent rarer and more doubtful cases which are not recorded in Wackernagel's excellent treatment of the subject. They thus supplement our previous knowledge on the point. We begin with several variations of *grabh, gṛbh*, on which see especially VV I §281:
*agṛbhīt* VSK.: *agrabhīt* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ.
*agṛbhīṣata* VS.: *agrabhīṣata* KS.
*udgrābheṇod agrabhīt* (MS. *ajigrabhat*, KS. *ajīgrabham*, and *ajīgṛbham*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
*agnaye tvā mahyaṁ . . . pratigrahītre* (ŚŚ. °*gṛhṇate*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ.
*prāṇo dātra edhi . . . pratigrahītre* (ŚŚ. °*gṛhṇate*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ. The same with *hayo dātra . . .*

Similarly ablaut grades of another root, in various verb forms:
*viṣe viṣam aprkthāḥ* (*aprāg api*) AV. (both)

**§658.** In radical syllables of various noun formations the same change is familiarly known. Most of the following cases are sporadic and are not recorded in Wackernagel l. c.; some of the forms are so obscure that no theory of historic origin can be regarded as certain, and the phonetic shift may perhaps be secondary and analogical:
*hradaṁ* (MS. *hṛdaṁ*) *na hi tvā nyṛṣanty ūrmayaḥ* RV. MS. 'Like streams to a pool, flow down to thee (the hymns, *brahmāṇi*).' The ultimate etymology of *hrada* is not clear, but surely *hṛda* can be nothing but a phonetic variant for it, presumably *saṁprasāraṇa*. Cf. next.

*namo nīveṣyāya* (p.p. *ni°*) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS.: *namo hradayyāya* (VS. *hṛdayyāya*, KS. *hradavyāya*) *ca niveṣyāya* (TS. *°ṣyyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. KS. See §248. The MS. and VS. forms simulate derivatives of *hṛd* and *hṛdaya*, but these can hardly be in place here; the adjoining word means 'whirlpool' and apparently we must think of the same form *hṛda* = *hrada* found in MS. in the preceding variant.

*pṛkṣasya* (ArS. *prakṣ°*) *vṛṣṇo aruṣasya nū sahaḥ* (ArS. *mahaḥ*) RV. ArS. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Svidh. *pṛkṣa* is a name or epithet of a horse; its etymology is obscure, and *prakṣa* has not been recorded elsewhere.

*nimrado* (ApŚ. *nimṛdo*) *'si* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Apparently different grades of root *mṛd*, Wackernagel p. 71.

*avātirataṁ bṛsayasya* (TB. *prathayasya*) *śeṣaḥ* RV. TB. See §69.

*bhṛjaś chandaḥ* MS.: *bhrajaś chandaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *bhrājaś chandaḥ* KS.† (but v. l. *bhra°*). The word is said to mean 'fire', and apparently comes from the root *bhrāj*, which is not mentioned as such by Wackernagel l. c. but may be related to *bhrajj*, Wackernagel p. 69; cf. also *bhargas* etc. There is much confusion in the forms of this root or these roots. Cf. next.

*kṣuro bhrajaś* (TS. *bhṛjvāñ*, MS. *bhṛjaś*, VS. *bhrājaś*, stigmatized by Conc. as erroneous, hardly with justice) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

*ārdraḥ prathasnur* (MŚ. †*pṛthusnur*, v. l. *pratha°*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §609, and Wackernagel p. 71.

*svasty apsu vṛjane svarvati* (MG. †*vrajane svarvataḥ*) RV. AB. MG. Really a lexical variant; *vrajana* 'way' is suggested by *pathyāsu* of the preceding pāda. But some MG. mss. read with RV.

[*digbhyaś cakravākaḥ* (KSA. Conc. *cakṛv°* with the sole ms.; ed. em. *cakrav°*) TS. KSA. This is probably a mere corruption; if genuine it would have to be a purely phonetic variant, for the meaning is certainly the same.]

**§659.** The roots *rādh* and *ṛdh*, tho separated in the history of the language, and tho often regarded as unrelated, are at least quite possibly of identical origin; and certainly the repeated variation between them belongs phonetically with this group. Cf. also §806:

*ṛdhyāsam adya makhasya śiraḥ* MS. TA. ApŚ.: *makhasya te 'dya śiro rādhyāsaṁ devayajane pṛthivyāḥ* VS. ŚB. [The references to MS. MŚ. in Conc. seem to be erroneous.]

*tan me rādhyatām* VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. ŚŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB.: *tan me samṛdhyatām* (Kauś. *samṛddham*) TB. SMB. Kauś.

*harivato graham ṛdhyāsam* KS.: *harivato hariyojanasya harivantaṁ grahaṁ rādhyāsam* MS.

**§660.** The single case noted of *ṛ* varying with *ra* for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant (Wackernagel I p. 212 f.) is:

*saṁsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro ganeṣu* MS.: *saṁsraṣṭā* (AV. v. l. *saṁsṛṣṭā*) *sa yudha indro gaṇena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.

**§661.** From the root *śṛ*, also quoted as *śrā* 'boil', are found the two participles *śṛta* and *śrāta*, which exchange in the following, in which *śṛta* happens to be secondary, but it is equally old otherwise:

*suśrātaṁ* (AV. *suśṛtaṁ*) *manye tad ṛtaṁ navīyaḥ* RV. AV.

**§662.** The remaining variants cannot be called purely phonetic. In verb inflexion forms in *ṛ* vary repeatedly with other forms in which a morphological *a* (thematic vowel, or part of a different personal ending) is added, producing *ra*:

*āpo gṛheṣu jāgrata* HG.: *āpo jāgṛta* MS. KS. MŚ.: *āpo haviḥṣu jāgṛta* ApŚ.: *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG. See VV I p. 123.

*ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrati* (KS. *jāgṛtha*) AV. KS. See VV I p. 221.

*yajamānāya jāgṛta* ApŚ.: *saputrikāyāṁ jāgratha* PG. See VV I p. 96.

*te na ātmasu jāgrati* (KS.† *jāgṛta*) AV. KS.

*yat paśur māyum akṛta* TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. GG.: *yad vaśā māyum akrata* Kauś. See VV I p. 257.

*yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS. *bibhrato*) *jātavedāḥ* AV. KS. Both forms are textually uncertain (for variants see VV I p. 158), and obscure as to interpretation.

**§663.** Similarly in noun formation, a stem in *ṛ* varies with a derivative in suffixal *a*:

*hotrakāṇāṁ* (MŚ. *hotṛk°*, v. l. *hotrak°*) *camasādhvaryavaḥ* . . . ApŚ. MŚ. The words *hotṛka* 'secondary *hotṛ*' and *hotraka* 'pertaining to the sacrifice (*hotra*)' are finally synonymous names for a certain priest. See Caland on ApŚ. 12. 23. 4.

**§664.** Finally, we find similar shifts in words which are lexically quite unrelated; notably three between the stem *kratu* and forms of the root *kṛ*. Both are important in the ritual, and the repeated interchange may well signify an association of them in the minds of the Vedic poets, by popular etymology:

*puñjikasthalā* (KS. †*puñjiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS. ŚB. *kratu°*) *cāpsarasau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Proper names, and so naturally flexible.

*saṁsṛṣṭam ubhayaṁ kṛtam* (KŚ. *abhayaṁ kratum*) KS. TB. ApŚ. KŚ.

*indra kratvā* (MS. *indraḥ kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV. MS. KS. The MS., which is certainly secondary and poor in *indraḥ*, reads the

gerund *kṛtvā* for *kratvā* by a phonetically easy slip, which is banal to the point of senselessness.

*mainā arvā reṇukakāṭaḥ prṇak* (MS.† [v. l. *pṛṇak*] KS. *praṇak*) MS. KS. TB. *pra-ṇak*, from *naś*, 'attain', with *pra*; *pṛṇak* from *pṛc*.

*indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt* (ŚG. *śramo dadat*) MS. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. See §277.

**§665.** The other lexical variants are more remote from each other in sound, and the resemblance becomes very vague:

*drapsaś caskanda pṛthivīm anu dyām* (RV. *prathamāṅ anu dyūn*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vague assonance only.

*taṁ tvaṁ viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ kratūn* (KS. °*bhya ṛtūn*) *kalpaya* KS. ApŚ.

*sā* (read *sa*?) *naḥ prajāṁ paśūn pāhy araṇīyamānaḥ* (p.p. *aháḥ, ánī, yámānaḥ*!) MS.: *sa no rucaṁ dhehy ahṛṇīyamānaḥ* TA. The MS. is hopelessly corrupt; probably read *ahṛṇīyamānaḥ*.

*atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam* (KS. *bhadrā vṛṣaṇā agṛbhṇām*) RV. VS. TS. KS.

*iḍāsmān anu vastāṁ ghṛtena* ApŚ. MŚ.: *iḍaivāsmāṅ* (RVKh. *ilaiva vām*) *anu vastāṁ vratena* RVKh. AV. Scheftelowitz reads *ghṛtena* in RVKh.

*idam ahaṁ sarpāṇāṁ . . . grathnāmi* (MŚ. mss. *kṛtsnāmi*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47; MŚ. perhaps corruption for *grath*°.

*nadayor vivratayoḥ śūra indraḥ* RV.: *na devo vṛtaḥ śūra indraḥ* SV. See §828.

*viśvair devai rātibhiḥ saṁrarāṇaḥ* (MG. *devair ṛtubhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ*) ApMB. MG.

*āvitte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau* MS. KS.: *āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate* TS. TB. In this and the next, TS. has interchanged the two old adjectives *ṛtāvṛdh* and *dhṛtavrata* (both RV.).

*āvittau* (TS. *āvinnau*) *mitrāvaruṇau dhṛtavratau* (TS. °*ṇāv ṛtāvṛdhau*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

### 10. *ṛ* and *ri*, *rī*

**§666.** Since *ṛ* and *ri* have been pronounced alike for centuries by most Hindus, it follows on the one hand that such variations are especially open to the suspicion of corruption, and on the other that genuine variations of this sort may be expected to occur fairly early, as forerunners of the later change of *ṛ* to *ri* (which occurs, sporadically but not seldom, in the middle Indic dialects). On the whole subject see provisionally Wackernagel I pp. 31 ff. It is a well-known fact that Hindu mss., including those of Vedic works, show much fluctuation in this regard. As a single instance, which might be multiplied indefinitely,

we call attention to Whitney's note on AV. 5. 14. 3, apropos of the pāda: *riśasyeva parīśāsam*. So the Berlin ed. prints it. But Whitney informs us that most mss. read *ṛśasyeva*, and observes that this is a common phenomenon in them. In this case Whitney advises adopting their reading into the text; we agree with him. Against most mss., but with some of them and with the comm., Whitney would also read *ṛśyapadīṁ vṛṣadatīm* in AV. 1. 18. 4a, where both editions have *riśya*°.

**§667.** These AV. cases do not differ in principle in the slightest degree from the following readings of MS., which presents *triṣu* for *tṛṣu* (adverb 'eagerly', from root *tṛṣ*) and *tvaṣṭri* for the god-name *tvaṣṭṛ*. We agree with Von Schroeder's judgment in keeping the readings of his mss., despite the unquestionable meaning of the words. In short, we believe that the Maitrāyaṇīyas pronounced the words in this way, and that we are dealing with real phonetic (dialectic) variants, not 'corruptions' in any proper sense of that word:

*tṛṣu* (MS. *triṣu*) *yad annā veviṣad vitiṣṭhase* RV. SV. MS. ApŚ.

*tṛṣucyavaso* (MS. *triṣu*°) *juhvo nāgneḥ* RV. MS.

*tvaṣṭṛmantas* (MS. MŚ. *tvaṣṭri*°; ApŚ. *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Others, see §641.

**§668.** Similarly, but in a very much more wide-spread and insistent fashion, the word for 'worm' is frequently and in many texts written *krimi*, altho its original form seems to have been *kṛmi* (Wackernagel I p. 33; Uhlenbeck, *Etym. Wbch.*, s. v.). Several variants show both forms of this common word:

*hatas te atriṇā krimiḥ* (GG. *kṛ*°) SMB. GG.: *atriṇā tvā krime hanmi* TA. ApŚ.: *atrivad vaḥ krimayo hanmi* AV.

*hatāḥ krimayaḥ* (but Jörgensen text and comm. *kṛ*°) *śāśātikāḥ sanīlamakṣikāḥ* SMB.: *āśātikāḥ kṛmaya* (but Poona ed. *kri*°, v. l. *kṛ*°) *iva* TA. Note that different editions differ on both texts!

*nīlaṁgoḥ* (MS. °*gave*) *kṛmiḥ* (TS. *kri*°) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

**§669.** So far we have mentioned only cases in which it appears that the regular or original form had *ṛ*, not *ri*. But the opposite is also not uncommon. It may be regarded as a kind of hyper-Sanskritism; or at least, it presupposes a tendency to pronounce *ṛ* and *ri* in a similar manner, at any rate in certain linguistic spheres. In some cases, to be sure, as in the preceding group, the tradition of the mss. is confused and we may be confronted with late corruptions. But it would be very rash to make this assumption as a general explanation of the most of such cases. The fact seems to be that this pronunciation of *ṛ* as *ri* is much more ancient than has often been supposed, and must have had some

sort of existence in Vedic times, however limited geographically or socially.

**§670.** Take for instance the proper name *Trita*, which is quite definitely established in that form as prehistoric (Avestan *Thrita*). Yet thrice in a single hymn of AV. (6. 113. 1 and 3) it is spelled *Tṛta*, according to all mss. known to both editions. In such cases we should not emend, as Shankar Pandit does, even tho the TB. parallel for two of the pādas (the third is not recorded elsewhere) gives the usual and proper form *Trita*. In short, we feel no right to assume that the Atharvan tradition had any other form than that presented by all mss.:

*tṛta enaṁ* (read *enan*; TB. *trita etan*) *manuṣyeṣu mamṛje* (TB. *mā*°) AV. TB.

*tṛte* (TB. *trite*) *devā amṛjataitad enaḥ* AV. TB.

**§671.** There is little doubt that the MS. form *āpapṛvān*, which evidently gave Whitney considerable trouble in his *Roots*, is simply a phonetic variant for *āpaprivān* (perfect active participle to *prā*) instead of an independent participle of *pṛ*, as Whitney questioningly suggests. The MS. p.p. has °*pri*°.

*āpaprivān* (MS. *āpapṛvān*) *rodasī antarikṣam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

**§672.** The verb *sredhati* makes it clear that *sridh* is the proper form of the stem found in the next variant. In fact many AV. mss. read *sridhaḥ*, which Whitney regards as the true AV. reading:

*ati niho ati sridhaḥ* (AV. MS. *sṛdhaḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

**§673.** In the next *krivi* is the only form known to RV., and so may perhaps be assumed as the original; both etymology and meaning of the word are unknown:

*ā va indraṁ kriviṁ* (SV. Svidh. *kṛviṁ*) *yathā* RV. SV. ŚŚ. Svidh.

*adha tviṣīmāṅ abhy ojasā kriviṁ* (SV. *kṛviṁ*, v. l. *kriviṁ*) *yudhābhavat* RV. SV.

**§674.** According to Wackernagel I §180b, *ṛ* was regularly replaced by *ri* before *y*, by phonetic law; when *ṛ* appears before *y*, as in the majority of texts in the next variant, it would then be due to analogy. In the second variant the original (AV.) reading was pronounced *pitriyāc*, and for this TA. *pitṛyāc* is merely a phonetic variant, with *ṛ* for proper *ri*:

*vayaṁ rāṣṭre jāgṛyāma* (MS.† KS.† °*mā*, TS. and p.p. of MS. *jāgriyāma*) *purohitāḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*dyaur naḥ pitā pitṛyāc* (TA. *pitṛyāc*) *chaṁ bhavāti* (TA. *bhavāsi*) AV. TA.

Cf. the next where the RVKh. reading is doubtful:

*āvyuṣaṁ jāgṛtād aham* AV.: *dvyuṣaṁ jāgriyād aham* RVKh. Aufrecht.

but Scheftelowitz *āvyuṣaṁ jāgryām* (em., for ms. °*yāmy*) *aham.* Cf. VV I. p. 102.

**§675.** The epithet of Rudra concerned in the next is of wholly obscure origin and meaning; presumably MS. is secondary:

*vikirida* (KS. °*ḍa*, VS. °*dra*, MS. *vyakṛḍa*) *vilohita* VS. TS. MS. KS.

**§676.** Finally a few corruptions and false readings:

*ya ṛte* (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad ṛte*, PB. †*yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. ApMB.: *jari cetīd* (mss. *cetid*, p.p. *cya iti it*) *abhiśiṣaḥ* MS. (grossly corrupt; cf. §193).

*saṁ tvā riṇanti* (Vait. *ṛṇanti*) LŚ. KŚ. Vait. Note the anomalous sandhi in Vait.; *sam-ṛ* and *saṁ-ri* would be virtual synonyms; but a 9th class present from *ṛ* is anomalous (allowed by the Dhātup., but not known in literature according to Whitney's *Roots*). The Vait. reading is therefore doubly suspicious. See §992.

[*imau te pakṣāv* (°*ṣā*) *ajarāu patatriṇau* (VSK. TS. KS. °*ṇaḥ*; Conc. wrongly quotes TS. as *patatṛṇaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.]

**§677.** Twice *ṛ* varies with *rī*; both forms are morphologically justifiable in both cases:

*śṛtas tvaṁ śṛto 'ham* ApŚ.: *śrītas tvaṁ śrīto 'ham* KS. Participles of the root which appears somewhat confusedly as *śṛ*, *śrā*, *śrī* 'cook, mature'.

*adbhir viśvasya bhartrībhiḥ* ApMB.: *adbhiḥ sarvasya bhartṛbhiḥ* ŚG. In ApMB. a distinctively feminine stem *bhartrī* is used, to agree with *adbhiḥ*; ŚG. uses the stem *bhartṛ* as of common gender.

## 11. *ṛ* and *ru*

**§678.** The shift between *ṛ* and *ru* is only slightly less frequent than that between *ṛ* and *ri*. There is equally good reason to regard it as having genuine phonetic bearings. In standard modern Marāṭhī the *ṛ* of Sanskrit is regularly pronounced with an *u* coloring (practically *ru*, instead of *ri* as in most other vernaculars). That this tendency is very ancient is proved by RPr. 14. 12 (796), which states that some erroneously 'make the *r*-vowels like the labial vowels' (*svarau kurvanty oṣṭhyanibhau sarephau*). There are, to be sure, not so many variants that seem to be purely phonetic in character as was found to be the case with *ṛ*: *ri*. They seem to tend to associate with neighboring labial consonants, and perhaps justify an assumption that the vocalic *ṛ* in conjunction with labials was apt to have *u* coloring.

**§679.** Among the clearest phonetic variants are:

*bhṛmiṁ* (TB. *bhrumiṁ*) *dhamanto apa gā avṛṇata* RV. TB. Note that the sound occurs between two labial consonants. The original *bhṛmi* is not very clear; one of Sāyaṇa's theories is that it means 'cloud', which is the meaning assigned to *bhrumi* by TB. comm., who derives it from root *bhram*.

*dṛvāsi* VS.: *dṛbāsi* KŚ.: *drubāsi* VSK. An obscure word; note the following *b*. There is no way of determining the original form.

**§680.** A clear case of hyper-Sanskritic *ṛ* for original *ru* is the stem *pṛṣvā*, found several times in Tait. texts for regular *pruṣvā*; note the preceding *p*. BR. call *pṛṣvā* a 'falsche Form', but it is too persistent to be thus lightly dismissed. TA. comm. explains by *jalabinduḥ*. It seems clear that it was the established Tait. school form of *pruṣvā*, tho there has been much confusion about it among interpreters; see e.g. Keith on TS. 7. 4. 13. 1.

*pruṣvā aśrubhiḥ* VS. MS.: *aśrubhiḥ pruṣvām* (TS. *pṛṣ*°) TS. KSA.

*pruṣvābhyaḥ* (TS. *pṛṣ*°, KSA. ed. *pruṣṭābhyas*, ms. *praṣṭā*°, read probably *pruṣvā*°) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA.

*śam u pṛṣṭhāva* (read with Poona ed. text and comm. *pṛṣvāva*) *śīyatām* TA.: *śaṁ te pruṣvāva śīyatām* AV.

**§681.** Hyper-Sanskritic, again, is the *ṛ* in the following cases; we do not venture to say whether the following labial *bh* (part of an inflexional ending) is concerned in the change. At least the *ṛ* form seems quite well established in the Tait. school; the MS. is more seriously corrupt:

*purā jatrubhya* (TA. ApMB. *jarṭbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhyā*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyaḥ*!) *ātṛdaḥ* (MS. °*da*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB.

**§682.** The remaining variants contain at least a semblance of independent lexical interchange. Thus, the roots *sṛ* and *sru* are virtual synonyms, and their derivatives *sṛti* and *sruti* both mean 'course, way':

*dve srutī* (VS. KS. ŚB. BṛhU. KŚ. *sṛtī*, and so TB. Conc., but Poona ed. *srutī*) *aśṛṇavaṁ pitṝṇām* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. (Von Schroeder needlessly emends KS. 38. 2 to *srutī*.)

*namaḥ srutyāya* (KS. *sṛt*°) *ca pathyāya ca* VS. TS. KS.: *namaḥ pathyāya ca srutyāya ca* MS. Derivatives of the words concerned in the prec.

*ā tvā parisrutaḥ* (AG. °*śritaḥ*, MG °*sṛtaḥ*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB.† °*āḥ*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.: *enaṁ parisrutaḥ kumbhyā* ŚG.: *emāṁ parisrutaḥ kumbhaḥ* AV.: *pūrṇān parisrutaḥ kumbhān* ŚB. No form *parisṛt* is otherwise recorded; despite the equivalence of the two roots, it is probable that MG. (all mss.) has a phonetic variant or corruption for *parisrutaḥ*.

*hiraṇyam astṛtaṁ* (ŚB. BṛhU. GP. *asrutaṁ*) *bhava* ŚB. BṛhU. KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Here *sru* varies with *stṛ*; 'indestructible' or 'unmolten' (gold).

Cf. *mṛgasya sṛtam* (HG. *śṛtam*, ApMB. vv. ll. *srutam*, *śrutam*) *akṣṇayā* ApMB. HG. See §278.

**§683.** Similarly *hṛ* with *vi* becomes a synonym of *hru* with *vi*; the participles of both, exchanging twice, mean 'confounded, gone astray' or the like. A third variation between *hṛ* and *hru* is merely a textual corruption.

*avinaṣṭān avihrutān* (AŚ. °*hṛtān*) MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

*iṣkartā vihrutaṁ punaḥ* RV. KŚ.: *niṣkartā* (Conc. wrongly °*kṛtā* for ApMB.) *vihrutaṁ* (PB. TA. ApMB. *vihṛtaṁ*) *punaḥ* AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. ApMB. In TA. there is a v. l. *vihrutaṁ*, adopted in the text in Poona ed.; but the comm. even there reads *vihṛtam*, and glosses *viśeṣeṇa bhagnam*.

*aśloṇā* (comm. *aśroṇāḥ*) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ svarge* AV.: *aśloṇāṅgair ahṛtā svarge* TA. But Poona ed. text and comm. *ahrutāḥ*, v. l. °*tā*, for TA., and this is the only possible reading. The simple *hṛ* is not a synonym of *hru*; *ahṛta* would make no sense; comm. *kauṭilyarahitāḥ* (=*ahrutāḥ*).

**§684.** Miscellaneous cases, largely suspicious:

*ruvad dhokṣā* (TB. *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhir evaiḥ* RV. MS. KB. TB. The original has *ruvad dha-ukṣā* 'the bull roared'. This is misunderstood and corrupted in TB.

*śivā rutasya* (VSK. *śiva ṛtasya*, TS. and v. l. of MS. *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °*jā*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Original is certainly *rutasya*: 'healer of what is injured'. *Rudrasya*, 'Rudra's healer', is an obvious lect. fac., and *ṛtasya*, 'healer of the ṛta' or 'the ṛta's healer', while formally intelligible, is clearly a stupid change conditioned by the phonetic relations between *ṛ* and *ru*.

*satyaujasā dṛṁhaṇā* (MS. *durhṛṇā*, KS. †*dṛhaṇā*) *yaṁ nudethe* TS. MS. KS.: *sacetasau druhvaṇo yau nudethe* AV. Multiple confusion; see §305, etc.

*mayobhūḥ śaṁtamā yad dhrudo* (comm. *dhṛdo*) *'si* TB. So Conc.; but Poona ed. text with comm. *dhṛdo*.

## CHAPTER XV. THE I AND U DIPHTHONGS AND SAṂPRASĀRAṆA

§685. In most of the variants collected in this chapter, phonetics can be said to be only an ancillary motive in the shift. That is, nearly all of them present interchanges between forms both of which can be justified by recognized principles of morphology or lexicography. They mostly concern ablaut, in radical or suffixal or inflectional syllables, or various details of the inflection of nouns, pronouns, or verbs, with a sprinkling of purely lexical variants. Yet in some parts of the chapter, dialectic (Prakritic) phonology is certainly suggested as a contributing factor. This is especially true as regards the exchanges of the short and long diphthongs, *e: ai* and *o: au*, and the interchange between *e* and *aya*, *o* and *ava*, and the like. Altho some sort of independent interpretation of both the forms is regularly possible, their number is too large to make it reasonable to ignore the corresponding (tho purely phonetic) shifts between Sanskrit and the Middle Indic dialects, in view of the now well established fact that Prakritic phonology played a large rôle in the speech of Vedic times.

### 1. *i: e*

§686. The not very numerous cases collected here are mostly matters of ablaut in the radical syllables of nouns and verbs, or of different case-endings of the same or related noun stems; with a residuum of lexical variants. We begin with those which present different ablaut grades in the radical syllables of the same or related nouns and adjectives:

*atra* (ŚB. *atrā*) *jahīmo 'śivā ye asan* VS. ŚB.: *atrā jahāma* (AV. *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāḥ* (AV. **aśivāḥ*, **asan durevāḥ*) RV. AV. TA. The meter properly requires *aśevāḥ* if the word be final (VS. ŚB. transpose).

*yā sarasvatī viśobhagīnā* (MS. ApŚ.* *veśa°*; KS. *veśabhaginī*) . . . MS. KS. ApŚ. *viśo-* is gen. sing. of *viś*.

*divyaḥ kośaḥ samukṣitaḥ* MS.: *daivyaḥ kośaḥ* (AV. ŚirasU. *devakośaḥ*) *samubjitaḥ* AV. TS. KS. ŚirasU.

*divo jyote* (KS. **jyotir*) *vivasva* (MS. *devajūte vivasvann*) . . . MS. KS.: *vivasvāṅ aditir devajūtis* . . . TS.

*devya* (ApŚ. *divyā*, v. l. *devyā*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* . . . PB. KŚ. ApŚ

*sūryo divo* (TS. KS.* *devo*) *diviṣadbhyaḥ* (TS. KS. °*bhyo* . . .) TS. KS.* MŚ.

*puṁse putrāya vettavai* (ŚB. BṛhU. *vittaye*) ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApMB. ApŚ. HG.

*pra suvānāso* (SV. *svā*°) *bṛhaddiveṣu* (SV. °*deveṣu*) *harayaḥ* RV. SV.

*lekaḥ salekaḥ* . . . TS.: *salilaḥ saligaḥ* . . . MS. KS. See §49.

**§687.** Of different origin and only superficially resembling these cases is the numeral adverb *tredhā*, which is originally trissyllabic and therefore probably to be regarded as representing a contraction of something like **trayadhā* (cf. §§744 ff. below; Wackernagel I p. 53, III p. 347):

*tridhā* (MS. *tredhā*) *baddho vṛṣabho roravīti* RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. TA. ApŚ. MahānU. N.

**§688.** In the stem-syllable of verbal forms:

*maiṣām uc cheṣi kiṁ cana* AV.: *maiṣāṁ kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *māmīṣāṁ kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* RV. SV. VS.

*yaḥ prāṇato nimiṣataś* (v. l. KS. *nimeṣ*°) *ca rājā* MS. KS.: *yaḥ prāṇato nimiṣato* (VS. *nimeṣ*°) *mahitvā* RV. AV. VS. TS. KSA. Present participles for 6th and 1st class present stems of *ni-miṣ*; the 1st class stem seems not to be otherwise recorded. Add to VV I §197.

*vāmī te saṁdṛśi viśvaṁ reto dhiṣīya* (MS. *dhe*°) . . . MS. KS.: *viśvasya te* . . . *vāmīr anu saṁdṛśi viśvā retāṁsi dhiṣīya* TS. Cf. next. The form *dheṣīya* seems to be established in the Maitr. school. It can hardly be interpreted except as an aorist of *dhā* 'place', yet is highly anomalous if so understood (as if the root were *dhi*, with guṇa *dhe*! perhaps by confusion with root *dhī*?). See VV I p. 186.

*somasyāhaṁ devayajyayā suretā* (MŚ. *viśvaṁ*) *reto dhiṣīya* (MŚ. *dhe*°) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

**§689.** In inflectional endings of verbs *i* and *e* exchange very commonly as between active and middle-passive forms and elsewhere. See VV I §§39–79 and 82 *et passim*.

**§690.** Coming to noun case forms, we find first a little group of dat.-abl. plur. forms in *ibhyas: ebhyas*, from stems in *i(n): a*.

*divācarebhyo* (MG. °*cāribhyo*) *bhūtebhyaḥ* (sc. *namaḥ*) MG. ViDh.: *ahaścarebhyaḥ* (sc. *namaḥ*) ŚG.

*naktaṁcarebhyaḥ* ŚG. ViDh.: *naktaṁcāribhyo bhūtebhyaḥ* MG.

*marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo* (MŚ. °*dhebhyo*) *'nvbrūhi* ŚB. MŚ.

*marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo* (MS. °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkihān* (MS. *vaṣ*°, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*) VS. MS. ApŚ.

*svāheṣṭibhyaḥ* (Kauś. °*ṭebhyaḥ svāhā*) KS. Kauś.: *iṣṭebhyaḥ svāhā vaṣaḍ aniṣṭebhyaḥ svāhā* TB. ApŚ.

**§691.** The others are miscellaneous case-forms; since they are of slight interest here we shall content ourselves with a few examples, referring to our volume on Noun Inflection for full lists:

*pūṣṇe śarase* (MS.† °*si*) *svāhā* MS. TA. ApŚ.: *svāhā pūṣṇe śarase* VS. ŚB. KŚ. The majority reading (dat.) is certainly not easily intelligible (labored and worthless explanations in the comms.); but the loc. of MS. is also difficult and may be only an attempt to rationalize an unintelligent passage.

*hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ* HG.: *hiraṇyaparṇa śakune* PG. Nom.: voc.

*pra vo mahe mahivṛdhe* (SV. PB. *mahevṛdhe*) *bharadhvam* RV. SV. AV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The SV. seems to have a mechanical form-assimilation to the surrounding datives (note especially the identical form *mahe* preceding).

*vi śloka etu* (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*, KS.† *sūraḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. Nom.: gen.

*agnir hotā vetv agnir* (AŚ. *agner*) *hotraṁ vetu* (*vettu*) . . . TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agnir hotā vettv agner hotraṁ vettu* . . . ŚB. Nom.: gen.

*kratvā variṣṭhaṁ vara āmurim uta* RV. AV.: *kratve vare sthemany āmurīm uta* SV.

**§692.** Oddities of noun stems:

*agner agneyāny* (KS. *agni*°) *asi* (MS. v. l. and p.p. *agner agner yāny asi*) MS. KS.: *devānām agneyāny asi* TS.: *agner yāny asi* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §357, and cf. *vāyosāvitra* . . ., §716.

*śrudhi śruta śraddhivaṁ* (AV. *śraddheyaṁ*) *te vadāmi* RV. AV. See §248; both forms have the force of gerundives.

**§693.** The remaining variants are lexical; but in the first we have a shift which simulates ablaut, as in §688:

*sa idhāno* (KS. *edh*°) *vasuṣ* (MS. *vasuḥ*) *kaviḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The roots *idh* and *edh* are quite independent, but superficially the change looks like a change from nil-grade to guṇa.

*ā yāhi* (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (ŚŚ. °*ṣv ā*, MS. *janiṣva*) MS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. The MS. form could be interpreted as a 2d sing. impv. from *jan* but for the accent (*jániṣva*), which seems to call for emendation.

*ino* (AV. *enā*) *viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ* RV. AV. N. *ino*, nom. of stem *ina; enā*, adverbial pronominal form.

*utem* (SV. *ūtim*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV. AV. SV. MS. *uta-īm*: acc. sing. of *ūti*.

*krīḍī ca śākī cojjeṣī* (ApŚ. *sākī* †*corjiṣī ca*) VS. VSK. ApŚ. See §407.

*āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

[*vācā mendriyāviśa* TS. KS. MŚ. Conc. *vācam indr°* for KS.; so ed. reads at 4. 14, but at 31. 15 (p. 18, n. 1) it is corrected.]

**§694.** Several times a word beginning in *i* varies with the same word preceded by *ā*:

*indram* (SV. *endram*) *agniṁ ca voḍhave* RV. SV.

*iha* (MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. *eha*) *gatir vāmasya* TS. MS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. †1. 14. 19.

*tve iṣaḥ* (KS. *viśve;* MS. *tva eṣaḥ*) *saṁdadhur bhūrivarpasaḥ* (TS.† *bhūri-retasaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See Von Schroeder's note. If correct, MS. must intend *tve, ā, iṣaḥ*; but the p.p. reads *tve iti tve, iṣaḥ*.

*tāv* (*tā*) *ehi* (*eha, eva,* AV. *iha*) . . ., see §§578, 888.

*ṛṇān no narṇam ertsamānaḥ* AV.: *nen na ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānaḥ* TA. See §180.

*ādityānāṁ patvānv* (PB. *°mānv*) *ihi* (KSA. †*ehi*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. PB. ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApMB.

## 2. *ī: e*

**§695.** Here the variants are few and scattering, except for a considerable group concerning case-endings of the same or related nouns and adjectives. Often the stems presupposed by the case-forms involved are slightly different:

*viśo yantre* (KS. *yantrī*) *nudamāne arātim* KS. TB. ApŚ. Duals from stems *yantrā* and *yantrī*.

*śaṁgayī* (MS. ŚB. *°gavī*, TB. *°gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB. *jīva°*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Also feminine duals.

*vairājī* (KSA.† *°je*) *puruṣī* (so KSA.†) TS. KSA. Also fem. duals; there seems no reason to emend KSA. as von Schroeder would do.

*rātri* (TB. *°rī*, KS. v. l. *°riḥ*) *stomaṁ na jigyuṣe* (KS.† TB. *°ṣī*) RV. KS. TB.

*mahī viśpatnī sadane* (KS. *°nī*) *ṛtasya* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Here *sadane* is loc. sing.: '(come) to the seat of the *ṛta*'. KS. makes *sadanī* fem. dual, 'as two seats of the *ṛta*' (addressed to the *araṇis*); the other reading is simpler and most likely original.

*vaiśvānarāya matir navyasī* (ArS. *°se*) *śuciḥ* RV. ArS. Nom. sing. fem.: dat. sing. masc. (with *agnaye* in next pāda).

*nābhā saṁdāyi navyasī* (SV. *°dāya navyase*) RV. SV. As prec.

*rāyas poṣaṁ cikituṣe* (AV. *°ṣī*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. As prec.

*ūrṇamradā yuvatir* (AV. °*dāḥ pṛthivī*) *dakṣiṇāvate* (TA. °*tī*) RV. AV. TA. As prec.

*tava praśastayo mahīḥ* (SV. °*taye mahe*) RV. SV. Nom. pl.: dat. sing.

*satyasya dharmaṇas patī* (ApŚ. *pate*) ŚŚ. ApŚ. Vocatives, dual and sing.

*graha viśvajanīna niyantar viprāyāma te* (KS. *nyantar vipra ā* †*satī*) MS. KS. See §838.

*sa supraṇīte* (ŚŚ. °*tī*) *nṛtamaḥ svarāḍ asi* AA. ŚŚ. Both forms are uncertain. The two text mss. of ŚŚ. have °*te*; comm. apparently °*tī* which Hillebrandt adopts, seemingly taking it as loc. ('in good guidance'?). Sāyaṇa on AA. takes °*te* as loc., and Keith follows him, rendering 'when (the rite) is duly paid'; but in his note Keith suggests deleting the accent and understanding a voc., 'O good leader'.

*īḍiṣvā hi mahe* (ApŚ. *mahī*, v. l. *mahe*) *vṛṣan* SV. ApŚ. Acc. dual (with *dyāvāpṛthivī*): dat. sing. (with *hotrāya*).

*śruṣṭī* (SV. °*ṭe*) *jātāsa indavaḥ svarvidaḥ* RV. SV. Instr. (?) of *i*-stem: loc. of *a*-stem. SV. comm. in one of two places reads *śruṣṭī*.

*iyam oṣadhe* (PG. °*dhī*) *trāyamāṇā* PG. HG. ApMB. The voc. cannot be construed; see Winternitz on ApMB., Introduction, xxiv.

*mṛgā na bhīmās taviṣībhir arcinaḥ* (TB. °*ṣebhir ūrmibhiḥ*) RV. TB. The adverbial instr. of RV. (from the noun *taviṣī*) is made an adj. agreeing with *ūrmibhiḥ* in TB.

*daivībhyas* (KS. *devebhyas*) *tanūbhyaḥ* (KS. °*yas*) *svāhā* KS. TB. ApŚ. Kauś. 'To the bodies of the gods', or 'to the gods, to (their) bodies.'

*viśvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. °*ṣebhyaḥ*) AV. KS.

**§696.** A few cases involve different ablaut grades, or forms which simulate that relationship:

*agne devānām ava heḍa iyaksva* (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ.: *ava devānāṁ yaja heḍo agne* (KS. *yaje hīḍyāni*, MŚ. *yaje heḍyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ.: *ava devān yaje heḍyān* TB. ApŚ.

*apa snehitīr* (SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS. †*nṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi* (Poona ed. *snuhi*) *taṁ nṛmṇām* (Poona ed. *nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA.

*suśīmaṁ somasatsaru* AV.: *suśevaṁ somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.

*dhenā'm antaḥ sabardughām* SV.: *dhīnām antaḥ sabardughaḥ* RV. The gen. pl. of *dhī* is changed to an acc. sing.; but the accent of SV. shows that it has a false form (the true stem is *dhénā*); cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. 9. 12. 7.

*lālīlāya* (MahānU. *lāle°*) *dhīmahi* TAA.† (not TA.) MahānU. Names of Agni, of unknown origin. Hardly to be classed as ablaut. The two comms. have different and equally ridiculous explanations
*aṣāḍhāya sahamānāya vedhase* (TB. *mīḍhuṣe*) RV. TB. N. Lexical.

In the reduplicating syllable:

*aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge-aṅge ni dīdhyat* (TS. *ni dedhyat*, VSK. *nidhītaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The reduplicating syllable with *e* should mark an intensive, and probably the isolated form of TS. is felt as such; cf. VV I pp. 149, 160.

**§697.** Cases concerning verb inflection. An aor. ind. varies with a present opt. But the KS. ed. reads as ApŚ., with v. l. as Conc.:

*grāvāvādīd* (ApŚ. *grāvā vaded*) . . . KS. ApŚ. VV I p. 86.

*anu stomaṁ mudīmahi* (PB. *made°*) RV. AV. PB. Optatives of different verbs.

*mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd* (TS. *°yid*, KSA. *°yed*, MS. *dhanayīd*) . . . RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

**§698.** Twice the presence or absence of the preposition *ā* is responsible for the variant, cf. §694:

*vāmaṁ pitṛbhyo ya idaṁ samerire* (AV. *samī°*) RV. AV. ApMB.

*ṛṇān no narṇam ertsamānaḥ* AV.: *nem na ṛṇān ṛṇavān īpsamānaḥ* MS. See §180.

### 3. *i: ai*

**§699.** Nearly all the variants noted here concern derivative noun and adjective stems with the vriddhi of secondary derivation, varying with primary or secondary formations without the vriddhi:

*vaiśvānara uta viśvadāvyaḥ* AV. KS.: *yo vaiśvānara uta †viśvadāvyaḥ* (ApŚ. *vaiśvadevyaḥ*) MS. ApŚ. Whitney's Transl. adopts for AV. *viśvadevyaḥ*, which he states is the reading of Ppp., but this is an error; Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 32. 358) has *°davyaḥ*, intending *°dāvyaḥ*. Only ApŚ. has a derivative of *viśvadeva*.

*divyaḥ kośaḥ samukṣitaḥ* MS.: *daivyaḥ kośaḥ* (AV. ŚirasU. *devakośaḥ*) *samubjitaḥ* AV. TS. KS. ŚirasU.

*achinno divyas* (KS. ApŚ. *daivyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS. ApŚ. *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS. KS. ApŚ.

*bṛhanto daivāḥ* (VS. *divyāḥ*) VS. MS. ApŚ.

*nirbādhyena* (AV. *nair°*; Ppp. *nir°* according to Whitney) *haviṣā* AV. TB. ApŚ.

*bṛhatā tvā rathaṁtareṇa traiṣṭubhyā* (KS. *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā* . . . MS. KS.: *bṛhadrathaṁtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā* . . . TS.

*aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mitriyeṇa* (ApMB. *maitreṇa*, KS. ApŚ. *cakṣuṣāhaṁ śivena*) AV. KS. ApŚ. ApMB.

*indrasya vaimṛdhasyāhaṁ* (KS. *indrasyāhaṁ vimṛdhasya*) *devayajyayā-sapatno* (ApŚ. but not †MŚ. adds *vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*kapota* (MS. °*tā*) *ulūkaḥ śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TS. KSA. *nairṛtāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*nirṛtyai svāhā* MŚ.: *nairṛtyai* (sc. *diśe*) *svāhā* VāDh.

*vihāyaso* (PG. *vaiḥ*°) *'dhi bhūmyām* HG. PG. *vi*°, abl. of *vihāyas*; *vai*°, nom. of adj. *vaihāyasa*.

*indrasya śuṣmam īrayann apasyubhiḥ* RV. SV.: *aindraḥ śuṣmo viśvarūpo na āgan* AV.

*vaivasvato* (AV. *vivasvān*) *no abhayaṁ kṛṇotu* AV. TB. TAA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB. PG. HG. *vai*°, of course, means Manu.

*hairaṇyanābhaḥ* (ŚŚ. *hir*°) *kausalyaḥ* ŚB. ŚŚ.

*indropānasyakehamanaso* (MŚ.*aindro*°) . . . ApŚ. MŚ. The formula is so obscure, that emendation of MŚ. to *indro*°, while tempting, is hardly safe.

**§700.** Otherwise we find only miscellaneous cases, two concerning noun inflection:

*indrādhipatiḥ* (MS. KS. °*patyaiḥ*) *pipṛtād ato naḥ* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'O Indra, as overlord (by overlordships)' etc.

*taṁ* (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °*yi*) TS. MS. TA. The form in *yai* is dat. of stem *śobhā*, 'unto splendor'. The *yi* form would seem to be acc. neut. of a stem *śobhāyin* (cf. §247), perhaps used adverbially.

Two concerning aorist verb forms:

*āpo malam iva prāṇaikṣīt* (ApŚ. *prāṇijan*) AV. ApŚ. See VV I p. 129.

*pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam* (ApMB. °*bhaiṣam*) ApMB. HG. See VV I pp. 139, 186.

And one in which *ai* contains the augment:

*yam aichāma* (ApŚ. *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ.

### 4. *ī: ai*

**§701.** Most of the few variants noted here concern interchange between instr. plur. and nom.-acc. plur. (fem.) forms:

*indreṇa devīr* (MŚ. *devair*) *vīrudhaḥ saṁvidānāḥ* TS. MŚ.

*devīr devīr* (ApŚ. *devair*) *abhi mā nivartadhvam* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*sapta ca vāruṇīr* (PG. °*ṇair*) *imāḥ* AG. PG. ŚG. MG.: *sapta ca mānuṣīr imāḥ* ApMB. HG. Followed in all by:

*viśaś ca rājabandhavīḥ* (HG. °*vaiḥ*) HG. ApMB.: *prajāḥ* (this word belongs to prec. pāda) *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavaiḥ* (MG. °*vyaḥ*) PG. MG.: *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavīḥ* (ŚG.† °*bāndhavaiḥ*) AG. ŚG.

*ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair* (ApMB. °*śīr*, MG. °*śam*) *aguḥ* (AG. ApMB. *ayan*, ŚG. *gaman*, PG. *upa*, HG. *ayann iva*, MG. *airayam*) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG.

**§702.** There are three cases of vriddhi of the first syllable, the first two (especially the second) anomalous; and one aorist verb form, also anomalous:

*straiṣūyam anyatra dadhat* AV.: *strīṣūyam anyān sv* (read *anyāsv*) *ā dadhat* ŚG.

*madhvā yajñaṁ nakṣati* (VS. TS. *nakṣase*) *prīṇānaḥ* (AV. *prai*°) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In the pres. mid. pple. the vriddhi is quite out of place; 'blundering corruption', Whitney.

*yad adīvyann* (MS. *daivyam*) *ṛṇam ahaṁ babhūva* (AV. *kṛṇomi*) AV. MS. TA. BDh.: *adīvvyann ṛṇaṁ yad ahaṁ cakāra* TB. The original is *adīvvyan* 'not gambling'; MS. has a stupid lect. fac. Add to VV I §231.

*indra enaṁ* (TB. ApŚ. *eṇaṁ*) *parāśarīt* AV. TB. ApŚ.: cf. *indro vo 'dya parāśaraiṭ* AV. But for the last SPP. with most mss. and Ppp. °*śarīt*, the regular form. See VV I p. 186.

### 5. *e: ai*

**§703.** Altho both forms can be defended morphologically in most of these variants, it seems to us very clear that the Prakritic change of *ai* to *e* must be largely concerned in them. They are fairly numerous; the great majority fall into three classes, to wit: dative (or locative) forms in *e: ai*; forms with *e: ai* in the root syllable, in which *ai* is generally the vriddhi of secondary derivation; and verb forms, chiefly indicative and subjunctive endings.

**§704.** First, there is a large group of interchanges between the pronominal forms *asme* (dat. or loc.) 'for, to, in us', and *asmai* 'for him, it'.

*asmai* (TB. *asme*) *dyāvāpṛthivī bhūri vāmam* (Conc. divides AV. before *vāmam*) AV. TB. *asme* is secondary.

*asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata* TS. ApŚ.: *śrad asmai naro vacase dadhātana* VS. KŚ. Keith assumes that TS. intends *asmai*.

*asmai* (MS. *asme*) *rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam* TS. MS. AŚ. *asmai* is certainly simpler.

*supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartanāsme* (AV. *kartam asmai*, VSK. *kartam asme*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. 'For him': 'for us', equally possible.

*savitrā prasavitrā . . . indreṇāsme* (VSK. °*smai*) . . . VS. VSK. As prec.

*asme* (AV. *asmai*) *dhārayataṁ* (MŚ. °*tāṁ*) *rayim* RV. AV. MŚ. Different contexts; both possible.

*asme* (AV. *asmai*) *dhatta vasavo vasūni* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Equally possible.

*asme* (KBU. *asmai*) *prayandhi maghavann ṛjīṣin* RV. KBU. AG. PG. N.

*asme rāṣṭrāṇi dhāraya* (KS. *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS. KS.: *asme kṣatrāṇi dhārayer anu dyūn* RV. TS. MS. KS.: *asmin rāṣṭram adhi śraya* TS.: *asmai kṣatrāṇi dhārayantam agne* AV. Kauś. Different contexts.

*asmai* (MS. *asme*) *karmaṇe jātaḥ* MS. ApŚ. 'For our rite': 'for this rite'. Probably lect. fac. in ApŚ.

*asme* (AŚ. *asmai*) *indrābṛhaspatī* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Probably misprint in AŚ.

**§705.** Other dative forms in *e: ai*, including infinitives:

*tā* (VS. ŚB. *yā*, TS. *te*) *te* (RV. KS. N. *vāṁ*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS. N. *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* (TS. °*ye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The TS. form is anomalous; cf. Keith's note and Whitney, *Grammar* §976a. Infinitives.

*havyāyāsmai voḍhave* (KS. °*vai*) *jātavedaḥ* TS. MS. KS. Kauś. Infinitives.

*sugaṁ meṣāya meṣyai* (RV. °*ye*) RV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. LŚ.: *sukhaṁ meṣāya meṣyai* VS. ŚB.

*agne samrāḍ iṣe rāye* (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . AŚ. ApŚ.: *iṣe rāye* . . . VS. MS. ŚB. TB. Cf. §396.

*ābhiṣ ṭvāhaṁ . . . sūtave* (HG. °*vai*) HG. ApMB.

*kuhvai* (KSA. *kuhve*, ed. em. °*vai*) *trayo 'ruṇaitāḥ* TS. KSA.

*puṁse putrāya vettavai* (ŚB. BṛhU. *vittaye*, KS. †*kartave*, MG. *kartavai*, v. l. °*ve*) KS. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. MG.

*śakrāya sunavai* (JB. °*ve*) *tvā* RV. JB.

*śriyai* (MG. *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG. *vedhavai*) ApMB. MG.

*śaṁ tokāya tanuve* (SMB. *tanvai*) *syonaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG.

*paridhāsyai yaśodhāsyai* PG.: *paridhāsye yaśo dhāsye* MG.: cf. *parīdaṁ vāso adhithāḥ* (HG. °*dhāḥ*, ApMB. *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV. ApMB. HG. These forms are taken as datives by the PG. comm., followed by Stenzler and Oldenberg. It is uncertain whether this is correct, or whether they are verb forms; see VV I p. 112.

**§706.** Another stray case or two concerning noun endings (loc. sing. and instr. pl.):

*ghṛtavatī savitar* (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS. °*yaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vāre* (SV.* *vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and, *priyam*) RV. SV. *punar brahmāṇo* (*brahmā*) . . . *yajñaiḥ* (*agne*), see §339.

**§707.** When *e* and *ai* vary in radical syllables of nouns, it is generally a matter of secondary formations with vriddhi varying with other related forms without vriddhi:

*daivīṁ* (VS. *devīṁ*) *nāvaṁ svaritrām anāgasam* (AV. °*saḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*devīḥ* (AV. *dai*°) *ṣaḍ urvīr uru naḥ* (TS. ApMB. *ṇaḥ*, and so Whitney for AV. with most mss.) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. ApMB.

*daivībhyas* (KS. *devebhyas*) *tanūbhyaḥ* (KS. °*yas*) *svāhā* KS. TB. ApŚ. Kauś.

*bṛhaspatir devānāṁ* (ŚŚ. *daivo*) *brahmāhaṁ manuṣyāṇām* (ŚŚ. *mānuṣaḥ*) VSK. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*devān mā bhayād iti* SMB.: *daivān mā bhayāt pāhi* ŚŚ.

*imā yā devīḥ pradiśaś catasraḥ* AV.: *yā daivīś catasraḥ pradiśaḥ* TB. ApMB. HG.

*saṁ devena savitrā* TA.: *saṁ daivena* (and, *daivyena*) *savitrā* VS. ŚB.

*divyaḥ kośaḥ samukṣitaḥ* MS.: *daivyaḥ kośaḥ* (AV. ŚirasU. *devakośaḥ*) *samubjitaḥ* AV. TS. KS. ŚirasU.

*vācā tvā hotrā . . . pañcabhir daivyair* (MŚ. *devair*) *ṛtvigbhir uddharāmi* ApŚ. MŚ.

*mā devānāṁ* (TA. *daivyas*) *tantuś chedi mā manuṣyāṇām* (TA. *manuṣyaḥ*) MS. KS. TA. ŚŚ.

*indro jyeṣṭhānām* (MS. KS. *jyaiṣṭhyānām*, VS. ŚB. *jyaiṣṭhyāya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

*vaiśvānaraṁ kṣaitrajityāya* (TB. *kṣetra*°) *devāḥ* VS. TB.

*somaindrā* (KSA. †*saumendrā*) *babhrulalāmās tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.

*adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhaḥ svastyasyādhvanaḥ* (ApMB. *śreṣṭhasyādhvanaḥ*, MG. *śraiṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvanaḥ*, read *svastya*° with most mss.) *pāram aśīya* AŚ. ApMB. MG.

*meghyā* (VS. *maighīr*) *vidyuto vācaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

**§708.** A couple of cases with *e: ai* in the first syllable of nouns seem to differ from the preceding; it is very questionable whether the *ai* form has secondary vriddhi or is in any morphological way different from the form with *e*. In short, it is at least likely that these are pure phonetic variants.

*avārāya kevartam* VS.: *pāryāya kaivartam* TB. The usual form is *kai*°, evidently of non-Aryan origin; and it is, to say the least, very possible that *ke*° is a Prakritism.

*veśantābhyo dāśam* TB.: *vaiśantābhyo baindam* VS. Here again we have

a word probably of foreign origin; but this time the usual form is *ve°*. Perhaps hyper-Sanskritism in VS.

**§709.** Several cases are complicated by the possibility that the form *e*, where *ai* seems to be expected, may be due to elision instead of contraction of final *a* (Wackernagel I §269c). The same phenomenon occurs with *o* for *au*, §731. Wackernagel, l. c. (small print), thinks of the possibility of influence of the Prakritic change of *ai*, *au* to *e*, *o*; besides this, it should be remembered that in Pāli and Prakrit any final vowel may be elided before any initial vowel, without regard to the quality of either. Thus there are two different tendencies of Middle Indic phonology which may possibly have been at work here. But furthermore, in some of the cases independent lexical or morphological explanations are conceivable for the *e* form:

*adhi na indraiṣām* (VS. *indreṣām*) RV. VS. Here there can be no doubt that the intention of VS. is *indra-eṣām*. This is the most certain case.

*neva māṅse na pībasi* AV.: *naiva māṅsena pīvari* PG. The AV. p.p. reads *na, iva*; according to Barret *JAOS* 26. 205, Ppp. also reads *neva* (contrary to Whitney's note). Yet it is possible that AV. really intended *naiva*, which certainly is a more natural reading.

*jagatyainaṁ* (AŚ. *°tyenaṁ*) *vikṣv ā veśayāmaḥ* (MS. KS. *°mi*, AŚ. *°ni*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. In VV I p. 75 we have stigmatized *jagatyenaṁ* as erroneous, which is unnecessarily harsh; to be sure the edition of AŚ. inspires little confidence. But it may be a phonetic variant of the sort here considered, or even—possibly—a real morphological change (voc. *jagaty* instead of instr. *jagatyā*).

*enāhnedam ahar aśīya svāhā* KS. (prec. by *-mānā*; actual text, *-mānainānhne°*): the MŚ. version quoted in Conc. as *idāhna id āharam aśīya* is Knauer's emend. of corrupt mss. which begin [*-mān*]*-enāhned-*, doubtless intending the same as KS.

See also *anāmayaidhi* etc., §344.

**§710.** In verb inflection there are a number of cases in which indicative or subjunctive endings in *e* vary with subjunctives in *ai*; see VV I p. 28:

*vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe* (ŚŚ. *°hai*, MŚ. *visṛjāvahai*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. PG.

*yaṁ jīvam aśnavāmahai* (MS. *°he*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*devān yajñiyān iha yān yajāmahai* (TS. *havāmahe*) TS. MS. KS.

*rayiṁ yena vanāmahai* (SV. *°he*) RV. SV.

*sacāvahe* (MS. *°hai*, p.p. *°he*) *aṅkaṁ purā cit* RV. MS.

*brahmāham ar[illegible]m kṛṇve* (KŚ. *karave*, read °*vai*) AV. KŚ. (? the proper subjunctive form would be °*vai*; °*ve* either corruption or purely phonetic variant).

*anu nau śūra manśate* (TS. °*tai*) RV. TS. KSA.

*yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte* (AV. °*ti*, ApMB. HG. *visrayātai*) RV. AV. ApMB. HG.

*pari ṣvajāte* (AV. °*tai*) *libujeva vṛkṣam* RV. AV. N.

*pra yaḥ satrācā* (TB. *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB. °*tai*, text and comm. in Poona ed.) RV. TB.

*dadhad vidhakṣyan paryañkhayātai* TA.: *dadhṛg vidhakṣyan paryañkhayāte* (AV. *vidhakṣan parīñkhayātai*) RV. AV.

*manai* (MS. *manve*) *nu babhrūṇām aham* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

*yaṃ gā ākarāmahe* (SV. °*hai*) RV. SV.

*varuṇeti śapāmahe* (MS.† °*hai*; AV. *yad ūcima*, LŚ. †*ṣayāmahe*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

**§711.** There are a few cases in which the *ai* is due to the preposition *ā* preceding *e*, cf. §§694, 698; or, in the first two cases, to the augment:

*mṛtyoḥ padaṁ* (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV. °*ta*, MG. *lopayante*) *yad* (AV. omits) *eta* (RV. *aita*, TA. *aima*) RV. AV. TA. MG.

*vācaspate 'chidrayā . . . hotrām airayat* (KŚ. °*yant*, TA. *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* ŚB. TA. KŚ. ŚŚ. Augmented forms in ŚB. KŚ.; the ŚŚ. is uninterpretable.

*ā te garbho yonim etu* (AG. *aitu*) AG. ApMB. HG.: *ā te yoniṁ garbha etu* AV. ŚG.: *ā yoniṁ garbha etu te* AV.: *ā garbho yonim etu te* ApMB. HG. The preceding *ā* proves AG. secondary.

*aiṣu* (AŚ. *eṣu*) *dyumnaṁ svar yamat* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Perhaps misprint in AŚ., as Whitney on AV. suggests.

*etat te agne rādha aiti* (MS. KS. *eti*) *somacyutam* TS. MS. KS.

*gṛhān aimi* (LŚ. HG. *emi*) . . . AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG.

*abhyaiti* (SV. *abhyeti*) *na ojasā spardhamānā* RVKh. SV. VS.

**§712.** Miscellaneous cases:

*he 'lavo he 'lavo* ŚB.: *hailo hailo* ŚBK. Interjections.

*mā bheḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *mā bhaiḥ* MS. KS. MŚ. Aorist verb forms, see VV I p. 129, and next.

*mā bher mā* . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *mā bhair mā* . . . MS. KS. See prec.

*uṣṇena vāya* (ApMB. *vāyav*) *udakenehi* (SMB. GG. °*naidhi*, MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §122; and on the MG. form, VV I p. 87.

*uttamaṁ nākam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. °*yainam*, TA. °*rohemam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Pronouns *imam: enam*.

*tatra rayiṣṭhām anu saṁbharaitam* (MŚ. °*retām*, AŚ. °*bhavatām*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. In TB. ApŚ. fusion of *saṁbhara* and *etam*; in the others dual verb forms.

*śatruhaṇam amitrahaṇaṁ* (KS. *śatru° asi śatruhaṇaṁ*) *bhrātṛvyahaṇam asurahaṇaṁ tvaindraṁ* (ApŚ. text *tvendraṁ*) *vajraṁ sādayāmi* KS. ApŚ. Here *tvendraṁ*, if not a corruption or misprint, can only be a phonetic reduction of *tvaindraṁ* (*tvā* + *aindraṁ*).

[*endram* (TB. *aindram*, but comm. and Poona ed. text *endram*) *acucyavuḥ* . . . TB. ApŚ.]

6. *u: o*

**§713.** The variants under this head are relatively not numerous, and quite miscellaneous in character. A fair number have to do with ablaut in stem syllables; thus, in nouns and adjectives:

*namo vaḥ pitaraḥ śuṣmāya* (VS. ŚŚ. *śoṣāya*, SMB. GG. KhG. *śūṣāya*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG. See §720.

*matyai śrutāya* (*mahe śrotrāya*) *cakṣase* AV. (both)

*ā mā stutasya stutaṁ gamyāt* (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait.: *ā mā stotrasya stotraṁ gamyāt* PB.

*duścyavanaḥ pṛtanāṣāḍ* (°*ṣāḷ*) *ayudhyaḥ* (AV. MS. *ayodhyaḥ*) RV. AV. †19. 13. 7c, SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Gerundives.

*deva gharma rucitas tvaṁ deveṣv ā* MS.: *rocitas tvaṁ deva gharma deveṣv asi* TA. Causative and simple participles. Cf. next.

*rucito gharmaḥ* MS. KB. ŚB. TA. etc.: *rocito gharmo rucīya* TA. Cf. prec.

*ānandā modāḥ pramudaḥ* AV.: *ānando modaḥ pramodaḥ* TB.: *modaḥ pramoda ānandaḥ* TB.: *mudaḥ pramuda āsate* RV. Stems (*pra*)*mud* and (*pra*)*moda*.

*druṇā* (SV. *droṇe*) *sadhastham aśnuṣe* (and *āsadat*) RV. SV. Stems *dru* and *droṇa*.

**714.** With these may be grouped certain other cases which are really lexical, and partly involve different word divisions, but which in their external form simulate ablaut relations:

*dyumnī ślokī* (KS. *śuklī*) *sa somyaḥ* (TB. *sau°*) RV. AV. SV. MS. KS. TB.

*suśevaṁ somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.: *suśīmaṁ somasatsaru* AV. See §180.

*sumitraḥ soma no* (Kauś. *sumano*) *bhava* RV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. An obvious lect. fac. in Kauś.

**§715.** Ablaut relations also occur in the inflection of the verb. Variations between *no* and *nu* as strong and weak stems of 5th and 8th class

presents have been collected in VV I p. 185, and need not be repeated. In the radical syllable different Ablaut grades are found in perfects, and are especially frequent in aorists:

*yan me mātā pralulubhe* (ApMB. HG. *pralulobha*) ŚG. ApMB. HG. MDh.

*sūryasya cakṣur āruham* (VS. *āroha*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. Aorist and present; see VV I p. 82.

*āditya* (AV. also *sūrya*) *nāvam ārukṣaḥ* (SMB. *ārokṣam*) AV. SMB. See VV I p. 130.

*amoci* (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB.

*mā bher mā roṉ* (VSK. *mo roṉ*, TS. *māro*) *mo ca naḥ* (TS. *mo eṣāṁ*) *kiṁ canāmamat* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *mā bhair mā ruṉ mo ca* (KS. *rauṉ mā*) *naḥ kiṁ canāmamat* MS. KS. See VV I p. 129.

*mā dyāvāpṛthivī abhi śocīḥ* (TS. *śūśucaḥ*, KS. *śucaḥ*, MS. *hiṁsīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See ibid. p. 128.

*devasya* (°*syāhaṁ*) *savituḥ . . . ruheyam* (GB. *roh*°) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. GB. Vait. MŚ. ApŚ. LŚ. See ibid. p. 132.

*sa yathā tvaṁ rucyā . . . rucişīya* (MS. *rociṣīya*) AV. MS. See VV I p.186.

On the following form see VV I p. 281; the MG. form is quite uninterpretable by regular grammar, and must be understood as a phonetic variant or corruption for *tiṣṭhatu:*

*antas tiṣṭhatu* (MG. °*to*) *me mano 'mṛtasya ketuḥ* SMB. HG. MG.

**§716.** In several cases, the *o* pertains to the genitive ending of noun stems in *u*, either as independent words or in composition:

*vasuḥ* (TS. ApMB. *vasoḥ*) *sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. Nom. and gen. forms; the former an adjective, the latter a noun ('son of Vasu, of Strength' etc.).

*dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoḥ* (AV. °*tīkaḥ sasūnuḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §189.

*āyuṣkṛte* (ApŚ. *āyoṣ*°) *svāhā* KS. ApŚ. Both 'maker of life'.

*vāyosāvitra* (TS. p.p. °*traḥ*; MS. *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyāṁ caruḥ* (MS. *payaḥ*) TS. MS. KSA. TPr. 6. 8 explains *vāyo*° by *vāyusavitṛbhyām*; it is a secondary adj. in suffix *a*, and evidently the *o* is due to influence of the genitive form *vāyos*; cf. *agner agneyāny* etc., §692.

*uror ā no* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *pururāvṇo*) *deva riṣas pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. See §371a.

*madhu reto* (TS. *madhor ato*, KS.† *madhur ato*) *mādhavaḥ pātv asmān* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §837.

**§717.** The stem *puru* in composition varies with *puro*, for *puras*; cf. below, §721:

*saṁdhātā saṁdhiṁ* (MS. °*dhir*) *maghavā purūvasuḥ* (TA. ApMB. MS. p.p. *puro*°; MS. text *puru*°) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB.

*puru viśvāni jūrvan* RV.: *puro rakṣāṅsi nijūrvan* AV.

**§718.** Twice the *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf. §§694, 698, 711:

*ubhe pṛṇāsi* (TS. *ubhe pṛṇakṣi*) *rodasī* RV. TS. MS.: *pṛṇakṣi rodasī ubhe* RV. SV. VS. KS. ŚB.

*ā yā dyāṁ* (MS. *divaṁ*) *bhāsy ā pṛthivīm orv* (KS. *urv*) *antarikṣam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

**§719.** The remaining variants are miscellaneous, and certainly for the most part lexical. The first may be some sort of phonetic variant:

*sajūr devair vayonādhaiḥ* (MS. MŚ. *vayu*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. *vayunā-dha* is certainly a compound of *vayuna; vayo*° is ordinarily taken as a cpd. of *vayas* with a derivative of *nah*, which seems highly improbable. The form is difficult and may be based on *vayuna-* with a phonetic alteration, perhaps due to some obscure analogy.

*ye devā manojātā* (MS. KS. MŚ. *manu*°) *manoyujaḥ* (KS. *manu*°, ViDh. *manujuṣaḥ*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. BDh. ViDh. ApŚ. Stems *manas* and *manu*.

*agnir havyānumanyatām* (MŚ. *havyā no man*°) TB. ApŚ. MŚ

*pra nu* (TA. ApMB. HG. *ṇu*; Kauś. *ṇo* with all mss. but one, and the two paddhatis, but probably read *ṇu*) *vocaṁ cikituṣe janāya* RV. TA. SMB. Kauś. GG. ApMB. HG. MG.

*pra nu vocaṁ* (ArS. *no vaco*) *vidathā jātavedasaḥ* (ArS. °*se*) RV. ArS.

*yas te stanaḥ śaśayo* (AV.° *yur*) *yo mayobhūḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. AB. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. AŚ. Equivalent stems, *śaśaya:* °*yu*.

*yā coditā yā ca noditā* (TA. *yā cānuditā*) . . . MS. TA. *na-uditā: an-uditā*.

*yatheyaṁ strī pautram aghaṁ na rodāt* SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

*agnaye tvā mahyaṁ . . . āyur* (MS. *mayo*) *dātra* . . . VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. Near-synonyms.

*rudrāṇām urvyāyāṁ* (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyāṁ*, ŚŚ. *omyāyāṁ*) . . . ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. See §228.

*sīdanto vanuṣo yathā* RV. SV. LŚ.: *sīdantu manuṣo yathā* RV. See §227.

*karma kṛṇvantu* (MŚ. °*to*) *mānuṣāḥ* AV. MŚ. The MŚ. form can only be construed as a participle hanging in the air, without finite verb. It is really a phonetic variation.

[*ato* (TB. *tato*) *no rudrā uta vā †nv* (Conc. *no*; TB. *nuv*, Poona ed. *'nv*, comm. *anu*) *asya* RV. TB.]

### 7. *ū: o*

**§720.** The majority of variants in this group concern forms which resemble shifts of ablaut; but only partially are the forms in question really related to each other in this way. Some, such as *jyotis* and *jūti*, are quite unrelated words but quasi-synonyms. Others are wholly obscure, and while the change of vowel is probably due to some sort of phonetic consideration, the precise nature of it is problematic. One is tempted to think of the fact that in some Prakrit dialects *u* is a phonetic shortening of *o*, implying that the relation of *o* to *u* is not far from the same as that of *ū* to *u* (cf. Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen* §84).

*abhi tyaṁ devaṁ savitāram oṇyoḥ* (TS. *ūṇyoḥ*) *kavikratum* AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KB. AB. ŚB. AdB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The isolated TS. stem *ūṇi* must mean the same as the regular *oṇi*.

*namo vaḥ pitaraḥ śuṣmāya* (VS. ŚŚ. *śoṣāya*, SMB. GG. KhG. *śūṣāya*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG. Comm. on SMB. *śūṣa iti balanāma*.

*saṁ pūṣā* (ApŚ. adds *saṁ dhātā*; MS.* *poṣā*) *saṁ bṛhaspatiḥ* (KS. *dhātā*) AV. MS. (bis) KS. ApŚ. *poṣā* is either a textual corruption or due to the analogy of guṇa forms of root *puṣ*. The mantra is repeated in fragments in a Brāhmaṇa passage immediately following its quotation with *poṣā*, and in the Brāhmaṇa *pūṣā* is read. Cf. next.

*api* (PG. *iha*) *pūṣā ni ṣīdatu* (AV. ŚŚ.* °*ti*) AV. ŚŚ. (bis) LŚ. SMB. PG. HG.: *rāyas poṣo ni ṣīdatu* ApMB. ApŚ. Cf. prec.; *rāyas poṣo* is here evidently secondary, but sensible.

*kukūnanānāṁ* (KS. *kūtanānāṁ*, MS. *pūtanānāṁ*) *tvā* . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kotanāsu* TS. Wholly obscure words.

*yamasya pāṭūraḥ* (KSA. *pāto*°) TS. KSA.: *yamyai pāṭūraḥ* TS.: *yamyāḥ pāṭoraḥ* KSA. Uncertain part of the horse's body.

*aṅgoṣiṇam* (RV. *āṅgūṣāṇām*) *avāvaśanta vāṇīḥ* RV. SV. Cf. §490 and next.

*aṅgoṣiṇaṁ* (RV. *āṅgūṣyaṁ*) *pavamānaṁ sakhāyaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. prec.

*nvano jyotir* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *jūtir*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS. TB. Vait. *ājyam*, AŚ. *ājyaṁ me*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Unrelated words but quasi-synonyms.

*dvo jyote* (KS. *°*tir*) *vivasva* (MS. *devajūte vivasvaṁ*) . . . MS. KS.: *vivasvāṁ aditir devajūtis* . . . TS.

**§721.** The stem *purū*, for *puru* in composition, varies with *puro* for *puras*, in the first variant quoted in §717, q. v., and also in:

*taṁ sabhāvaḥ puroruvam* (SV. *purū*°) RV. SV.

**§722.** The *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf. §718 etc.:

*yat kiṁ cānṛtam odima* (TA. *ūdima*) MS. TA.

*yad vācānṛtam odima* (TB. TA. *ūdıma*) MS. TB. TA.

*devatrā havyam ūhiṣe* (RV. *ohiṣe* and *ohire*) RV. SV. TB. A complicated case, on which see *RVRep.* 131 f., VV I p. 237 f.

**§723.** The rest are miscellaneous:

*amo 'ham asmi sā* (AB. *sa*) *tvam* AV. KS. AB. ŚB. BṛhU. JUB. AG. ŚG. Kauś. PG. MG.: *amūham asmi sā tvam* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *sā* (AB. *sa*) *tvam asy amo 'ham* (ŚB. BṛhU. PG. *aham*, ApMB. *amūham*, MG. *asy āpy amo 'ham*) KS. AB. JUB. ŚB. BṛhU. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG. *amo*, for *amas*, stem *ama; amūham*, peculiar sandhi connecting some form of stem *amu* (*amū*? *amus*, *amūs*?) and *aham*; see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., p. xxvii.

*añghriṇā viṣṇo* (KS. *viṣṇū*, twice; ms. once *viṣṇu*) *mā tvāva* (KS. *vām ava*) *kramiṣam* VS. KS. ŚB.: *agnāviṣṇū mā vām ava kramiṣam* TS. TB. ApŚ. See Von Schroeder on KS. 1. 12 and Keith on TS. 1. 1. 12. 1. *viṣṇo*, voc. sing.; *-viṣṇū* in TS. *devatādvandva*, in KS. elliptic dual (note *vām* in KS.); but note also the phonetic resemblance between *añghriṇā* and *agnā* of TS.

*tapūṅṣy* (MS. *tapobhir*) *agne juhvā pataṁgān* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Different case forms of related stems *tapus* and *tapas*.

*tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāḥ* AV.: *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāḥ* AB. AŚ.

*sa tū* (SV. *sato*) *dhanaṁ kāriṇe na pra yaṅsat* RV. SV.

*mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt* (JB. *yono vāṁ hārasīḥ*) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms obscure.

### 8. *u: au*

**§724.** Nearly all the few variants recorded here seem to concern the vriddhi of secondary derivation as regards their *au* forms; but one or two of them are strange forms. (For the aorist forms *ruk*, *rok*, *rauk*, see §715, *mā bher* etc.)

*suślokyāya* (ApMB. *sau°*) *svastaye* ApMB. AG. PG. MG.

*māhaṁ pautram* (KBU. *putryam*) *aghaṁ rudam* (AG. *niyām*, read *nigām*, with SMB.*; SMB. **nigām*, **riṣam*) AG. SMB. ApMB. HG. KBU.

*ulūkhalā* (ApMB. *aul°*) *grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata* (MG. *akurvata*) ApMB. HG. MG.: *aulūkhalāḥ saṁpravadanti grāvāṇaḥ* SMB.

*udbhinnam* (ApŚ. *audbhidyaṁ*) *rājñaḥ* MS. ApŚ.

*āśīr ṇa* (*nā*, *ma*) *ūrjam uta suprajāstvam* (AV. *sau°*) AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ. Whitney rightly calls the AV. form 'anomalous'.

*kumbhīnasaḥ* (KSA. *kaum°*) *puṣkarasādo lohitāhis te tvāṣṭrāḥ* TS. KSA. Here, as in the last, it is hard to account for the vriddhi; the meaning seems to be the same as that of the primary noun.

*vāce krauñcaḥ* (VS. *kruñcaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Again the two forms are apparently synonyms. In this case the form with vriddhi is commoner, at least in the later language. The origin and primary form of the word are unknown.

*dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyātā* BDh.: *dyauḥ samā tasyāditya upadraṣṭā* . . . HG. See §833.

*iyam eva sā yā prathamā vyauchat* (ŚG. *vyuchat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB. Augmented and augmentless forms.

*vy uchā* (and, *aucho*) *duhitar divaḥ* RV. SV. (both in each). As prec.

### 9. *ū: au*

**§725.** Here we find, first, a number of cases concerning vriddhi of secondary derivation:

†*aindrāsūrāḥ śyetalalāmās* (KSA. †*aindrāsaurāḥ* †*śyāmalalāmās*) *tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.

*pauṣṇo* (VSK. *pūṣā*) *viṣpandamāne* (sc. *mahāvīraḥ*) VS. VSK.

*svarmaurdhnyāya svāhā* KS.: *svarmūrdhā vaiyaśano vyaśyann* . . .MS.

*dhruvāya bhūmāya* (PG. *bhau°*) *svāhā* TA. MahānU. PG.

*ūrvaiḥ* ŚŚ. Vait.: *aurvaiḥ* LŚ. With both sc. *pitṛbhiḥ*.

**§726.** There are several variants of the participles *dhūta* and *dhauta*, from roots *dhu*(*dhū*) and *dhāv* 'rinse', which are no doubt related in origin tho they are kept distinct in the history of the language:

*nṛbhir dhūtaḥ* (SV. *dhautaḥ*) *suto aśvaiḥ* RV. SV.

*nṛbhir dhūto* (SV. *dhauto*) *vicakṣaṇaḥ* RV. SV.

*apsu dhautasya* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *dhū°*) . . . TS. MS. KS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*apsu dhūto* (SV. *dhautaṁ*) *nṛbhiḥ sutaḥ* (SV. *sutam*) RV. SV.

**§727.** In one case the *au* is due to prefixing of the augment:

*praty auhatām* (MS. *ūh°*) *aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV. *asmat*) AV. TS. VS. MS. KS. TAA.

### 10. *o: au*

**§728.** Here again the largest group concerns the vriddhi of secondary derivation:

*dyumnī ślokī* (KS. *śuklī*) *sa somyaḥ* (TB. *sau°*) RV. AV. SV. MS. KS. TB.

*namo mauñjyāyormyāya vasuvindāya* . . . GDh : *namo mauñjyāyaurmyāya* . . . Svidh.

*yat somyasyāndhaso* (ApMB. *sau°*) *bubodhati* RV. ApMB.

*iuṣantāṁ somyaṁ* (TB. *sau°*) *madhu* VS. MS. TB.

*somaindrā* (KSA. †*saumendrā*) *babhrulalāmās tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.
*somāpauṣṇāḥ* (KSA. *sau°*) *śyāmalalāmās tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.
*yadi somasyāsi rājñaḥ somāt . . .* Kauś.: *yadi saumy asi somāt . . .* AG. Rvidh.: *yady asi saumī somāya . . .* GG.
*caurasyānnaṁ* (TAA. BDh. *cor°*) *navaśrāddham* TAA. MahānU. ViDh. BDh.
[*tvaṁ rauhiṇaṁ* (AV. misquoted *roh°* in Conc.) *vyāsyaḥ* AV. ŚŚ.]

**§729.** Several times the two diphthongs interchange in the radical syllable of aorist stems:

*mā* (VS. ŚB. add *vayaṁ*) *rāyaspoṣeṇa vi yauṣma* VS. MS. ŚB.: *māhaṁ rāy° vi yoṣam* TS. KS. TA. ApŚ.
*ihaiva staṁ mā vi yauṣṭam* (ApMB. *yoṣṭam*) RV. AV. ApMB.
*mā bher mā* etc., see §715.

**§730.** Once the *au* form is due to prefixed *ā*, cf. §722 etc.:

*ā no* (VS. ŚB. *mā*) *goṣu viśatv ā tanūṣu* (TS. *auṣadhīṣu;* MS. *oṣadhīṣu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

**§731.** A few cases, not all textually certain, concern the elision of *a* before *o* instead of fusion. These are parallel to the similar cases of *e: ai*, §709, q. v.:

*upayāmam adhareṇauṣṭhena* (TS. *°ṇoṣṭhena*, KSA. *adharoṣṭhena*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. See TPr. 10. 14.
*saha ojaḥ* (VS. *sahaujaḥ*, VSK. *sahojaḥ*) VS. VSK. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. Adverb *saha* plus *ojaḥ* in VS. VSK., the latter with irregular sandhi; the other texts *sahas* + *ojaḥ*.
*ya āviveśoṣadhīr* (MS. *°śauṣadhīr*) *yo vanaspatīn* AV. MS. There is a v. l. *°auṣadhīr* in AV., which Whitney adopts in the text.
[*sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *sukarīrā svopaśā* MS. But several mss. and p.p. of MS. *svaup°*, which should probably be read in the text. The second part of the cpd. is certainly *opaśa*, and the first probably *sva*, tho it is sometimes assumed to be *su;* doubtless this was Von Schroeder's assumption when he printed *svopaśā* in MS.]

**§732.** Miscellaneous:

*asthūri ṇau* (*nau, ṇo, no*) etc., see §950. Dual and plural pronouns *nau* and *no* (*nas*).
[*ye ke cobhayādataḥ* (TA. *cau°*, Poona ed. correctly *co°*) RV. VS. TA.: *ye ca ke cobhayādataḥ* AV.]
*anupauhvad* (ApMB. *anu po 'hvad*) *anupahvayet* (ApMB. *anuhvayaḥ*) HG. ApMB. The ApMB. surely means *po* for *vo;* comm. says *p* is '*chāndasa*' for *v;* cf. Winternitz, p. xxi. The HG. seems to intend a form containing *upa*, but it is corrupt and obscure.

*devī dvārau* (Vait. *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā saṁtāptam* TS. AŚ. Vait. The dual verb shows that the plural of Vait. is impossible.

*sūryo rūpaṁ kṛṇute dyor* (MS. *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV. AV. VS. MS. TB. Only a gen. can be construed here. On *dyauḥ* as abl.-gen. see Wackernagel, III p. 224, infra.

*yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti* (TS. *uditau vyeti*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. Others, §63.

*mā tvā ni kran pūrvacito* (AV. °*cittā*, MS. °*cittau*) *nikāriṇaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. See §399.

*imau* (Kauś. *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*ṣā*) *ajarau patatriṇau* (VSK. TS.† KS. °*ṇo*—so all texts, before following sonant) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Nom. dual: gen. sing.

### 11. 'Saṁprasāraṇa'; *i(ī): ya, yā*, and the like

**§733.** We have already referred in §§656 ff. to the phenomena of so-called saṁprasāraṇa as they concern *ṛ* in variation with *ra, rā*. Similar exchanges occur between *i* and *ya*, but in almost every case they concern morphologically or lexically independent forms. There is hardly a trace among them of the genuine ablaut relations that exist in such roots as *yaj: ij*, etc. The phonetic importance of these variants is therefore secondary and contributory. They show that fluctuation occurred between such sounds or sound-groups, and so tend to support the ablaut relations of *i: ya* as a live factor in the language. Indeed so live was this factor that it was capable of producing secondary and analogical developments where it did not belong historically, as in the following case, which is the most interesting of all these variants from the phonetic standpoint:

*agne yat te tejas tena taṁ prati titigdhi* (KS. *tityagdhi*, AV. *tam atejasaṁ kṛṇu*) . . . AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. For the 'adventurous' *tityagdhi*, from root *tij* but apparently influenced in form by thought of *tyaj* or the like, see VV I p. 191.

**§734.** All our other variants are morphologically or lexically quite independent, except possibly the following:

*prapīnam* (MŚ. v. l. °*tam*, TS. ApŚ. *prapyātam*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ. *salilasya*) *madhye* VS. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The 'roots' *pī* and *pyā* are ultimately one.

*yatrāsate sukṛto yatra te yayuḥ* (AV. *ta īyuḥ*) RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. 'Roots' *yā* and *i;* the latter form here metrically poor.

*vikirida* (KS. °*ḍa*, VS. °*dra*, MS. *vyakṛḍa*) *vilohita* VS. TS. MS. KS. It is barely possible that the first syllable of this obscure epithet of

Rudra may show a variation which properly belongs here; but nothing is really known of the word.

*agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva* (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ. *iyakṣva* is a desiderative from *yaj;* possibly for metrical reasons, KS. presents a sort of contraction of it, which in VV I p. 123 we have doubtfully classed as a root present.

*dhanāni śakro dhanyaḥ* (AŚ. *dhanīḥ*) *surādhāḥ* TB. AŚ. The reduction of the commonplace adjective *dhanyaḥ* to the monstrous *dhanīḥ* can only be a phonetic corruption or blunder (or should we read *dhanī*, from *dhanin*?).

**§735.** Of the lexical variants, several concern monosyllabic forms like *id, īm*, varying with *yad, yam;* or the like:

*apāṁ payasvad it* (KS. *yat*) *payaḥ* RV. KS.: *apāṁ payaso yat payaḥ* AV. TS. TB. MŚ.

*gomāṅ id* (SV. *yad*) *indra te sakhā* RV. SV.

*muṣkāv id* (VSK. *°kā id*, LŚ. *°kau yad*) *asyā ejataḥ* AV. VS. VSK. ŚŚ. LŚ.

*mitraṁ na yaṁ* (TB. *īṁ*) *śimyā goṣu gavyavaḥ* (TB. *°vat*) RV. TB.

*samyak* (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ.* MŚ. *sam it*, KS.* *sarit*, all mss.) *sravanti sarito* (TAA. *°tā*, Poona ed. *°to*) *na dhenāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.* ŚB. TAA. KŚ. ApŚ.* MŚ.

*yadi tvam atra* (Vait. *tvaṁ tatra*) *manasā jagantha* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.: *yad-yat tvam atra manasānuvettha* LŚ.

*iti cid dhi* (AV. **yadi cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantām* RV. AV. (both).

**§736.** In others the variation is accounted for by the presence or absence of the augment or a particle or the preposition *ā* before a verb form or derivative noun, and after a preposition ending in *i*:

*mā dhenur atyāsāriṇī* (HG. *atisā°*) HG. ApMB. The true reading is manifestly that of ApMB.; HG. has a phonetic reduction (it should mean 'having diarrhea!').

*yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *yajñaḥ pratyaṣṭhāt* (v. l. *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS.: *yajñaḥ praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matīnām* MŚ.

*toyena jīvān †visasarja* (TA. text *vya ca sarja*, comm. v. l. *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA. MahānU. The only possible reading in TA. is *vyasasarja*, which is itself anomalous enough; see VV I p. 140.

*abhyaṣikṣi rājābhūm* (ApŚ. *°bhūvam*) MS. ApŚ.: *abhiśikṣa rājābhuvam* (v. l. *°bhūvam*) MŚ.

**§737.** Stems or endings in *i* varying with extensions in *(y)a*:

*agnir gṛhapatīnām* (MS. KS. *gārhapatyānām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*sūpasthā asi vānaspatyaḥ* MŚ.: *sūpasthā devo vanaspatiḥ* TS.

*ye 'gnayaḥ purīṣyāḥ* (*purīṣiṇaḥ*), and others, see §907.

*antimitraś* (TS. *antyam*°) *dūre-amitraś* (MS. *'mitraś*) *ca gaṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. Both probably mean 'having near friends'; *anti* and adj. *antya*. Weber and Keith follow the comm. on TS. in dividing *anty-amitraś*, 'with foes within,' which is less plausible.

*agnir havyaṁ* (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*ahāḥ śarīraṁ* (TB. *ahāc char*°) *payasā sameti* (TB. °*tya*) TB. Vait. (also AVPpp.) The correct reading is doubtless the gerund *sametya*; the 3d sing. *sameti* may almost be considered a case of genuine 'Saṁprasāraṇa'. Cf. VV I p. 164.

*kim it te viṣṇo paricakṣyaṁ bhūt* (SV. *paricakṣi nāma*) RV. SV. TS. MS. N. The SV. form is scarcely interpretable (see Benfey's *Glossar* for two suggestions), and is probably a sort of phonetic corruption of the other.

*tāḥ prācya* (°*yaḥ, prācīr*) . . ., see §387. Equivalent case-forms; others will be found in the volume on Noun Inflection.

**§738.** Remoter lexical variants and corruptions:

*satyaṁ vadanty anv icha* (KS. *anu yacha*) *etat* TS. KS. PG. *anu-iṣ* 'seek after': *anu-yam* 'follow'.

*yebhir viśvam* (SV. *vy aśvam*) *airayaḥ* RV. SV. *Vy aśvam* doubtless a corruption, favored by this sort of phonetic shift. Benfey takes *aśva* as a proper name.

*anyām icha pitṛṣadaṁ vyaktām* (ApMB. *vittām*) RV. ApMB.: *jāmim icha pitṛṣadaṁ nyaktam* (read °*tām*) AV. *vittām* is certainly secondary. Note that in *jāmim*: *anyām* we also have a kind of saṁprasāraṇa in the final syllable.

*acittapājā* (TA. *acyuta*°) *agnīt* MS. TA. ŚŚ. Also: *acittamanā* (TA. *acyuta*°) *upavaktā*, same texts. Here *yu*: *i* vary; cf. the second variant in §736, and next.

*bhujyuḥ* (MS. *bhujī*) *suparṇo yajño gandharvaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *yu*: *ī*, cf. prec.

*pāhi mā didyoḥ* (TS. TB. *mādya divaḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB.

*ayaṁ yo 'si* (MŚ. *yo asya*) *yasya ta idaṁ śiraḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter certainly secondary.

*yena bhūyaś ca rātryām* (ApMB. *carāty ayam*, MG. *caraty ayam*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §61.

### 12. Saṁprasāraṇa: *u*(*ū*): *va, vā*, and the like.

**§739.** Here, as in the preceding division, there are very few purely phonetic variants; almost all of them involve lexical or morphological divergences. The most clearly phonetic cases are:

*svar* (KhG. *sur*) *abhivyakhyam* KS. ApŚ. GG. KhG.: *svar abhivyakhyaṁ* (MS. MŚ. °*kśaṁ*) *jyotir vaiśvānaram* MS. KS. MŚ. *sur* is certainly for *svar*; cf. the Dhātupāṭha root *sur* 'shine'.

*kati dhāmāni kati ye vivāsāḥ* MS.: *ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭīḥ* AV. Different ablaut grades of the root *vas* 'shine'.

*agnir havyaṁ* (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The roots *sūd* and *svad* are distinct historically, but no doubt related prehistorically.

*agnir havyāni siṣvadat* RV.: *agnir havyā suṣūdati* RV.

*ayā no yajñaṁ vahāsi* KŚ.: *ayasā havyam ūhiṣe* ApŚ. ApMB. HG. And others; see §502. Related roots *vah* and *ūh*.

And similarly in suffixal elements:

*vidyullekheva bhāsvarā* (MahānU. *bhāsurā*, v. l. *bhāsvarā*) TA. MahānU. Both these stems are familiar adjectives.

*madhuntamānāṁ* (VSK. *madhvant*°, MS. *madughānāṁ*) *tvā patmann ādhūnomi* VS. VSK. ŚB. MS. The VS. form is a kind of superlative to *madhu*, modeled upon *madin-tama*, which occurs in the preceding formula. The VSK. form is a variation on the other, suggested by suffixal forms in *van(t)*.

*sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan* JB.: *sugaṁ tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ. So the printed ed. of LŚ.; BR. read *sugantvaḥ* 'leicht gangbar'; but no **gantva* is recorded. The text is evidently very corrupt.

**§740.** Several times the AV. presents the word *abhiśastipā(ḥ)*, 'protector against imprecation', followed by the particle *u*, while other texts read *abhiśastipāvā*, as nom. of a suffixal form in *-van*; cf. Lanman's note in Whitney on AV. 19. 24. 5, which suggests that AV. is secondary:

*bhavā kṛṣṭīnāṁ* (AV. *gṛ*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG.

*abhūr gṛṣṭīnām* (AV. **vaśānām* in text, mss. *v āpīnām*; HG. *āpīṇām*, ApMB. *āpīnām*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB.

*ṛṣīṇāṁ putro abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. VS. ŚB.

And similarly, the particles *vā* and *u* interchange once:

*yad vā* (RVKh. *u*) *devī sarasvatī* AV. RVKh.

**§741.** The prefix *su* exchanges a number of times with the stem *sva* in composition, just as both of them exchange with *sa-*(§§364, 612):

*nāvaś caranti svasica iyānāḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *nāvo viyanti susico na vāṇīḥ* MS. KS.

*imaṁ yajñaṁ svadhayā ye yajante* (KS. *dadante*) KS. AŚ.: *imaṁ ca yajñaṁ sudhayā dadante* MS.: *ya imam yajñaṁ svadhayā dadante* (ŚŚ. *bhajante*) VS. TS. ŚŚ.

*sugā* (TS. ApŚ. *svagā*) *vo devāḥ sadanā* (TS. N. *sadanam*) *akarma* (MS. *kṛṇomi*, KŚ. Kauś. ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*, KS. *devās sadanedam astu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. ApŚ. N.

*sunītī svayaśastaram* (SV. *su°*) RV. SV.

*avabhṛthaś ca svagākāraś* (KS. *su°*) *ca* MS. KS. So the one ms. of KS.; but ed. em. *svagā°*, no doubt rightly; cf. *ava° ca me svagā° ca me*, in Conc.

*ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte* (AV. *cā suhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §119.

*priyāṇy aṅgāni svadhitā parūṅṣi* (Vait. *aṅgā sukṛtā purūṇi*) TB. Vait.

**§742.** The rest are sporadic lexical variants:

*urudrapso viśvarūpa induḥ* TS. ApŚ.: *purudasmo viṣurūpa* (KS. *°dasmavad viśvarūpam*) *induḥ* VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Other cases of *viṣu: viśva* in §291.

*dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāḥ pitṝṇāṁ somavatām* VS.: *pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhrvanūkāśān* ApŚ. *babhru* + *nikāśa* (*anūkāśa*).

*brahmādhiguptaḥ* (PG. *brahmābhi°*) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG. *surakṣitaḥ syāṁ*) *svāhā* AG. PG.: *brahmābhigūrtaṁ svarākṣāṇaḥ* (most mss. *svarārakṣāṇaḥ*) MG. For AG. Stenzler says: 'möge ich Lieder ergiessen'.

*asmāṁ* (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣv ā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *asmān devāso †'vatā haveṣu* AV.

*svādhyo* (TB. *°dhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB. *apsv aj°*) RV. TB.

*purutrā te manutāṁ* (AV. *vanvatāṁ*, comm. *vanutāṁ*) *viṣṭhitaṁ jagat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. Sing.: plur.; see VV I p. 266.

*indraḥ* (ŚŚ. *°as*) *patiḥ tuviṣṭamo* (AA. ŚŚ. *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ. *janeṣu*) AV. AA. ŚŚ.

*ā yāhi* (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (ŚŚ.° *ṣv ā*, MS. *janiṣva*) MS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §§693, 826.

**§743.** A number of times, in lexical or morphological variants, *vi* or *vī* is found varying with *u* or *ū*:

*vidyutām* (PG. MG. *udyatām*) *iva sūryaḥ* ŚŚ. AG. PG. MG.

*adyā kṛṇuhi vītaye* (SV. *°hy ūtaye*) RV. SV.: *nṛvat kṛṇuhi vītaye* (SV. *°hy ūtaye*) RV. SV. The variation may also be considered one between *yū* and *vī* (§805).

*achidrāṁ pārayiṣṇum* (SMB. *°yiṣṇvīm*) TS. SMB. Fem. acc. of *u* stem.

*dṛśāno rukma urvyā* (RV. KS. *urviyā*, MS. *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS. *vi bhāti*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. Cf. §791, and next variant. The form *uruyā* seems to be characteristic of MS.

*cakṣur ma urvyā* (KS. *urviyā*, MS. *uruyā*) *vi bhāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

*dhiṣaṇe vīḍū* (*vīḍvī*) . . ., and others, see §169.

*yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti* (TS. *uditau vyeti*) RV. VS. VSK. TS.: *yasminn adhi vitataḥ sūra eti* MS. KS.: *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā* AV. See §63.

13. *aya: e* and the like.

**§744.** On this general subject see Bloomfield, *AJP* 5. 27 ff.; Wackernagel I p. 53 f. It is clearly Prakritic in character. The variants are few, and mostly capable of different lexical or morphological explanations. Perhaps the only purely phonetic variant is the following; the MS. form is not otherwise recorded and is reasonably supposed to be merely a dialectic form of the other:

*namaḥ kiṅśilāya ca kṣayaṇāya* (MS. *kṣeṇāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Epithet of land.

**§745.** In several verb forms we find the same variation, where the *aya* forms may (with more or less forcing) be explained as causatives, or as 1st class presents, the alternative forms being derived from the non-causative, or from root-class presents; but undoubtedly the phonetic tendency in question is involved in them:

*arejetāṁ* (TB. *arejayatāṁ*) *rodasī pājasā girā* RV. TB. Cf. VV I p. 154; a sort of hyper-Sanskritism in TB., which spoils the meter.

*uttamaṁ nākam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. °*yainam*; TA. *rohemam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. See VV I p. 152. The contracted form of TA. is unmetrical.

*sed u rājā kṣayati* (TB. *kṣeti*) *carṣaṇīnām* RV. MS. TB. The contracted form is again unmetrical. Cf. VV I p. 123.

*agnir* (also: *vāyur, prajāpatir* etc.) *dīkṣitaḥ . . . dīkṣayatu* (JB. *dīkṣeta*) JB. ApŚ. See VV I §160.

**§746.** Otherwise we find a few miscellaneous cases, concerning noun inflection or particles:

*pibāt somaṁ mamadad* (AŚ. ŚŚ. °*mam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayaḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. See VV I p. 88.

*tasyed* (AV. *tasya yad*) *āhuḥ pippalaṁ svādv agre* RV. AV. The AV. expansion is hypermetric; according to Whitney, Ppp. agrees with RV.

**§747.** As showing analogous tendencies, we append a miscellaneous group of cases of variation between *e*(*ai*) and *avi, ayi, iye, iya, ā-yā*. For *e: ya, yā*, see §803:

*saṁsrāvabhāgā* (VS. ŚB. *saṁsrava*°; MS. °*gāḥ*, KS. Kauś. °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *bṛhantaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §96.

TS. p.p. *stha, iṣāḥ*; and accordingly Keith, 'well-nourished'; but this is implausible. The original doubtless means *stha iṣā* 'ye are great by food'; Kauś., 'by strength'.

*tebhyo ghṛtasya kulyaitu* (TA. *dhārayitum*) AV. TA. The AV. form intends *kulyā-etu*; TA. suggests *dhāraitu* (*dhārā-etu*) as an intermediate stage between AV. and its secondary reading.

*āruroha tve sacā* (KS. *tvayy api*) KS. TB. AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.

*revati predhā yajñapatim ā viśa* MS. KS.: *revati yajamāne priyaṁ dhā ā viśa* VS. ŚB.: *revatīr yajñapatiṁ priyadhāviśata* TS. ApŚ. The old adverb *predhā* (doubtless original), 'kindly', becomes *priyadhā* in TS., and this is further broken up into *priyaṁ dhāḥ*,'establish the pleasant', in VS.

*vi dhūmam agne aruṣaṁ miyedhya* (MS. *medhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA. *miyedha* and *medha*, both RV., are synonyms; it is a disputed question whether there is any ultimate relation between them.

*agnir devebhyaḥ suvidatriyebhyaḥ* (TA. *suvidatrebhyaḥ*) RV. AV. TA. N. In the original form °*datriyebhyaḥ* stands for °*datryebhyaḥ* (suffix *ya*).

*pratiravebhyaḥ* (TA. *pratirebhyaḥ*) *svāhā* MS. TA. The correct reading is certainly that of MS.; *pratirava* in the soma ritual means the 'echo-hole', otherwise called *uparava*. TA. comm. *pratirebhyo 'bhivṛddhihetubhyaḥ prāṇadevebhyaḥ* (as if *pra-tira* 'extending' [life]).

*ā yāta* (SMB. GG. ViDh. *eta*) *pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ* (HG. *somyāḥ*) AV. SMB. GG. HG. ViDh. *ā-yā* and *ā-i*, synonyms.

Compare the interesting case *agniṁ* (SV. *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśociṣam* RV. SV.; see §843.

### 14. *ava: o* and the like

**§748.** See the references quoted in §744. The variants are even fewer than those concerning *aya* and *e*. The most clearly phonetic instance shows the peculiar pronominal genitive form *to* (Wackernagel p. 54):

*to-to* (MS. KS. MŚ. *tava-tava*, TS. ApŚ. *to-te*) *rāyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

**§749.** Other stray cases which involve the same phonetic tendency:

*yatra yanti srotyās* (KS. *sravatyas*) *taj jitaṁ te* AV. TS. MS. KS. The fuller form of KS. improves the meter. RV. knows the stems *srotyā* (found here) and *sravantī* = KS. *sravatī*, both meaning 'stream'. But note that several mss. of KS. read *sravatyās*, which points to a hyper-Sanskritic form based on *srotyās*.

*sā naḥ priyā supratūrtir maghonī* TS.: *sā naḥ supratūrtiḥ priyā naḥ*

*suhār ṇaḥ priyavanir maghavanir antā ehi* MS. In TS. the regular fem. of *maghavan*, based on the weak stem *maghon-*; in MS. an *i*-extension of the strong stem.

*svāhā tvā subhava* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. °*vaḥ*, KS. *subho*) *sūryāya* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KB. ŚB. ApŚ. The KS. probably has really a phonetic contraction, but may be understood as from stem *su-bhu* (*-bhū*), parallel to *-bhava(s)*.

*anābho mṛḍa dhūrte* (read °*ta* with some mss. of MS. and all of MŚ.) MS. MŚ.: *anārbhava mṛḍa* KS. ApŚ. Cf. p. w. 5 Nachträge, s. v. Possibly here also forms of root *bhū* may be involved, as in the last; but the readings are very obscure. Epithets of Rudra. KS. ms. reads *anānbhava*; KapS. *anār*°.

**§750.** We append a stray lexical variant of *ava* and *ū*;

*avamais ta ūrvais te kāvyais te pitṛbhir . . . bhakṣayāmi* PB. LŚ.: *ūmaiḥ pitṛbhir . . . bhakṣayāmi* AB. ŚŚ. Vait. It is possible that the latter form intends *avama* 'nether', instead of *ūma* 'helper', which does not fit *pitṛbhiḥ* so well. We should then have a sort of Prakritic reduction. Caland does not translate the word in Vait.

For *o: va, vā*, see §804.

# CHAPTER XVI. INSERTION OR EXPULSION OF VOWELS

## 1. EPENTHESIS OF VOWEL BETWEEN TWO CONSONANTS

**§751.** In this chapter we shall consider mainly two kinds of variation. One, the more extensive, is the writing of *iy* for *y* and *uv* for *v*; it is, as we shall see, primarily a matter of orthography, since it occurs almost exclusively where *y* and *v* have vocalic function. The other, which we shall take up first, is epenthesis of a vowel (usually *i*) between two consonants. It is dealt with in Wackernagel I §§49–53; also, in so far as it concerns aorist verb forms containing *-rṣ-* or- *riṣ-*, in VV I pp. 189–191. As Wackernagel says (p. 57), this epenthesis is clearly related to the Prakritic tendency to avoid a succession of dissimilar consonants by a similar epenthesis.

**§752.** In the variants it is almost always a matter of genuine epenthesis, that is insertion of a vowel which was originally absent. The older form of the variant is regularly that which lacks the vowel; and moreover in most cases the history of the word justifies the assumption that the original form of the word lacked it.

**§753.** Perhaps the only two cases in which beyond any question an original vowel is expelled in one form of the variant are the following, on which see VV I pp. 190–1, and Wackernagel I p. 60. As Wackernagel observes, the forms without the vowels are hyper-Sanskritic. They show a straining to avoid what is felt as dialectic and incorrect, carried to the point of dropping vowels which properly belong in the words:

*pra ṇa* (MS. *nā*, SV. PB. *na*) *āyūṅṣi tāriṣat* (VS.* TS.* KS.* ŚŚ. N.* *tāriṣaḥ*, Kauś. *tārṣat*) RV. AV. SV. VS.*TS.*MS. KS.*PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. N.* The Kauś. form is bad metrically.

*āchettā te* (TB. ApŚ.* *vo*) *mā riṣam* (KS. *riṣat*, MS. and all mss. of MŚ. *mārṣam*) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Since the root is *riṣ*, the Maitr. form (to be read also in MŚ.) is formally impossible, except as a purely phonetic (hyper-Sanskritic) variant for *mā riṣam*.

**§754.** In the next group of variants, aorists of the root *car*, both forms with and without *i* are otherwise known, but at least in two of the three cases the older forms of these particular variants show forms without *i*, so that they may also be counted as hyper-Sanskritisms:

*apo* (RV. AŚ. *āpo*) *adyānv* (TS. TB. JB. ApŚ. *anv*, AV. *divyā*) *acārisam* (JB.† *acārṣam*, AV. *acāyiṣam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

JB. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB. ApG. MG. Add to VV I §286a, p. 190. Note that JB. is unmetrical.

*agne vratapate vratam acārīṣam* (MS. MŚ. v. l. *acārṣam*), VS. TS. MS. KS.† ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. HG.

*vratānāṁ vratapate* (Kauś. °*patayo*) *vratam acārīṣam* (MS. *acārṣam*) MS. TA. Kauś.

**§755.** The original form of *paraśu* or *parśu* is uncertain; Wackernagel §51 believes that it was *parśu*, but *paraśu* seems commoner and is apparently supported by Greek πέλεκυς. In the variant which follows the meter is indeterminate (reading *suastiḥ*, the form *parśur* can be made to fit metrically); but note that in TS. both forms of the word occur in the same pāda, which makes *parśu* suspicious:

*paraśur* (TS. *parśur*) *vediḥ paraśur naḥ svasti* (TS. °*tiḥ*) AV. TS.

**§756.** There are other cases in which double forms, with and without the vowel, are more or less familiar in the language generally. But it appears that in most if not all the other variants, these particular formulas originally contained the form without the vowel, so that the form with epenthesis may be regarded as secondary at least in the context considered.

**§757.** The vowel inserted is regularly *i*, seldom *a* or *u*. It is found commonly before or after a liquid, generally *r*, and most frequently of all between *r* and a sibilant or *h*. In addition there are a number of cases in which the epenthetic vowel *i* seems to be inserted before a labial consonant, especially *v*; this principle is not recognized in Wackernagel, nor, so far as we know, elsewhere. The insertion is as a rule injurious to the meter: to make the text metrical it has to be omitted.

**§758.** First, between *r* and sibilants: the only certain cases except that mentioned in §755 are aorist forms. We have mentioned above those in which the vowel *i* is certainly or probably original. Those in which it is secondary are (see on them all VV I, l. c.):

*yad rātriyā* (MahānU. TA. v. l. *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA. v. l. *akārīṣam*) TA. MahānU.

*dıteḥ putrāṇām adıter akārṣam* (MS. *akārīṣam*) AV. MS.

*tan naḥ parṣad* (MS. *pariṣad*) *ati dviṣaḥ* TS. MS.

*dakṣaṁ te bhadram ābhārṣam* (AV. *ta ugram ā bhārīṣam*) RV. AV.

**§759.** The only other case is probably no genuine variant, since the Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. reads *dhūrṣadam*. It is therefore probably to be deleted in Wackernagel I p. 56; likewise delete there the form *dhūruṣāh-*, which is supported by only one ms. in TS. 1. 2. 8. 2; the other mss. all read *dhūrṣāh-*.

*ghṛtapratīkaṁ va* (TB. *ca*) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB. Bibl. Ind. *dhūruṣadam*) RV. TB. ApŚ.

§**760.** There is one variant vowel between *l* and a sibilant; most mss. of MS. (in three occurrences) and of MŚ. (in two) read with epenthesis *-valiśā*, which should no doubt be read in all the Maitr. passages, altho Von Schroeder, for no apparent reason, reads twice *-valśā* and only once *-valiśā*:

*sahasravalśā* (MS.* MŚ. v. l. °*valiśā*) *vi vayaṁ ruhema* RV. VS. TS. MS.* KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The epenthetic *i* is bad metrically.

§**761.** Between *r* and *h*, there are two instances of the same word. The variation is really lexical (*spārha: svāruha*), but is certainly helped along by the tendency we are considering:

*spārhā* (TB. *svāruhā*) *yasya śriyo dṛśe* RV. KS. TB.

*spārho* (TB. *svāruho*) *deva niyutvatā* RV. SV. VS. TB.

§**762.** A single instance between *l* and *h*:

*etad brahmann upa valhāmasi* (AŚ. *apa*°; LŚ. *upabalihāmahe*) *tvā* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

§**763.** Likewise one between *h* and *r*:

*dahraṁ* (v. l. *daharaṁ*) *vipāpmavaraveśmabhūtam* (TA. Poona ed. *vipāpaṁ* [v. l. *vipāpma*] *vara*°; MahānU. *vipāpmaṁ varaṁ* [v. l. *vara-*] *veśma*°) TA. MahānU. Both *dahara* and *dahra* are known; the latter is required by the meter here.

§**764.** Before labial consonants, generally *v*:

*puru tvā dāśvān* (SV. *dāśivāṁ*) *voce* RV. SV. The inserted *i* in SV. is doubtless meant to improve the meter. In RV. *dāśvān* was trissyllabic (probably *dāśuān*, Oldenberg).

*sutaḥ sudakṣa dhanva* (SV. *dhaniva*) RV. SV. Read *dhanua* in RV.; the *i* of SV. is to be explained as in the prec.

*aśvinā gharmaṁ pātaṁ hārdvānam* (TA. *hārddivānam*, read with Poona ed. *hārdi*°) VS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. And others; see §267.

*varṣmā* (VS. *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS. *drāghuyā*, MS. *drāghmā*, KS. *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. The *i*-forms of VS. are exceptional. Interesting is the TS. form, which suggests a middle stage **drāghivā* (blend of KS. *drāghvā* and VS. *drāghimā*), which has suffered metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*iv: uy*).

Here we may also mention the common forms *pṛthvī* and *pṛthivī*. In the one variant noted, the meter requires the shorter form. It is a disputed question which is the original; Wackernagel thinks *pṛthivī* (I p. 58), but there is something to be said on the other side (cf. e.g. Avestan *pərəthwī*):

*pṛthvī* (VaradotU. *pṛthivī*) *suvarcā yuvatiḥ sajoṣāḥ* TB. VaradotU.

**§765.** Finally, an isolated corruption:

*yad asyā aṅhubhedyāḥ* (LŚ. *aṇuhodbhyāḥ*) AV. VS. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. The LŚ. form is an uninterpretable corruption. The word *aṇu* doubtless floated before the mind of whoever first spoke or wrote it.

### 2. WRITING OF *iy* FOR *y* AND *uv* FOR *v*

**§766.** The fullest previous account of this subject is found in Wackernagel I §181a, note; a briefer statement in Whitney 129d. The Prātiśākhyas seem to take no note of it, not even the TPr., altho the resolution is peculiarly characteristic of TS. and other Tait. texts. In the commentary on TPr. 2. 25 Whitney believed he detected a reference to it in the term *sphurita*, but the passage is by no means clear.

**§767.** The arbitrary and capricious nature of the Vedic tradition comes out nowhere more clearly than here. Certain broad general tendencies appear; the most striking is the tendency just mentioned of all Taittirīya texts to prefer the spellings *iy* and *uv*. Yet even this is cut across by counter-currents in individual cases. The participle of the root *kṣi*, which in all non-Tait. texts beginning with RV. itself is regularly spelled *kṣiyant* with resolution, in Tait. texts alone keeps or rather restores the historically 'regular' spelling *kṣyant*, in defiance of meter which shows that even there it must have been pronounced *kṣiyant* (§795). In some other cases where resolution is regular, Tait. texts perversely show the unresolved form, thus going counter to their general practice. For instance, in two variant formulas (§797) they read *prorṇvāthām* (this time with VSK.) against *prorṇuv°* of all other texts, which is the regular form in the present of the fifth class when the present-sign *nu* is preceded by a consonant (Whitney 697a). Again, the word which in most texts is written *kuvala* seems to have in the Tait. school the definitely established form *kvàla* (§782); nor can this be explained as due to metrical considerations, since it is found in prose Brāhmaṇa passages. Similarly the adverb *urviyā* (so RV. always) is spelled *urvyā* in TS. (also in VS., §791); and *kuvayi* or *°ya* of MS. KS is written *kvayi* in TS. and VS. A Tait. text (TA.) even contains one of the three cases (*nyemur*, for *ni-yemur*) in which the final vowel (*i* or *u*) of a preposition is suppressed before the related semi-vowel (*y* or *v*) which follows it, thus leaning over backward to avoid even the semblance of the resolution of which the Tait. school is otherwise so fond (§770).

**§768.** Nor is the Tait. school the only one which displays this capri-

cious character. KS. in general does not favor *iy* for *y* or *uv* for *v*. Yet in the case of the single word which all other texts write *tryavi*, KS. in three different variants shows the invariable spelling *triyavi* (§776). The RV. itself is guilty of one strange anomaly: the pres. mid. participle of the root *su* 'press', is always written *suvāna*, despite the fact that, as the meter shows, it was always pronounced *svāna*; the SV. in the case of this word writes always *svāna*, in accord with the actual pronunciation (§794).

**§769.** Generally speaking, this matter is one which concerns orthographic convention alone, not phonetics in a proper sense. This is proved by the fact that in practically all metrical passages the *y* or *v* was syllabic. Thus the writing *iy* or *uv* represents the actual pronunciation of all texts better than the other writing. Nevertheless it is almost invariably secondary. In nearly every case the older version writes *y* or *v*, and a secondary text (generally of the Tait. school) substitutes *iy* or *uv*.

**§770.** To such an extent was *y* or *v* felt as a proper way of writing the actual sounds *iy* or *uv* that in three variant texts we find an original *i* or *u*, as final vowel of a preposition, suppressed in certain texts before a following initial *y* or *v*. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 59. These three cases are curious enough to be worth special mention. They are:

*mā tvā ke cin ni* (AV. *ke cid †vi*) *yaman vin̐* (SV. *ke cin ni yemur in*; TA. *ke cin nyemur in*) *na pāśinaḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TA. The TA. form, which defies meter as well as etymology, can only be interpreted as standing for *ni yemur*; so the comm. There is, to be sure, a v. l. *ni yemur*, but *nyemur* is well attested and appears to have been the actual reading of TA.

*graha viśvajanīna niyantar* (KS. *nyantar*) . . . MS. KS. This and the next passage are prose. KS. can only intend *ni-yantar*.

*anvāsi* PB.: *anwāsi* . . . TS. KS. (not GB. Vait., see §255): *anuvāya* . . . MS. Here PB. can only have in mind *anu-vā*.

**§771.** In a handful of cases this resolution is attended by false divisions which lead to real lexical variations in secondary texts, as when *apsv ā* is resolved to *apsuv ā* which is then read *apsu vā* in TS. (?§778), or when an original *nyañ* (from *nyañc*) is broken up into *ni yan* (thru the middle stage *niyañ*) in a secondary reading of AV. (§778). Again the adjective *apyā* is made into the two words *api yā* in SV. (§785), and the RV. *abhvam* (two syllables, not **abhuam*) is revamped by TB. into *ab-bhuvam*, thinking of *ap* 'water' (§790). Other variants which have lexical bearings are *suvāñ*: *svān(a)*, §778; *nv* for *nu* varying

with *'nv* for *anu* (wrongly printed *nuv* in TB. Bibl. Ind. ed., §778); and the few cases in which suffixal forms in *īya(n)*, with *ī*, vary with forms in *ya(n)*, the *ī* proving that we are not dealing with mere resolution of *y* to *iy* (§786). With these exceptions, all the cases listed here are purely phonetic, or rather orthographic.

**§772.** The variants fall into five clearly defined groups. First, *i* or *u* final (either absolutely or in the seam of compounds), written *iy* or *uv* as well as *y* or *v* before an initial vowel; most commonly after more than one consonant. Second, non-final *y* and *v* in radical (initial) syllables; chiefly the one word *svar* (*suvar*) and its compounds, plus several words beginning in *k-* (in which the *iy* or *uv* form seems to be more primary). Third, the suffix *ya* pronounced *iya*, and written so in secondary texts; in practically all cases after more than one consonant. Fourth, the stem-final of noun stems in long or short *i* or *u*, before inflectional endings beginning with a vowel; again the *y* or *v*, even when not written *iy* or *uv*, is regularly pronounced syllabically, but written so only in secondary texts. Fifth, a few miscellaneous verb-forms, either finite verbs or participles.

**§773.** In all of these groups except the last, the writing *iy* or *uv* is secondary to *y* or *v*, but accords with the actual pronunciation as shown by the almost unvarying testimony of the meter. Again in all except the last, it is regularly Tait. texts which show this secondary writing. Typical is their treatment of the word *svar*, which they practically always write *suvar*; the few exceptions are mostly instances in which ancillary texts of the Tait. school have borrowed formulas from other, non-Tait. texts (such as KS., from which ApŚ. frequently quotes), and have retained the characteristic spelling of those other texts. It would not be unreasonable to see in the writing of *iy* and *uv* an attempt to represent the actual pronunciation. The same tendency may be noted occasionally in other schools, and in the reverse change, as when SV. always writes *svāna*, in accord with the meter, for the unmetrical RV. *suvāna* (§794). Yet, as we saw above, changes in both directions are sometimes introduced in defiance of meter.

### A. *uv* and *iy* for *v* (*u*) and *y* final before vowels

**§774.** Most of the variants are metrical, and of course the *y* or *v* is always syllabic. We begin with the particle *u*, which in the RV. etc. is always written not *v* but *u* before a following vowel when it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel (or in *y* for final *i*), but *v* when preceded by a consonant (Wackernagel I §270a):

*ghṛte śrito ghṛtam v* (TA. *uv*) *asya dhāma* RV. VS. TA. AŚ. MŚ.
*praty u* (TB. *uv*) *adarśy* (TB. †*adṛśy*) *āyatī* RV. SV. TB. ŚŚ. AŚ.
*na vā u* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *uv*) *etan mriyase na riṣyasi* RV. VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.
*sa u* (TS. *uv*) *ekaviṅśavartaniḥ* TS. MS. Prose.

**§775.** The spelling *uv* was regular from RV. times in the word *suvita* (*svita*). It is therefore not surprising to find it not limited to Tait. texts:
*śarad dhemantaḥ suvite dadhāta* (MŚ. °*tu*) KS. MŚ.: *śarad varṣāḥ svite* (TS. SMB. *suvitaṁ*) *no dadhāta* (TS. SMB. *astu*) AV. TS. SMB. The meter requires *uv*, but even with that is poor in TS. SMB. because of their change to *astu*.
*suvite mā dhāḥ* TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. LŚ. ŚG. N.: *svite* etc. VS. GB. ŚB. AŚ. Vait. Prose.

**§776.** The word *tryavi*, so spelled in nearly all texts, is thrice spelled *triyavi* in KS., altho this text rarely resolves *y* to *iy*, and altho Tait. texts write this word *tryavi*(!). Two of the variants are prose; the other requires syllabic *y* or *iy*:
*tryavir* (KS. *triyavir*) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.
*tryavir* (KS. *triya*°) *vayaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. Prose.
*tryaviś* (KS. *triya*°) *ca me tryavī* (KS. *triya*°) *ca me* (MS. MŚ. omit *me* twice) VS. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. Prose.

**§777.** The rest are sporadic:
*śutudrī stomaṁ sacatā paruṣṇy* (TA. °*ṇiy*) *ā* RV. TA. MahānU. N. In a jagatī stanza; RV. certainly pronounced °*ṇiy-ā*.
*asikny* (TB. °*niy*) *asy oṣadhe* AV. TB.
*dhārāvarā maruto dhṛṣṇvojasaḥ* (TB. *dhṛṣṇuvo*°) RV. AB. KB. TB.

**§778.** False divisions resulting in lexical variations or corruptions are found in the following:
*yad oṣadhīṣv apsv ā* (TS. *apsu vā*) *yajatra* RV. VS. TS. ŚB. *apsu vā* clearly based upon the intermediate stage *apsuv ā*. As a matter of fact, this may be what TS. really intends; but p.p. divides *apsu vā*, and so Weber and Keith.
*nyañ* (AV. *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV. °*tim*) RV. AV. KS. The AV. has a corruption based upon *niyañ* for *nyañ*.
*svāna bhrājā*° . . . VS. TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *svān nabhrāḍ* . . . KS.: *svāna bhrāṭ* . . . TA.: *suvāñ nabhrāḍ* . . . MS. MŚ. In the latter *su-vāk* (*vāc*) is meant.
[*ato no rudrā uta vā †nv asya* RV.: *tato no rudrā uta vā nuv* (but Poona ed. '*nv*, and comm. *anu*) *asya* TB. We assume that the Poona ed. is right, so that the variant does not belong here.]

We have listed above (§770) the three variants in which just the reverse tendency occurs, namely, a final *i* or *u* is suppressed before an initial *y* or *v*.

B. Non-final *y* (*v*), in radical (initial) syllables

**§779.** These mostly concern the one word *svar* and its compounds. Numerous variant pādas begin with this word itself. They can be got so easily from the Concordance, and show so little interest individually, that we have not taken the space to copy them out here. It will be seen that the form *suvar* is practically limited to Tait. texts, but that in them it is nearly universal. The rare cases in which Tait. texts write *svar* are generally due to quotations (in such texts as ApŚ.) from non-Tait. sources, retaining the non-Tait. spelling. We note that in the variant *s(u)varge loke saṁprorṇvāthām* TS. KSA. TB., the true reading of KSA. is †*svarge loke* †*saṁprorṇuvāthām*; correct Conc.

**§780.** In addition to formulas beginning with *svar* we find for example (the list is far from complete):

*pari lokān pari diśaḥ pari svaḥ* (TA. MahānU. *suvaḥ*) VS. TA. MahānU.

*divi mūrdhānaṁ dadhiṣe svarṣām* (TS. TB. *suv°*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.

*hiraṇyavāśīr iṣiraḥ svarṣāḥ* (TB. *suv°*) RV. TB.—The compound stem *svarṣā* occurs also once initially, viz.:

*svarṣām* (TB. *suv°*) *apsāṁ* (TB. Poona ed. twice †*apsvāṁ*, text and comm.) *vṛjanasya gopām* RV. VS. MS. TB.

**§781.** There is, finally, at least one variant in which a Tait. text (TB.) reads *svar* contrary to metrical requirements; if it was quoted from some other text, that text has not been discovered. The later texts of the same Tait. school, TA. and MahānU., write *suvar*:

*tapasarṣayaḥ* (MahānU. *°ṛṣayaḥ*) *suvar* (TB. *svar*) *anvavindan* TB. TA. MahānU.

**§782.** Next we come to three words, all etymologically obscure, in which an apparently older or more regular form in *iy* or *uv* (always preceded by *k*; is this accidental?), is replaced by *y* or *v* alone. Most curious of all, in each case a Tait. text has the secondary reading with *y* or *v* alone; and in the first of the three this form seems to be known only in the Tait. school and to be regularly used there in this particular word—despite the obvious inconsistency with the usual Tait. tendency. Meter evidently has nothing to do with any of these variations.

*pakṣmāṇi godhūmaiḥ kvalair* (TB. *kvalair*) *utāni* VS. MS. KS. TB.

Here, to be sure, the form *kvalair* makes better meter. But this

cannot account for the change, since the word seems regularly to appear as *kvàla* in the Tait. school, and is so written e.g. in a prose Brāhmaṇa passage, TS. 2. 5. 3. 5.—The same word in:

*ajo dhūmro na godhūmaiḥ kuvalair* (TB. *kvalair*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. *kiyāmbv atra rohatu* RV.: *kyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA. *jāyatām*) AV. TA.

Here the later texts go counter to the meter by expelling *i*. *kuvayaḥ* (KSA. and p.p. of MS. °*yiḥ*) . . . MS. KSA.: *kvayiḥ* . . . VS. TS.

**§783.** Of the remaining cases under this heading one concerns the somewhat doubtful participle *saṁdhuvānā*, which TS. substitutes (in defiance of meter) for *saṁdhvānā* of other texts. We take it to be merely a phonetic or orthographic variant for *saṁdhvānā*, differing from Whitney, *Roots*, who quotes it under root *dhu* (*dhū*):

*saṁdhvānā* (TS. °*dhuvānā*) *vātā abhi no gṛṇantu* TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

The other presents a lexical variation involving false word division, see §832; the word *bhiyaḥ* 'from fear', is evolved out of the case-ending *-bhyaḥ* (KS., or *-bhiḥ* AV.):

*viśvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. °*ṣebhyaḥ*) AV. KS.: *viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhiyaḥ* VS. TS.: *vy amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣāṇām* MS.

### C. Suffixal *y* in noun formations, pronounced and sometimes written *iy*

**§784.** Here we include chiefly nouns and adjectives in suffixal *ya*, but also a few forms in *(i)yañc*, *(i)yac*, where the *y* is treated in the same way. In all genuine instances of this variation, the *y* follows two consonants, and was pronounced as a vowel in all texts (the cases listed §786 are different in character). In practically every case the writing *iya*, tho in accord with metrical requirements, is obviously secondary. It occurs almost exclusively in Tait. texts. The following are the metrical pādas concerned, beginning with the few *(i)yañc* stems:

*asmadryak* (TS. °*driyak*) *saṁ mimīhi śravāṅsi* RV. TS. MS. KS.

*asmadryag* (TS. TB. °*driyag*) *vāvṛdhe vīryāya* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*te pāyavaḥ sadhryañco* (TS. *sadhriyañco*) *niṣadya* RV. TS. MS. KS.

*mā te mano viṣvadryag* (TS. °*driyag*) *vi cārīt* RV. TS. MS. KS.

*vi mucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA. ApŚ. *aghniyā*) *devayānāḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

*vājam arvatsu payo aghnyāsu* (TS. *aghniyāsu*) TS. KS.

*payo gṛheṣu payo aghnyāyām* (TB. ApŚ. *aghniyāsu*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*yad āpo aghnyā* (TS. TB. *aghniyā*) *iti* (omitted in TS. TB. MS. KS. LŚ.)

AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.: *yad āhur aghnyā iti* VS. ŚB.

*ni vīraṁ* (TS. *vīravad*) *gavyam aśvyaṁ* (TS. *aśviyaṁ*) *ca rādhaḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS. Several mss. of MS. *aśviyaṁ*.

*sugavyaṁ no vājī svaśvyam* (TS. °*viyam*) RV. VS. TS. KSA. AŚ.

*parā duṣvapnyaṁ* (TB. TA. ApŚ. MahānU. °*niyaṁ*) *suva* RV. SV. TB. TA. ApŚ. Kauś. MahānU.

*achā devāṁ ūciṣe dhiṣṇyā* (TS. *dhiṣṇiyā*) *ye* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*sa budhnyā* (TS. TB. TA. *budhniyā*) *upamā asya viṣṭhāḥ* AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. TA.

*pra budhnyā* (TS. °*niyā*) *va īrate* (TS. *īrate vo*) *mahāṁsi* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*ahiṁ budhnyam* (TS. °*niyam*) *anu rīyamāṇāḥ* (MS. KS. *anv īyamānāḥ*, TS. *anu saṁcarantīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*svāyāṁ tanū* (ApMB.†MG.†*tanūṁ*) *ṛtviye* (RV.† *ṛtvye*) *nādhamānām* (ApMB. *nātha*°, MG. *bādha*°) RV. ApMB. MG.

*sa yo vṛṣā vṛṣṇyebhiḥ* (TB. °*ṇiyebhiḥ*) *samokāḥ* RV. AB. KB. TB.

*taṁ sadhrīcīr ūtayo vṛṣṇyāni* (TB. *vṛṣṇiyāni*) RV. MS. KS. TB.

*bṛhat sāma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavṛṣṇyam* (MS. °*ṇam*, see §315; TS. °*ṇiyam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

**§785.** There is one case of a false division resulting in a lexical variant (cf. §771):

*ya usriyā apyā* (SV. *api yā*) *antar aśmanaḥ* (SV. °*ni*) RV. SV. The adjective *apyā*, pronounced *apiyā*, is falsely divided in SV.

**§786.** In several variants suffixal *y*, of various kinds, varies with *īy*; that is, the epenthetic vowel is long. The forms concern secondary noun formations in (*ī*)*ya* sometimes; the rest are either comparatives in *yaṁs: īyaṁs*, or denominative participles. In some cases the form in *īy* is shown by the meter as well as by text history to be original, that in plain *y* secondary; note that, most curiously, one of these secondary forms without *ī* occurs in TS.!

*apo vṛṇānaḥ pavate kavīyan* (SV.† °*yān*, TS. *kavyan*) RV. SV. TS. KSA. In SV. nom. of a comparative stem; in the others, of denominative participles.

*turīyāditya* (VSK. *turyā*°) *savanaṁ* (RV. *hav*°) *ta indriyam* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

But in others the longer form is secondary, at times even unmetrical, and is twice found in Tait. texts alone:

*taṁ tvā gṛṇāmi tavasam atavyān* (TS. °*vīyān*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. N. Comparatives.

*saniṁ gāyatraṁ navyāṅsam* (TA. *navīyāṅsam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. Comparatives. In the next case the meter is ambiguous:

*devā devebhyo adhvaryanto* (KS. *adhvarīyanto*) *asthuḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

*sviṣṭiṁ* (°*ṭaṁ*) *no abhi* (*'bhi*) *vasyo* (TS. KŚ. *vasīyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS. KS. KŚ. MŚ. Here the meter shows that *y* was vocalic, tho the spelling *vasyo* seems older.

*yathā no vasyasas* (TS. °*saḥ*, LŚ. *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

*unnetar vasīyo* (KS. *vasyo*) . . . MS. KS. ApŚ. Prose.

*namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya* (MS. *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Prose.

*pāra ikṣavo 'vāryebhyaḥ* (KSA.† *'vārīye°*) *pakṣmabhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.: *avāra ikṣavaḥ pāryebhyaḥ* (KSA. *pārīye°*) TS. KSA. Prose.

**§787.** The following are the prose variants of *ya* and (short) *iya*:

*etāni te aghniye* (PB. *'ghnye*) *nāmāni* TS. PB.: *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS. ŚB. MŚ. In the latter form quasi-meter.

*ā pyāyadhvam aghnyā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *aghniyā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*yāsyā aputryā* (ŚG. °*triyā*) *tanūs* . . . ŚG. SMB.

*ahir asi budhnyaḥ* (TS. ApŚ. *budhniyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*ahirbudhnya mantraṁ me pāhi* MŚ.: *ahe budhniya mantraṁ me gopāya* TB. ApŚ.

*ahir budhnyo* (TS. °*niyo*) *devatā* TS. MS. KS.

*namo jaghanyāya ca budhnyāya* (TS. °*niyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS.: *namo budhnyāya ca jaghanyāya ca* KS.

*namo agriyāya* (VS. KS. *'gryāya*, MS. *'grīyāya*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

*namo vātyāya ca reṣmyāya* (TS. °*miyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. KS.

*namo vīdhryāya* (MS. °*riyāya*, p.p. °*ryāya*; TS. *nama īdhriyāya*) *cātapyāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*namaḥ śīghryāya* (TS. °*riyāya*) *ca śībhyāya ca* VS. TS.: *namaḥ śībhāya ca śīghrāya ca* MS. KS.

*sumitrā* (VS. ŚB. MahānU. ŚŚ. KŚ. °*triyā*, AŚ. LŚ. *sumitryā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ. And similarly *durmitrās* etc., see §315.

*aśvibhyāṁ tiroahniyānāṁ* (MŚ. *tirohnyānāṁ*) . . . ApŚ. MŚ.

*tiroahniyān* (MŚ. *aśvibhyāṁ tirohnyān*) *somān* . . . ApŚ. MŚ.

### D. Stem-final of nouns in *i* or *u*, long or short

**§788.** Here again the meter shows that the *y* or *v* was in nearly every case pronounced as a vowel, so that the resolution to *iy* or *uv* is in

accord with the pr· · ciation. Yet it is always secondary and is practically limited ·· ·.ut. texts. The variants fall naturally into four groups. First, n monosyllabic (radical) *ī* and *ū* stems. In these we expect regularly *iy* and *uv* before vocalic endings in the uncompounded stems, and in compounds after two consonants (Wackernagel III §§91a, 100a); consequently there is opportunity for this variation only in compounds after a single consonant, where the regular forms show *y, v*, but Tait. texts (and rarely others) show *iy, uv*. Second, derivative *ī* stems of the *devī* type, and very rarely *ū* stems in forms that imitate the *devī* declension (see Wackernagel III §97d; only one such variant has been noted). Here the only cases that occur show the variation after two consonants. Third, genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems (see §792). Fourth, *ū* stems of the *vṛkīs* type; the variants are practically limited to the one word *tanū*.

**§789.** Monosyllabic (radical) stems in *ī, ū*. Most of the variants are metrical; we call attention specifically to the prose ones. They nearly all concern compounds of the stems *dhī, bhū*, and *pū*.

*svādhyaṁ* (TS. °*dhiyaṁ*) *janayat sūdayac ca* RV. VS. TS. MS.

*svādhyo* (TB. °*dhiyo*) *manasā devayantaḥ* RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. PG.

*svādhyo* (TB. °*dhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB. *apsv ajī*°) RV. TB.

*taṁ tvā vayaṁ sudhyo* (TB. *sudhiyo*) *navyam agne* RV. MS. KS. TB.

*pāhi māṁ yajñanyam* (TS. TB. °*niyam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.

*vaneṣu citraṁ vibhvaṁ* (TS. *vibhuvaṁ*) *viśe viśe* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*vibhuve* (MS. *vibhve*, KS.† *vibhave*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Prose.

*abhibhuve* (MS. *abhibhve*, KS. *abhibhave*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Prose.

*śataṁ yasya subhvaḥ* (SV. *subhuvaḥ*) *sākam īrate* RV. SV.

*mahiṣaṁ naḥ subhvaṁ* (AVPpp. ms. *subhavas*, Barret *JAOS*. 35. 46 *subhuvas*) *tasthivāṅsam* AVPpp. MS.: *samudraṁ na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayaḥ* RV.: *samudraṁ na subhuvas tasthivāṅsam* AV. Others, see §119.

*ghṛtena no* (MS. KS. *mā*) *ghṛtapvaḥ* (TS. °*puvaḥ*) *punantu* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. According to Roth, AVPpp. also °*puvaḥ*.

*devas tvā savitā punātu vasoḥ pavitreṇa . . . supvā* (ApŚ. *supuvā*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *devas tvā savitotpunātu . . . supvotpunāmi* Kauś. Prose.

**§790.** A peculiar case which may involve lexical reinterpretation of the variant word is the following·

*arhann idaṁ dayase viśvam abhvam* (TA. *abbhuvam*) RV. TA. The pāda occurs in a triṣṭubh verse, and *abhvam* was undoubtedly a dissyllable in RV. In TA. it is reinterpreted as *ab-bh(u)vam* 'originating in water', according to the comm.; see §392.

**§791.** Derivative *ī* and *ū* stems of the *devī* type. The stem-final is here always preceded by two consonants, and the *y* or *v* has vocalic function in nearly all metrical cases. The first is the only case of an *ū* stem:

*samrājñī śvaśrvāṁ* (ApMB. °*ruvāṁ*) *bhava* RV. SMB. ApMB. On this form cf. Wackernagel III p. 189, l. 1.

*asiknyā* (TA. °*niyā*) *marudvṛdhe vitastayā* RV. TA. MahānU. N.

*sūro rathasya naptyaḥ* (ArS. *naptryaḥ*, TB. °*triyaḥ*) RV. AV. ArS. KS. TB.

*ubhayor ārtnyor* (TS. °*niyor*) *jyām* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*devyo vamryo* (VSK. *vamriyo*) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ. Prose.

*dṛśāno rukma urvyā* (RV. KS. *urviyā*, MS. *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS. *vi bhāti*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. This adverb is always spelled *urviyā* in RV.; the spelling *uruyā* (§743) seems to be peculiar to MS.; cf. next.

*cakṣur ma urvyā* (MS. *uruyā*; KS. *urviyā*) *vi bhāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Prose. Cf. prec.

*apīparo mā rātriyā* (MŚ. *rātryā*) *ahno mā pāhi* TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Also: *apī° māhno rātriyai* (*rātryai*) etc., same texts.

*yad rātriyā* (MahānU. and v. l. of TA. *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA. v. l. *akāriṣam*) TA. MahānU.: *yad rātriyāt kurute pāpam* TAA. Here by exception the meter favors the unresolved form.

*rātryai* (TB. °*triyai*) *kṛṣṇaṁ piṅgākṣam* VS. TB.

*rātryai* (TS. *rātriyai*) *tvā* TS. KS. PB. Vait.

*rātryai* (TA. ApŚ. *rātriyai*) *mā pāhi* TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

*rātryai* (TS. TB. *rātriyai*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS. KSA. TB.

*viśvapsnyā* (TS. °*psniyā*) *viśvatas pari* SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Kauś. Here, by exception, the meter favors the unresolved form.

*saṁveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai* (TS. ApŚ. °*triyās*) . . . TS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ.

*sa gāyatryā* (TS. TB. °*triyā*) *triṣṭubhā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Kauś.

*gāyatryai* (TS. °*triyai*, MS. KS. °*tryā*) *gāyatram* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*mano gāyatryai* (TB. ApŚ. °*triyai*) VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.

**§791a.** The following case is peculiar:

*viliptī yā* (*viliptyā*) *bṛhaspate* AV. (both). In two nearly adjoining stanzas, 12. 4. 44 and 46, which except for this change are practically identical. Whitney would emend *viliptyā* to *viliptī yā*; but this is unnecessary; *viliptyās* would be a correct genitive form, depending on *aśnīyāt* of pāda c: 'of the *viliptī* (cow) the non-brahman shall not eat'.

**§792.** Genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems. On these cf. Wackernagel III §22b, which is not quite accurate in stating that all texts write *-yoḥ* and *-voḥ* (rather than *-iyoḥ* and *-uvoḥ*) 'durchweg'; the occurrence of the Tait. spellings in the following variants, at least, seems to have been overlooked. As Wackernagel observes, the *y* and *v* in these forms is regularly vocalic in RV.:

*indrāgnyor* (TS. ApŚ. °*gniyor*) . . . (prose formulas, see Conc.) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ayāḍ agnir indrāgniyoś* . . . TB.: *ayāḍ indrāgnyoś* . . . MS.

*bāhuvor balam* TS. TAA.: *bahu bāhvor balam* AV.: *bāhvor balam* Vait. MŚ. PG.

*bāhvos* (TS. *bāhuvos*) *tava hetayaḥ* VS. TS.: *hetayas tava bāhvoḥ* MS. KS.

*patāti didyun naryasya bāhvoḥ* (TS. *bāhuvoḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS.

*ūrvor* (TS. TAA. *ūruvor*) *ojaḥ* AV. TS. TAA. Vait. MŚ. PG.

**§793.** The stem *tanū* and its type. The only form from another stem than *tanū* itself is the fem. accus. sing. *sudrvam* (from **sudrū*, fem. to *su-dru*), which is of course pronounced *sudruvam* and is so written in SV.—The very numerous cases in which *uv* for *v* is written in forms of *tanū* in Tait. texts alone are not listed in full.

*nemiṁ taṣṭeva sudrvam* (SV. *sudruvam*) RV. SV.

*yasyai bahvīs tanuvo vītaprṣṭhāḥ* TB.: *yasyā bahvyas tanvo vītaprṣṭhāḥ* MS.

*na dhvasmānas tanvī* (TS. *tanuvī*) *repa ā dhuḥ* RV. TS.

*tanūs tanvā* (TS. TAA. *tanuvā*) *me saha* AV. TS. TAA. PG. Vait.: *tanūr me tanvā saha* MŚ. The AV. mss. read °*me sahed antāḥ* or the like; the vulgate presents a violent emendation, abandoned by Whitney in his Transl. Properly speaking this passage is cadenced prose, rather than verse.

*śaṁ tokāya tanuve* (SMB. *tanvai*) *syonaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG. Note that PG. has the characteristic spelling of TS. from which it here quotes (there is a v. l. *tanvai*).

*tayā nas tanvā* (TS. ŚvetU. *tanuvā*) *śaṁtamayā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚvetU. NīlarU. Here the meter is intended for anuṣṭubh, and the resolution makes it even worse than the original form.

*tanvaṁ* (TS. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. *tanuvaṁ*) *me pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. JB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. PG. HG. ApMB. Prose.

## E. Verbal forms.

**§794.** The materials here are scattering and miscellaneous. A large group contains the participle *suvāna*, from *su* 'press', which is always

written thus in RV. altho pronounced *svāna*; SV. changes the spelling to match the pronunciation:
*pra suvānāso* (SV. *svā°*) *bṛhaddiveṣu* (SV. *°deveṣu*) *harayaḥ* RV. SV.
*bṛhat somo vāvṛdhe suvāna induḥ* (SV. *svāno adriḥ*) RV. SV.
*soma u ṣuvāṇaḥ* (SV. PB. *ṣvā°*) *sotṛbhiḥ* RV. SV. PB.
*mitrāḥ suvānā* (SV. *svānā*) *arepasaḥ* RV. SV.
*indre suvānāsa* (SV. *svā°*) *indavaḥ* RV. AV. SV.
*ā soma suvāno* (SV. *svāno*) *adribhiḥ* RV. SV.
*pari ṣya suvāno akṣāḥ* (to be read *akṣāḥ*, cf. Oldenberg *Noten* ad loc.) RV.: *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV.: cf. *pari sya suvāno avyayam* RV.
*pari suvānaś* (SV. *svā°*) *cakṣase devamādanaḥ* RV. SV.
*pari suvānāsa* (SV. *svā°*) *indavaḥ* RV. SV.
*pari suvāno* (SV. PB. *svāno*) *giriṣṭhāḥ* (to be read *°ṣṭhāḥ*) RV. SV. PB.
*suvānā* (SV. *svānā*) *devāsa indavaḥ* RV. SV.
*suvāno* (SV. *svāno*) *arṣa pavitra ā* RV. SV.
*suvāno* (SV. *svānair*) *yāti kavikratuḥ* RV. SV.

**§795.** We have already referred (§767) to the Tait. spelling *kṣyant* for regular *kṣiyant*, participle of root *kṣi* (*kṣeti*, *kṣiyanti* etc.), in defiance of meter:
*prati kṣiyantaṁ* (TS. *kṣyantaṁ*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
*ādityasya vratam upakṣiyantaḥ* (TB. *°kṣyantaḥ*) RV. MS. TB.

**§796.** Conversely to this, but more in accord with the general usage of the school, Tait. texts show *viyantu* for *vyantu* (root *vī*) in numerous variants, conforming to the meter always in those which are metrical.
*samidho agna ājyasya vyantu* (TB. *viyantu*) MS. KS. TB.
*aktaṁ* (MS. MŚ. *aptubhī*, KS. **arthaṁ*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS. TB. KhG. *viyantu*) *vayaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. GG. KhG.: *vyantu vayo 'ktaṁ* (VSK. *ripto*) *rihāṇāḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ. The comms. on both VS. and TS., followed by Keith, take the verb form from *vi* + root *i*.
*vasuvane vasudheyasya vyantu* (TB. *viyantu*) VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
*vyantu* (TS. *viyantu*) *devā haviṣo me asya* TS. MS. KS.
*vyantu* (TS. *viyantu*) *devīr ya ṛtur janīnām* RV. AV. TS. MS. N.
*vyantv* (TB. *viyantv*) *ājyasya* VS. MS. KS. TB.
*uta gnā vyantu* (TB. *viyantu*) *devapatnīḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. N.
*pibantu madantu* (MS. *°tāṁ*) *vyantu* (TB. *viyantu somam*) VS. MS. TB.
*prati na īṁ surabhīṇi vyantu* (TS. *viyantu*) RV. TS. MS. KS.
*lekaḥ salekaḥ . . . viyantu* TS.: *salilaḥ saligaḥ . . . vyantu* MS. KS.

**§797.** In two prose variants Tait. texts, with VSK., read *proṇvāthām* for the more regular *proṇuvī°* (above, §767):

*svargeṇa lokena saṁprorṇuvāthām* Vait.: *svarge loke prorṇuvāthām* (MS. °*tām*, VSK. *prorṇvāthām*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *suvarge* (KSA.† *svarge*) *loke saṁprorṇvāthām* (KSA.† °*ṇuvā*°) TS. KSA. TB.

*ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prorṇuvāthām* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *prorṇvāthām*; MS. MŚ.† *prorṇuvātām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *vapayā dyāvā*° *prorṇuvāthām* Kauś.

§**798.** Finally, we find two cases of forms of the root *hū* (of the 6th, *tud*-class?) with *v* exchanging with *uv*. The latter are commoner in most texts:

*mano nv ā huvāmahe* (Vait. °*hi*; VS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. *hvāmahe*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. See VV I §2.

*tam ahve* (SV. *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV.

# CHAPTER XVII. METATHESIS, HAPLOLOGY, AND DITTOLOGY

## 1. Metathesis

**§799.** On metathesis in Sanskrit in general see Wackernagel I §239, and references. The cases we have noted are almost entirely lexical, but are not without interest as evidence for the extensive operation in the Vedic tradition of this wide-spread linguistic phenomenon. Even when the metathetized form gives a different sense, the fact that metathesis has taken place in a repeated formula remains unquestionable and has linguistic importance.

**§800.** We begin with metathesis of consonants, and first with a small group in which a single consonant is moved from one place to another:

*pūlyāny* (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB. Here mss. of both texts present both readings; and the variation between *lp* and *ly* may be considered graphic.

*asmaddātrā devatrā gachata madhumatīḥ* TS.: *asmadrātā* (MS. KS. ŚŚ. add *madhumatīr* or °*tī*) *devatrā gachata* (KS. *gacha*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. The TS. is doubtless secondary: 'having us as givers' means 'given by us' (so Keith translates; this is of course the meaning of the other variant).

*yasyedam ā rajo yujaḥ* AV. ArS.: *yasyedam ā rajaḥ* AA.: *yasyedam oja ārujaḥ* ŚŚ. See §244.

*indraṁ vagnunā vahata* PB.: *vagnunendraṁ hvayata* TB. ApŚ.

**§801.** Interchange in position between two adjoining consonants occurs a couple of times·

*yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno* (MahānU. *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA. Poona ed. *'yaṁ*) *nāmne* (MahānU. *yatnān me*) *svāhā* TAA. MahānU. In MahānU. v. l. *mānyo* for *nānyo*, and *yan nāmne* for *yatnān me*. The comm. understands 'let that (all) be my (*ātmanaḥ*) portion by effort—no other'. TAA. comm. says *nāman* = *paramātman*!

*yatheyaṁ strī pautram aghaṁ na rodāt* AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. The latter is simply a bad corruption: original, 'that this woman may not weep over harm to her children'.

*adhā jivrī* (AV. *atha jivir*, mss. *jivir*; ApMB. *athā jīvrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthaḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB. See §544.

**§802.** More frequent is interchange in position between two not adjoining consonants:

*yena turyeṇa brahmaṇā bṛhaspataye 'pavathās tena mahyaṁ pavasva* JB.: *yena rūpeṇa prajāpataye †'vapathās tena mahyaṁ pavasva* KS. The original is *'vapathās*, as shown by the preceding formula in KS., *trir vasubhyo 'vapathās* etc. (see Conc.). If the JB. reading is correct, it contains metathesis of *p* and *v*, with assimilation to the following *pavasva*.

*mitrāya kulīpayān* (MS. *pulīkayān*) VS. MS. See §149, and next.

*nākro makaraḥ kulīpayas* (TS. *kulīkayas*, MS. *pulīkayas*, KSA. *pulīrayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA.† *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. See under prec.

*svasti naḥ putrakṛtheṣu* (MG. *pathyākṛteṣu*, v. l. as RV.) *yoniṣu* RV. AB. MG.

*viśvasmai bhūtāyādhvaro* (KS. MŚ. *bhūtāya dhruvo*) *astu devāḥ* (TS. °*dhvaro 'si*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*abaddhaṁ mano daridraṁ cakṣuḥ sūryo* . . . TS. KŚ. BDh.: *adabdhaṁ mana iṣiraṁ cakṣuḥ* (MŚ. *adabdhaṁ cakṣur ariṣṭaṁ manaḥ*) *sūryo* . . . MŚ. ŚG.

*gharmaṁ śocantaḥ* (AŚ. °*ta*, ŚŚ. °*taṁ*) *pravaṇeṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *praṇaveṣu*) *bibhrataḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*chandonāmānāṁ* (VSK. *chandomānānāṁ*, TS. °*mānāṁ*) *sāmrājyaṁ gacheti* (VSK. *gachatād iti*, MŚ. *gached iti*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ.

*jari cetīd* (mss. *cetid*, p.p. *cya iti it*) *abhiśiṣaḥ* MS.: *ya* (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad*) *ṛte* (PB. †*yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. ApMB. See §193.

*ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva* AV.: *yo no dveṣṭi tanūṁ rabhasva* MŚ.: *yo no dveṣṭy anu taṁ ravasva* ApŚ. Here MŚ. transposes the syllables *nu-ta*.

*apa snehitīr* (SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS.† *nṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi taṁ nṛmṇām* (Poona ed. *snuhi taṁ nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA. See §110. The KS. reading looks like a metathesis of *adhad rām*.

*agne dakṣaiḥ punīhi naḥ* (TB. *mā*, MS. *punīmahe*) RV. MS. TB. The MS. reading may be a metathesis of that of TB., which is secondary to RV.

*śaṁ te hiraṇyaṁ śam u santv* (ApMB. *sam u śantv*) *āpaḥ* AV. Kauś. ApMB. See §277.

*brahmādhiguptaḥ* (PG. *brahmābhi*°, MG. *brahmābhigūrtaṁ*) *svārā kṣarāṇi*

(PG. *surakṣitaḥ syām*, MG. *svarākṣāṇaḥ*, most mss. *svarārakṣāṇaḥ*) AG. PG. MG. Evident corruption in MG.

*divas* (SV. *divaḥ*) *pṛṣṭham adhi tiṣṭhanti cetasā* (SV. †*rohanti tejasā*) RV. SV. With change of surd *c* to sonant *j*, cf. §57.

*vājaś ca prasavaś . . . vasuś* (TS. *suvaś*) *ca . . .* TS. KS. The syllables *va-su* exchange position yielding *suvaś* (=*svar*).

**§803.** When a vowel and an adjoining semivowel are interchanged, the result, if the vowel is *a*, is a diphthong in one of the forms. These cases are related to §§747 and 748ff. above, q.v. The following are instances of *e* (=*ay*, *āy*) varying with *ya*, *yā*:

*arthaś ca ma emaś* (VSK. *me yāmaś*; MS. *ca mā ema*) *ca me* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

*vṛṣṭidyāvānam* (ApŚ. *vṛṣṭiṁ devānām*) *amṛtaṁ svarvidam* MS. KS. ApŚ.

*ahā yad dyāvo* (AV. *devā*) *asunītim ayan* (AV. *āyan*) RV. AV.

*āyur vasāna upa vetu* (AV. TA. *yātu*) *śeṣaḥ* (TA. *śeṣam*) RV. AV. TA.

*itīdaṁ viśvaṁ bhuvanaṁ sam eti* (AV. *vi yāti*) RV. AV. N. Synonymous and related roots *i* and *yā*.

*ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve* (VS. °*ṣṭhīve*, TS. *ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. See §840.

*iyaṁ pitryā* (AB. *vai pitre*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *pitre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV. GB. *etv*) *agre* AV. AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*tvayāyaṁ vṛtraṁ vadhyāt* (VSK. *ba*°, VS. ŚB. *badhet*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. VV I §175, and next.

*ā mā stutasya stutaṁ gamyāt* (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait.: *ā mā stotrasya stotraṁ gamyāt* PB. See prec.

*vanaspatīṁr oṣadhī rāya eṣe* (*rāye aśyāḥ*) RV. (both)

*ghṛtam eva* (BDh. *ghṛtaṁ yavā*) *madhu yavāḥ* BDh. ViDh.

**§804.** Instances of *o* (=*av*, *āv*) and *va*, *vā*:

*sāmāni cakrus tasarāṇy otave* (AV. °*ṇi vātave*) RV. AV.

*vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiṅgīni kośyābhyām* VS.: *oṣiṣṭhahanaṁ śiṅgīnikośyābhyām* (TA. °*kośā*°) TS. TA.

*sam eta viśvā* (AV. †*viśve*) *vacasā* (SV. *ojasā*) *patiṁ divaḥ* AV. SV. Roth quotes Ppp. as reading *oham ā-*, evidently for *ojasā*. See §52.

*pari ghraṁsam omanā* (TB. *parighraṁsa vāṁ manā*) *vāṁ vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV. MS. TB. N. Bad corruption in TB.

**§804a.** A special case of this interchange involves alternative genitive-ablative forms of *u*-stems, such as *madhoḥ: madhvaḥ*. While this concerns noun inflection more than phonetics, we quote the following examples here:

*madhvaḥ* (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pavanta ūrmayaḥ* RV. SV.

*madhvaḥ* (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pavasva dhārayā* RV. SV.

*madhoḥ pibatam aśvinā* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. LŚ.: *madhvaḥ* etc. RV. VS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*madhvaḥ* (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pibanti gauryaḥ* RV. SV. AV. MS.

*madhoś cakānaś cārur madāya* AV. SV.: *madhvaś* etc. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*vasvaḥ* (TB. TA. MahānU. *vasoḥ*) *kuvid vanāti naḥ* RV. KS. TB. TA. MahānU.

**§805.** Instances of *vi*, *vī*, and *yu*, *yū*:

*achā ma* (SV. *va*) *indraṁ matayaḥ svarvidaḥ* (SV. *svaryuvaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. GB. Vait.

*adyā* (also *nṛvat*) *kṛṇuhi vītaye* (SV. °*hy ūtaye*) RV. SV. Cf. §743.

*āvitsi* (MS. *āyukṣi*) *sarvā osadhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*nādya śatruṁ nanu* (ŚB. †*na nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŚB. *yuyutse*) RV. ŚB.

*vivalaṁ* (MS. KS. *yuvalaṁ*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*mā te vyoma* (=*viyoma* or *vioma*; AV. *yuyoma*) *saṁdṛśi* (AV.° *śaḥ*, LŚ.† °*śaḥ* or °*śe*) AV. AA. TA. AŚ. LŚ. MG.

*yajñaṁ praṇaya* (TS. *pra suva*) *devāyam* (TS. MS. *devāyuvam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*devebhyas tvā devāyuvam* (KS. *devāyam*) *pṛṇacmi* etc. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*devebhyas tvā devāyaṁ* (VSK. *devāyuvaṁ*) *gṛhṇāmi* etc. VS. VSK. ŚB.

*prāsmāṅ ava pṛtanāsu pra vikṣu* (TB. *yutsu*) RV. TB.

*ukthebhyas tvokthāvyaṁ gṛhṇāmi* KS.: *ukthyebhya ukthyāyuvam* ApŚ.

*varṣmā* (VS. *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS. *drāghuyā*, MS. *drāghmā*, KS. *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. See §764. TS. apparently has a metathetized form for **drāghivā*.

**§806.** With the following interchanges of *ar* and *rā* are to be compared §§656ff. In fact the *ar* forms in the following concern the *ṛ* vowel, either directly (as containing sandhi of *a* + *ṛ*), or as guṇa derivatives of a root in *ṛ*:

*tena rādhyāsam* VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: *tenardhyāsam* KS. SMB. The latter stands for *tena ṛdh*°; cf. §659.

*agnau saṁrādhanīṁ yaje* HG.: *yaje saṁrādhanīm aham* ŚB. BṛhU. AŚ. SMB. ApMB.: *yuje* (read *yaje* with most mss., Hillebrandt p. 250) †*samardham īm aham* ŚŚ.

*ahā avartim* (AV. *arātim*) *avidat* (AV. °*daḥ*) *syonam* AV. TB. ApMB.

## 2. Haplology

**§807.** On this general subject see especially Bloomfield, *PAOS* 16. xxxiv, *AJP* 17. 418; Wackernagel I pp. 278ff., where further references may be found; we may add Lanman in Whitney, AV. 4. 5. 5, and other

references below. We shall content ourselves here with merely printing the variant cases, arranging them in three groups: those in which the longer reading seems to be the original, so that we may assume haplology; those in which it seems to be secondary, involving dittology; and those in which the question of originality is too uncertain to make classification advisable.

**§808.** The following are the cases which seem to involve haplology:

*pṛthivi vibhūvari* (ApŚ. *bhūvari*) . . . KS. ApŚ. This is a very clear case. On the strength of the isolated ApŚ. form Boehtlingk (pw. 6. 304) set up a goddess Bhūvarī, who is nothing but a ghost, the shade of the adjective *vibhūvari* after *pṛthivi*.

*viśvasyāṁ viśi praviviśivāṅsam* (KS. †*praviviśānam*) *īmahe* TS. MS. KS.: *viśo-viśaḥ praviśivāṅsam īmahe* AV. Lanman, in Whitney's Transl., has already suggested that the lack of reduplication is due to haplology. But it may be noted that it improves the meter, also.

*ya āste yaś ca carati* (AV. *yaś carati*) RV. AV. The haplology is again noted by Lanman.

*trīṇi padāni* (TA. MahānU. *padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. The ms. of Ppp. *padānihatā guhās-*, em. Barret *JAOS* 30. 195 to the AVŚ. reading. Clear haplology in TA. MahānU.

*agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītatano* (*'śīrtatano, 'śītama*) *pāhi* . . ., see §353.

*yāni kāni ca cakṛma* (ApŚ. mss. omit *ca*, by haplology) MS. ApŚ.: cf. *duritāni yāni kāni ca cakṛma* MS.: *duritā yāni cakṛma* TS. TB. TA. (here not really haplology; *ca* is needed only after *kāni*).

*ye vā* (MS. omits *vā*) *vanaspatīṅr anu* (MS. NīlarU. °*patīnām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB. Supposed to be metrical even in MS., which is clearly haplological. In the same verse:

*ye vāvaṭeṣu* (MS.†KS. *ye 'vaṭeṣu*) *śerate*, same texts. Here the shorter version can be read metrically by pronouncing *avaṭeṣu*, but is nevertheless certainly haplological.

*tena vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* (MS. *vardhasva cā pyāyasva*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA.: cf. *eṣā te agne samit tayā* (MŚ. *tayā tvaṁ*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. ApMB. ApG. HG. The second *ca* is clearly required.

*yad eva kiṁ ca pratijagrahāham* (TA. °*jagrāham*) AV. TA. The TA. form (also found in Poona ed.) is indefensible formally and metrically, and is obviously haplological.

*nyag vāto 'va vāti* (AV. *vāto vāti*) RV. AV. Lanman notes the haplology.

*yuyuyātām ito rapo apa sridhaḥ* RV.: *yūyātām asmad rapo apa sridhaḥ* TB. ApŚ. The loss of a syllable leaves its trace in the long *ū*.

*aṁhomuce pra bharemā* (AV. *bhare*) *manīṣām* AV. TS. MS. KS. See VV I p. 253.

*anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anibhṛṣṭā apasyuvo vasānaḥ* TS. See Keith on TS.

*chandonāmānāṁ* (VSK. °*mānānāṁ*, TS. °*mānāṁ*) *sāmrājyaṁ gacheti* (with variants) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. 'Lordship of the meters' names' or even of their 'measures' (on VSK. see §802) is better than 'of the Chandomas', a ritualistic slip.

*yad* †*apsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ. *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS. ApŚ. The latter corrupt.

*guhā hitāṁ nihitāṁ* (KS.† omits *ni*°) *gahvareṣu* KS. MŚ.

*namaḥ śaṁgave* (TS.† *śaṁgāya*, for °*gayāya*?) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. See §250.

*yasyedam ā rajo yujaḥ* AV. ArS.: *yasyedam ā rajaḥ* AA. Others, see §244.

*viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe* (MS. °*nā vi*°) RV. MS. TB.: *viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭe* AV.

*parīdaṁ vājy ajinaṁ* (PG. °*daṁ vājinaṁ*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG. *ajinaṁ dhatsvāsau*) ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. The PG. is not construable.

[*yo no agne niṣṭyo yo 'niṣṭyo* . . . KS. ApŚ. Conc. quotes ApŚ. as omitting the second *yo*; a modern haplology!]

**§809.** The following cases are less certain:

*mama ca nāma tava ca* (KS. once omits *ca*) *jātavedaḥ* KS. (both). The reading with *ca* is prose, the other metrical; this may account for the change, omitting *ca* (before *jā-*).

*puru viśvāni jūrvan* RV.: *puro rakṣāṅsi nijūrvan* AV. (Ppp. *viśvāni-jūrvan.*) Whitney suggests *viśvā nijūrvan* for RV.; Lanman, *viśvāni ni*°, assuming haplology. As Oldenberg (*Noten* on 1. 191. 9) points out, this would make poor meter for a second pāda; he would read *jūruan.*

*suvāñ nabhrāḍ aṅghāre bambhāre* . . . MS.: *svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre* . . . VS. TS. ŚB.: *svāna bhrāṭ, anghārir bambhāriḥ* TA.: *svān nabhrāḍ anghāre bambhāre* . . . KS. See Keith on TS. 1. 2. 7. 1; he suggests *svāna nabhrāj* as the original.

### 3. Dittology

**§810.** The following variants contain the reverse of the preceding, in that the shorter version seems to be the original, and dittological influence has produced the variation:

*kukūnanānāṁ* (KS. *kūtanānāṁ*, MS. *pūtanānāṁ*) *tvā* . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kotanāsu* TS. Note double dittology in VS. ŚB.

*namo babhluśāya vyādhine* (TS. *vivyā°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Either form makes good sense; we assume that the majority have the original.

*athem enaṁ pra hiṇutāt pitṛbhyaḥ* (AV. †*pitṝ̄r upa*); and:

*athem enaṁ* (AV. *athemam enaṁ*) *pari dattāt pitṛbhyaḥ* RV. AV. TA. See Whitney on AV. 18. 2. 4, 5. There is no doubt of the dittology in AV. (note the meter); in 18. 2. 5 it seems textually certain, being read by nearly all mss. and both editions. In 18. 2. 4 there is more variation in the mss., and SPP. reads *athem enaṁ* with the comm.

*devā* (AV. *devā vā*) *etasyām avadanta pūrve* RV. AV. The meter proves AV. secondary, and Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 42. 127) also omits *vā(i)*.

*namo giriśāya* (VS. *°śayāya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. The stems *-śa* and *-śaya* are both unexceptionable; probably the majority indicate the original.

*na sīm adeva āpat* (SV. *āpa tat*) RV. SV. ŚŚ. The RV. has an aorist of *āp*, to be read as a trissyllable. SV. tries to improve the meter; cf. VV I p. 138.

*nirṛtiṁ nirjarjalpena* (MS. *nirjalpena*, TS. *nirjālmakena*, KS. *nirjālmāka-*) *śīrṣṇā* VS. TS. MS. KS. Obscure word; VS. simulates an intensive from *jalp*.

*ye te agna* (MS. *agnā*) *indavo yā u nābhayaḥ* (TA. *urṇunābhayaḥ*, but Poona ed. *u nā°* with v. l. *urṇunā°*) MS. KS. TA. The absurd corruption of some TA. mss. seems to be read by the comm. also; perhaps it was influenced by thought of *ūrṇanābhi* 'spider', but this would be as inappropriate as possible here.

*aṅhaspatyāya* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *aṅhasaspataye*) *tvā* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. Stem varying with genitive case form in composition.

*ṛtur janitrī tasyā apas* (GB. *apasas*) *pari* RV. GB. If GB. is correct it attempts to improve the meter and at the same time furnish a form which can be governed by *pari* (in RV. *apas* is governed by a verb in the next pāda, and *pari* governs *tasyāḥ*). But Gaastra reads *apas*, with v. l. *apasas*.

*tanūpāś* (TB. Poona ed. text and comm. *tanūnapāc*) *ca sarasvatī* VS. KS. TB. See §195.

*trir asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre* (SV. Svidh. *°hrire*) RV. SV. Svidh. See VV I p. 170.

*vṛṣā pavitre adhi sāno avye* (RV.* *avyaye*) RV. (both) SV. TA. MahānU. N. Both *avya* and *avyaya* (from *avya*? or *avi*?) are well known, and both are metrically possible; they are triṣṭubh and jagatī forms of the same expression. But the latter occurs in a verse

(9. 86. 3) which seems to be a patchwork of older materials (*RVRep.* 453), so that *avye* is probably original.

*ājiṁ na girvāho jigyur aśvāḥ* SV.: *ājiṁ na jagmur girvāho aśvāḥ* RV. For metrical reasons Grassmann considers SV. the original. Against this Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6. 24. 6. The SV. form is unique, the other familiar, and Grassmann's suggestion is unlikely.

**§811.** Vaguer dittologies seem involved in the following:

*nidhedhāsi . . . puruspārhaṁ* (so KS. and TB. Poona ed., and p.p. of MS.; MS. text *puruṣaspārhaṁ*) *yaśasvat* MS. KS.† TB.†.

*tato vākā* (TS. *tataḥ pāvakā*) *āśiṣo no juṣantām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Holy words and prayers' or 'purifying prayers'; TS. spoils the meter. Dittology with *p* for *v*.

*tena yo 'smat* (TA.* *tenānyo 'smat*) *samṛchātai* (MS. mss. *samṛtsātām*) MS. TA. The variation is deliberate and intelligent, and scarcely belongs here. TA. repeats a verse in successive stanzas, with this purposeful change; the first version means 'whoever comes against us therewith', the second 'whoever else' etc.

*indrāpāsya* (v. l. °*yāsya*) *phaligam* ApMB.: *indrāyayāsya śepham alīkam* HG. Kirste, 'read *indra āyāsya*'.

### 4. Haplology or Dittology

**§812.** In a smaller group we find either haplology or dittology, but it is not certain which, because the original form of the variants is hard to determine. Several of these contain variations between the accusative personal pronouns *mā* and *mām:*

*āyur bṛhat tad aśīya tan māvatu* (MŚ. *mām avatu*) ApŚ. MŚ.

*tan mām āvīt* TA. TU.: *tan māvīt* MG.

*tan māvatu* PB. TA. TU. ApŚ.: *tan mām avatu* MŚ. AG. MG.

*punar mām aitv* (AV. Vait. Kauś. *maitv*) *indriyam* AV. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. ŚŚ. Vait. AG. Kauś. SMB. GG. HG. MG.

**§813.** Other, miscellaneous cases:

*vājajityāyai* (KS. °*jitvai*) *tvā* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Stems *jityā* and *jiti*. While the majority agree on the longer form, this is hardly conclusive. KS. is probably on the whole the most original YV. text; only two other schools differ from it; and *jiti* is a much commoner stem than *jityā*, which latter seems to be found only in composition with *vāja* and *āji*.

*śiśirāya vikakarān* (KSA. † *vikarān*, ApŚ. *vikirān*, vv. ll. *vikakarān*, *vikikirān*) VS. KS. ApŚ. Original form and precise meaning unknown (seemingly some bird). Cf. the preceding formula, *hemantāya kakarān* (KSA. † *kakārān*).

*aneśann asya yā iṣavaḥ* (TS. KS. NīlarU. *asyeṣavaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. The presence or absence of the articular relative makes little difference; and the meter is no better in one reading than in the other.

*bharatam uddharem anuṣiñca* (MŚ. *uddharema vanuṣanti*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §236, end. Either haplology in TB. ApŚ., or dittology in MŚ. which is in any case corrupt, with *v* for *m*.

*anu no mārṣṭu* (VS. TS. ŚB. TA. *anu mārṣṭu*) *tanvo yad viriṣṭam* (*vili*°) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.

## CHAPTER XVIII. FALSE DIVISIONS AND PATCH-WORDS

**§814.** Except for Sandhi, to be treated in our final chapter, we have now concluded what may be called phonetic variants in the strict sense. In this chapter we shall deal chiefly with variants involving different divisions of words. It may be questionable whether they belong strictly in this volume. Yet they certainly deserve mention, as revealing, perhaps as well as any other groups of variants, the general break-down of sound and sense alike in the Vedic tradition (see §16). There seems no better place than this volume to present these materials, which do not exhaust the subject but illustrate the main types sufficiently.

### 1. A compound word divided, or vice versa, without further change

**§815.** In a considerable number of cases the difference between the variant words consists solely in this, that what in one form of the variant is a single compound word appears in the other as two separate words. There being no change in the form of either part, we can sometimes tell only by the accents whether one word or two is intended, and sometimes, indeed, we can not tell at all with confidence. At other times other changes in the formulas suggest a reinterpretation.

**§816.** We begin with cases in which the original and true form of the variant has one word, the separation into two being secondary, and sometimes uninterpretable:

*jagāma sūro adhvano vimadhyam* (AV. *vi madhyam*) RV. AV. Whitney rightly says that the AV. reading is a corruption of the other.

*oṣiṣṭhahanaṁ śiṅgīnikośyābhyām* (TA. °*kośābhyām*) TS. TA.: *vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiṅgīni kośyābhyām* VS. The VS. reading is very poor and perhaps should be emended.

*yatheyaṁ strī pautram aghaṁ na rodāt* SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

*aghoraghoratarebhyaś ca* MS.: *ghora ghoratarebhyaḥ* TA. MahānU. Preceded by *aghorebhyo 'tha ghorebhyaḥ*. The forms of Rudra are meant. The tradition is unstable. One ms. of MS. has two accents; but MS. p.p. takes it as one word, which seems likely to be original. TA. has two accents; yet its comm. understands one word, 'more terrible than the terrible', and Poona ed. prints it so (but with two accents!). Comm. on MahānU., however, takes *ghora* as a separate vocative, addressed to Rudra.

*manasaspata imaṁ deva yajñaṁ* (KS. *devayajñaṁ svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāḥ* VS. KS. ŚB. The variants in AV. 7. 97. 8 and TS. 1. 1. 13. 3, 4. 44. 3, have *deveṣu yajñam*, which supports KS. in meaning. The separate *deva yajñam* is secondary, if indeed it is really the intention of the texts (so comm. on VS., but the accentless voc. is indistinguishable from *deva-* as part of a cpd.).

*vācaspate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā divi devāvṛdham* (ŚŚ. *devā vṛdhaṁ*) *hotrām airayat* (KŚ. °*yant*, TA. *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* ŚB. TA. KŚ. ŚŚ. The ŚŚ. is uninterpretable.

**§817.** In the rest it seems more likely that the form with two words is original, altho in some of them there is little to choose:

*yajur yuktaṁ* (TA.† *yajuryuktaṁ*) *sāmabhir āktakhaṁ tvā* (MS. *ṛktakhaṁtā*) MS. TA. Comm. on TA., 'provided with the *yajus*'. In MS. two accents: 'the *yajus* is joined' or the like.

*madhu śaṣpair* (MS. *madhuśaṣpair*) *na teja indriyam* VS. MS. TB. In either case the word *madhu* is a quasi-adjective, modifying either the preceding *bheṣajam*, or *śaṣpair*. MS. p.p. divides *madhu śaṣpair* as two words; Poona ed. of TB. prints it as one, but with two accents! (and against the comm.)

*madhu havir* (MS. *madhuhavir*) *asi* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. So according to the accents of MS. and TA. Probably MŚ. must be read *madhuhavir* like MS.; Knauer separates the words because of the parallel *hutaṁ havir* in MŚ. 4. 3. 34; but MS. also reads *hutaṁ havir* in its version of that passage and follows it immediately with *madhuhavir*, as one word. Cf. prec.

*devabarhiḥ* (KS. *deva barhiś*) *śatavalśaṁ vi roha* TS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *atas tvaṁ deva vanaspate śatavalśo* (MS. *tvaṁ barhiḥ śatavalśaṁ*) *viroha* VS. MS. ŚB. The latter version suggests taking *deva barhiḥ* as two words, as von Schroeder does in KS. The words are voc., so that the accent proves nothing; TS. p.p. takes it as one word. But Poona ed. of TB. prints it as two.

*avīvarata vo hi kam* (TS. *hikam;* so printed also in KS.†) AV. TS. MS. KS. Comm. on AV. (as also that on TS.) as a single, compound particle.

*upa prakṣe* (AA. ŚŚ. *upaprakṣe*) *madhumati kṣiyantaḥ* SV. AA. ŚŚ. Svidh. This is hard to interpret, whether as one word or as two. For various guesses that have been made see Keith, AA. Transl., p. 285 n. 7. Keith's text of AA. prints *úpa prakṣé* with most mss., but against comm., who understands *upaprakṣe* as a prepositional cpd., 'near the *prakṣa*'. Cf. also the infinitive (?) *upaprakṣé*, RV. 5. 47. 6.

*namas te rudra rūpebhyo namaḥ* MS.: *namas te astu rudrarūpebhyaḥ* TA. MahānU. 'Homage to thee, O Rudra! to (thy) forms homage': 'homage be to thy Rudra-forms (terrible forms)'.

*śivā viśvāha bheṣajī* (TS. *°habheṣajī*, VS. *°hā bhe°*; MS. *°ha* [p.p., *°hā*] *bheṣajā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. There is no difference in the meaning, whether the adverb be taken as compounded with the next word or not.

*devīḥ* (AV. *daivīḥ*, KS. *trayīṣ*) *ṣaḍ urvīr* (TS. p.p. *ṣaḍurvīḥ*; and so Conc. assumes for ApMB. HG.) *uru naḥ* (TS. ApMB. *ṇaḥ*, KS.† *ṇas*) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. KS. ApMB. HG. The words are voc. and there are no accents. RV. and AV. p.p. interpret as two words, which seems more natural. No doubt all texts except possibly the Tait. school separate *ṣaḍ urvīr*.

*deva puraścara saghyāsaṁ* (MS. *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsaṁ*) *tvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. See §147, and §838. MS. p.p. divides *deva* from *punaś* (which it reads by error for *puraś*).

*imāṁ su nāvam āruham* TS. KS. ApŚ.: *sunāvam ā ruheyam* VS. (pratīka PG.)

*pra su* (HG. *sa*, read *su*) *mṛtyuṁ* (SMB. *sumartyaṁ*) *yuyotana* SMB. ApMB. HG. The reading of ApMB. is original.

*apa* (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apaḥ śvetapad ā gahi* MG. Read *apa śveta padā* in MG.; there is no good ground for Kanuer's editing of the text. See his note and comm., and our §134.

2. A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the prior member

**§818.** Next we come to cases in which the prior part of what is a compound word in one form of the variant appears in the other with somewhat altered form. Again we begin with the variants in which it appears that the original form contained a compound, which is broken up in secondary texts:

*stomatrayastriṅśe bhuvanasya patni* TS. KS. AŚ.: *stomas trayastriṅśe bhuvanasya patnī* MS. The latter corruptly turns the vocs. into noms., apparently making *stomas* subject and *patnī* predicate, despite the divergence in gender.

*vāṅmanaścakṣuḥśrotrajihvāghrāṇaretobuddhyākūtisaṁkalpā* (TA. TAA. *°ākūtiḥ saṁkalpā*) *me śudhyantām* TA. TAA. MahānU. See §383.

*śarīraṁ yajñaśamalam* (MahānU. *yajñaḥ śa°*) *kusīdaṁ tasmin sīdatu yo 'smān dveṣṭi* TS. KSA. TA. MahānU. The latter is clearly second-

ary; comm. makes *śarīraṁ yajñaḥ* a sentence, 'the sacrifice is the body'. On the interpretation of the original, which is troublesome, see Keith on TS.

*gaur dhenubhavyā* (HG. *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB. HG. The meaning is the same, 'that is to become a milch cow'; but the compound *dhenubhavyā* seems to be the standard expression.

*tāṁ vidyāṁ brahmayoniṁ svarūpām* (VaradapU. *brahmayonisva°*) NṛpU. VaradapU. 'The identical womb of brahman', or 'which is identical with the womb of brahman'; either is possible.

*adhṛṣṭaṁ dhṛṣṇvojasam* (SV. *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV. AV. SV. 'Of irresistible strength': 'irresistible in strength'.

*mithucarantam* (KS. *mithū°*, TS. *mithuś car°*, AV. *mithuyā car°*) *upayāti* (AV. *abhiyāti*) *dūṣayan* AV. TS. MS. KS. There is really no way of deciding the original.

*agner* (TS. *devānām*) *agneyāny* (KS. *agniyāny*) *asi* TS. MS. KS. One ms. and p.p. of MS. *agner agner yāny asi*. Cf. *agner yāny asi* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §357.

*devajūte vivasvann āditya te no devāḥ* . . . MS.: *vivasvāṁ aditir devajūtis te na ādityā* . . . TS.: *divo jyote* (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva āditya te no devā* . . . KS. Both parts of the cpd. are changed to different, tho quasi-synonymous, words.

*syonā māviśateraṁmadaḥ* (TS. *°terā madaḥ*) TS. MS. KS. The TS. may be original, as it certainly seems simpler and more natural: 'kindly enter into me as food and drink'. But it is probably a lect. fac. for the other: 'kindly enter into me as Iraṁmada (Agni, lightning?)'.

*ṛtaprajātā* (MŚ. *uta pra°*) *bhaga id vaḥ syāma* TS. MŚ. The latter is secondary but intelligible; §641.

*sarvasmād devakilbiṣāt* (LŚ. *eva ki°*, VS. *devakilv°*) RV. VS. MS. LŚ. ApŚ.: *viśvasmād deva°* AV. MS. The LŚ. is secondary but sensible; §402.

[†*taindrāsūrāḥ* (KSA. †*taindrāsaurāḥ*) *śyetalalāmās* (KSA.† *śyāmala°*) *tūparāḥ* TS. KSA. Conc. quotes KSA. as *aindrāḥ saurāḥ*.]

[*anyavratasya* (TA. *anyádvra°*, printed by Conc. as *anyad vra°*; the accent proves that it is a cpd., tho the comm. seems to take it as two words) *saścima* (RV. *saścire*, TA. *saścimaḥ*, Poona ed. *°ma*) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA.]

**§819.** In the following, on the other hand, it seems more likely that the version with two separate words is the original:

*svāhā yajñaṁ manasaḥ* (KS. 2. 3 *yajñamanasaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. †2. 3 and

23. 5, ŚB. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ. A verb like *ā rabhe* is understood; the accus. *yajñaṁ* is necessary to the sense, and KS. 2. 3 should be so corrected. In 23. 5 KS. has correctly *yajñaṁ ma°* (not noted in Conc.). '(I take) sacrifice from mind.'

*māgadhaḥ puṅścalī kitavaḥ klībo 'śūdrā abrāhmaṇās* (VSK. *puṅścalī klīvaḥ kitavo 'śūdrābrāhmaṇās*) *te prājāpatyāḥ* VS. VSK.

*śatakṣaraś chandasānuṣṭubhena* ApŚ.: *śatākṣarachandasā jāgatena* Kauś. In Kauś. v. l. *śatākṣaraḥ*. The original reading of ApŚ. (cf. §511) makes the adjective agree with *ayaṁ sruvo* preceding; with change to *śatā°*, having a totally different meaning, it is drawn into composition with *chandasā*.

*dahraṁ* (v. l. *daharaṁ*) *vipāpmavaraveśmabhūtam* (MahānU. *vipāpmaṁ varaṁ veśma°*) TA. MahānU. The Poona ed. of TA. reads *vipāpmaṁ vara°*, with v. l. *vipāpmavara°*. MahānU. also has v. l. *varaveśma°*. The most plausible original seems to be *dahraṁ vipāpmaṁ varaveśmabhūtam*. This is stylistically better than *vipāpmavara°*, an awkward compound.

*dadhad ratnaṁ* (AŚ. *ratnā*) *dakṣaṁ pitṛbhya* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *dakṣapit°*) *āyuni* (AV. *āyūṅṣi*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Doubtless AV. is original. The edition of AŚ. separates *dakṣa* from *pi°*, evidently regarding it as a voc.

*indraḥ pāśena* †*siktvā vaḥ* (HG. *pāśena vaḥ* †*siktvā*) ApMB. HG.: *indrapāśena sitvā* PG. See note in Oldenberg's Translation of HG.

*aśloṇā* (AV. comm. *aśro°*) *aṅgair* (TA. *°ṇāṅgair*) *ahrutāḥ* (TA. *ahṛtā*, Poona ed. *ahrutāḥ*, v. l. *°tā*) *svarge* AV. TA. 'Not lame in their limbs', or 'with not-lame limbs'. AVPpp. agrees with TA., but this is the kind of error that occurs very commonly in Ppp.; meter indicates that the other version is original.

*rudra yat te krayī* (VS. KS. *krivi*, VSK. *kravi*, MS. MŚ. *giri-*) *paraṁ nāma tasmai* (VS. MS. ŚB. *tasmin*) *hutam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47.

*yasya* (ApMB. *vy asya*) *yoniṁ prati reto* (ŚG. *patireto*) *gṛhāṇa* (ŚG. *gṛbhāya*) ŚG. ApMB. HG. *patireto* looks like a secondary adaptation, tho a very natural one.

*ṣaḍ id yamā* (TA. *ṣaḍ udyamā*) *ṛṣayo devajā iti* RV. AV. TA. N. Apparently TA. must understand *udyamā* as an adjective.

### 3. A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the second member

**§820.** In other cases the form of the variant containing two separate words shows a change in the form of the second member (sometimes

in the first one too) when compared with the form containing a compound. The second member of the compound, when used as a separate word, has a different inflectional ending, or is otherwise changed in form; sometimes it even appears as a different part of speech (a verb). We begin as before with those variants in which the original form seems to be that containing a compound word:

*vṛṣṭidyāvānam* (ApŚ. *vṛṣṭiṁ devānām*) *amṛtaṁ svarvidam* MS. KS. ApŚ. The original of MS. KS. means 'nectar of the dwellers in the rain-sky, heaven-finding'; the sacrifice is referred to. In ApŚ. by a lect. fac. the sacrifice is called 'rain, nectar of the gods', etc.

*parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ* AV.: *paraḥ svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ. 'Away the dream-faced pains': 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces (appearances).' But KŚ. may intend a compound.

*indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā* TB.: *indraḥ sūraḥ prathamo viśvakarmā* AŚ. Comm. on TB. takes *indrā sūrā* as two words (and they are so printed in Poona ed.), interpreting as noms. sing. But they must surely be acc. dual of a devatā dvandva, object of *janayan*. The whole verse is pretty low bathos. AŚ. has a lect. fac.

*bhuvanam asi sahasrapoṣapuṣi* (ApŚ. *sahasrapoṣaṁ puṣa*) MS. ApŚ. 'Thou art ground prospering with thousand-fold prosperity': 'prosper thou with thousand-fold prosperity'. Verb form introduced secondarily, cf. next.

*agne tvāṁkāmayā* (SV. *tvāṁ kāmaye*) *girā* RV. SV. VS. The original means 'O Agni, with thee-desiring song'. By a lect. fac. SV. introduces a verb form, as in the preceding and next: 'O Agni, I desire thee with song'.

*revati predhā . . ., revati yajamāne priyaṁ dhā . . ., revatīr yajñapatiṁ priyadhāviśata*, see §747.

*āre śatrūn* (AV.† *āreśatruṁ*) *kṛṇuhi sarvavīraḥ* (AV. °*ram*) AV. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. 'Make him one whose enemies are remote,' AV., doubtless original: 'make [his] enemies remote,' lect. fac. The AV. comm. stumbles over the form and understands two words.

*ugraṁpaśyā* (MS. *ugráṁ paśyā'c*; TB. *dūrepaśyā*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS. TB. TA.: *ugraṁpaśye ugrajitau tad adya* AV. In this and the next MS. is hopelessly corrupt; note accents.

*ugraṁpaśye* (MS. *ugráṁ paśyéd*) *rāṣṭrabhṛt kilbiṣāṇi* AV. MS. TA. Cf. prec.

*āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV. The latter misunderstands and simplifies the strange cpd. *āsann-iṣūn* 'having arrows in the mouth'. SV. means: 'carrying water in their mouths'.

*mama padyāya vi rāja* ApMB.: *mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājaḥ* (MG. adds *kalpatām*) AG. HG. MG.: *mayi padyāyai virājo dohaḥ* ŚŚ. ŚG. PG. The original is *virājaḥ*, gen. of *virāj*.

[*subhagaṁkaraṇī mama* AV.: *subhāgaṁ karaṇaṁ mama* SMB. But Jörgensen properly prints SMB. *subhāgaṁkaraṇaṁ*, as one word.]

**§821.** In the rest it appears that the form of the variant with two words is the original:

*sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahi* SV. JB.: *sarūpavarṣā ehi* MS. In the latter nom. of stem *sarūpavarṣa* (with sandhi peculiar to MS.). The other texts, most likely original, have two vocatives.

*pari ghraṅsam omanā* (TB. *parighraṅsa vāṁ manā*) *vāṁ vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV. MS. TB. N. Hopeless corruption in TB. See §828.

*agnir hotā pṛthivy antarikṣam* AŚ. ApŚ.: *agnihotraṁ pṛthivīm antarikṣam* MŚ. The latter has a careless assimilation to the accusatives of the preceding pāda: *ukhāṁ sravantīm agadām akarma*.

*pari doṣād udarpithaḥ* KŚ.: *parītoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ. See §63.

*mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānaḥ* (TA. *gur vṛdhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ. See §§209, 260; MS. has a gross corruption.

*sahasradhāraṁ vṛṣabhaṁ divo duhuḥ* (SV. *divoduham*) RV. SV. Verb form in RV.: 'the thousand-streamed bull of heaven they milked'. SV.: 'the thousand-streamed heaven-milking bull'.

*uror ā no* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *pururāvṇo*) *deva riṣas pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. See §371a.

### 4. Last syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

**§822.** In not a few cases the last syllable of a word (not an independent member of a compound) is replaced in a secondary text by a separate word, generally a light word (preposition, particle, or pronoun), which may be called a 'patch-word' ('Flickwort'); or the reverse. The cases recorded here differ from those included in the separate sections (§§841–850) on Patch-Words below only in that the degree of phonetic resemblance is here greater; there is no hard and fast line between them.

**§823.** Since the change in both directions is quite common, it is at times hard to tell, unless on the ground of general text-chronology, which form of the variant is the more original. In the following cases we do not venture to decide this question:

*apsarasāv anu dattām ṛṇāni* (AV. *ṛṇaṁ naḥ*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsarasām anudattānṛṇāni* MS. (p.p. *anu, dattāni, ṛṇāni*). Either the plur. *ṛṇāni*, or the sing. *ṛṇaṁ* with the pronoun *naḥ*, is quite satisfactory.

*vratāni* (MS. TB. ApŚ. *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhaḥ* (TB. ApŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. *adābhyaḥ*) MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. In MS. etc. the older or hieratic form *vratā* is patched by the particle *nu*; in the other the alternative form *vratāni* is used.

*mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt* (JB. *yono vāṁ hārasīḥ*) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms incomprehensible.

**§824.** In the following the form of the variant with the longer word seems to be the original, being replaced in a secondary version by a shorter word plus a patch-word. Here may be mentioned RV. 4. 20. 9b (also in KS., where there is no evidence as to the division intended), *yayā kṛṇoti muhu kā cid ṛṣvaḥ*; read *muhukā* with Ludwig and Conc., cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* ad loc.

*jāmiṁ* (KS. †*cami*) *mā hiṁsīr amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *mā jāmiṁ moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV. Acc. to AV. comm. the darbha-grass used in strewing the vedi is addressed; *amuyā* is adverbial. The MŚ. variant makes *śayānā* refer to *jāmim*, conjectured by Ludwig and Henry to mean the uttaravedi, so that in general sense it agrees.

*gaurīr* (AV. *gaur in*, TB. TA. *gaurī*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV. AV. TB. AA. TA. N.

*dhruvāsaḥ* (TB. ApŚ. *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG.

*stavāno* (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS. ŚB. *dhiyā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānaḥ* (TA. *gur vṛdhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ. Altho the MŚ. reading is by all means the most reasonable, it is probably only a lect. fac. TA. accents wrongly *vṛdhā'naḥ*, and its comm. takes the apparently uninterpretable singular quite calmly as a plural (*vardhamānāḥ*)! Cf. §821.

*yo rayivo* (SV. *rayiṁ vo*) *rayintamaḥ* RV. SV. KB. ŚŚ. ŚG. VHDh. Benfey ignores the uninterpretable *vo* in his translation, taking *rayiṁ* as accus. of specification.

*ṛṣīṇāṁ putro abhiśastipāvā* (TB. °*pā ayam*, AV. °*pā u*) AV. VS. ŚB. TB. See §740.

*bhavā kṛṣṭīnām* (AV. *gṛ*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG. See prec.

*abhūr gṛṣṭīnām* (ApMB. *āpīnām*, HG. *āpīṇām*, AV. mss. **v āpīnām*, em. wrongly *vaśānām*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB. See prec. but one.

*ya usriyā apyā* (SV. *api yā*) *antar aśmanaḥ* (SV. °*ni*) RV. SV. See §785. SV. misunderstands and misdivides the epithet *apyā* 'of the waters'.

*achāyam eti* (KS. °*yaṁ yanti*) *śavasā ghṛtena* (AV. *ghṛtā cit*, KS. *ghṛtācīḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The AV. reading looks secondary to that of KS., which has an adjective agreeing with *srucaḥ*, the subject of *yanti; ghṛtā* can only be construed as an accus. of goal after *eti*, whose subject is Agni.

*divaś cid antād* (RV. *antāṅ*) *upamām* (RV. °*māṅ*; TA. *upa mām*, so AV. v. l. adopted by Whitney, and comm.) *ud ānaṭ* RV. SV. AV. TA. While RV. is of course original, the AV. TA. reading is not bad: 'even from the end of heaven he has attained unto me'. This should doubtless be read in SV.

*te brahmalokeṣu* (TA. °*loke tu*) *parāntakāle* TA. MahānU. MuṇḍU. KaivU.

*viprasya dhārayā kaviḥ* RV.: *viprāḥ sa dhārayā sutaḥ* SV. See §189.

*somaḥ sutasya madhvaḥ* RV.: *somaḥ sutaḥ sa madhumān* SV. See §189.

*na vai śvetasyādhyācāre* (AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*; others all *śvetasyā-*) AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Secondary but intelligible reading in AG.; see §188.

*ubhāv indrā* (ŚB. *indro*) *udithaḥ sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB.: *aya(ḥ)sthūṇam* (°*ṇāv*) *uditā* (°*tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. See §188.

*ūrvaṁ gavyaṁ pariṣadanto agman* RV. KS.: *urvīṁ gavyāṁ pariṣadaṁ no akran* AV.

*aganma yatra pratiranta* (MG. *prataraṁ na*) *āyuḥ* RV. AV. MG.

*sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan* JB.: *sugaṁ tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ. See §739.

*apa snehitīr* (SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS. †*nṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi taṁ nṛmṇām athadrām* (Poona ed. varies) TA.

*saṁ takṣā hanti cakrī vaḥ* (HG. *cakriṇaḥ*) ApMB. HG. Very obscure passage; HG. seems to approach closer to a sensible reading.

*ṛtena* (MG. *ṛte 'va*) *sthūṇām* (°*nāv*, °*ṇā*) *adhi roha vaṅśa* (MG. *vaṅśaḥ*) AV. AG. ApMB. HG. MG. Kauś. Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā iva*'; yet that would seem to give better sense than *ṛte ava*. In any case MG. is secondary.

*svarvaj* (AV. *svar yaj*) *jyotir abhayaṁ svasti* RV. AV.

*grāmyamaṅkīradāśakau* ApŚ.: *grāmyaṁ maṅgīradāsakau* MS.: *vyāghraṁ maṅgīradāsa gauḥ* Vait. See §49.

**§825.** In verbal endings (cf. §827):

*svasti rāye maruto dadhātana* (MG. *dadhātu naḥ*) RV. KS. AB. MG. See VV I p. 281.

*pra su* (HG. *sa*) *mṛtyuṁ* (SMB. *sumartyaṁ*, MG. *prathamam artiṁ*) *yuyotana* (MG. *yuyotu naḥ*) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.

*viśvaṁ tu tvāhutayaḥ sarvā* . . . PrāṇāgU.: *viśvantu tvām āhutayaś ca* . . . MU. Read *viśantu*; see §371.

*kriyanta* (TB. *priyā ta*, so divide) *ā barhiḥ sīda* RV. AV. KS. TB.

*daivyā* (AV. °*vā*) *hotāro* (TS. °*rā*, AV. °*raḥ*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vani*°, KS. †*vaniṣan na*, AV. *saniṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV. KS. *etat*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

*vasūni cārur* (*cārye*, *cāryo*, *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhṛjāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. Cf. VV I p. 96.

*jātavedo nayā hy* (read *nayāsy*?) *enaṁ sukṛtāṁ yatra lokaḥ* JB.: *jātavedo vahemaṁ* (ŚŚ. *vahasvainaṁ*) *sukṛtāṁ* . . . TA. ŚŚ.

**§826.** In the rest it seems that the form containing two words is the older; a secondary version joins a short word on to the preceding word, usually with some further change:

*samudreṇa* (and °*dre na*) *sindhavo yādamānāḥ* RV. (both). Read *samudre na* in both; Bloomfield, *JAOS* 27. 77 ff., *RVRep.* 197; Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3. 36. 7.

*tviṣim indre na* (MS. *indreṇa*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. Bathos in either case; but MS. p.p. *indre, na*. VS. comm. says that *na* means *ca*!

*spardhante dhiyaḥ* (*divaḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA. Change to instr. in TS. KSA. because this is the case naturally construed with *spardh-*.

*neva māṁse na pībasi* AV.: *naiva māṁsena pīvari* PG.: *na māṁseṣu na snāvasu* ApMB. Perhaps PG. should be divided *māṁse na*; at least this is the original reading.

*saṁsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *saṁsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro gaṇeṣu* MS. 'This Indra the joiner of battle': 'Indra in the joined battles'.

*trīṇi padāni* (*padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. Pronoun *asya* replaced by loc. ending *-su*.

*māteva putraṁ bibhṛtā sv* (VS. ŚB. °*tāpsv*) *enat* (TS. KS. *enam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verse is addressed to waters; hence the secondary reading *apsu*.

*idam ahaṁ rakṣo 'bhi* (MS. **rakṣobhiḥ*) *sam ūhāmi* (TS. *saṁ dahāmi*) TS. MS. (bis) KS. MŚ. See §383.

*āvat tam* (TA. Conc. *prāvartam*, comm. and Poona ed. text *āvartam*) *indraḥ śacyā dhamantam* RV. AV. SV. KS. TA. The sole ms. of KS. also reads *āvartam* (ed. emends). TA. comm. interprets as a gerund (*āvṛtya*).

*samid diśām āśayā naḥ* (MS. *āśáyānaḥ*) *svarvit* (TS. *suvar*°) TS. MS.

KS. AŚ. ApŚ. Both accent and sense show that no pres. mid. pple. (masc.) can be intended, altho MS. p.p. does not divide the word.

*yajā no* (MS. *yájāno*) *devo* (TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *devāṅ*) *ajaraḥ suvīraḥ* MS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *bhavā no dūto ajaraḥ suvīraḥ* ŚŚ. ŚG. Again (cf. prec.) the accent shows that MS. p.p. is wrong in not dividing the word, tho this time the participle would be interpretable.

*vi ca naśan na iṣo arātayaḥ* RV.: *vi cid aśnānā iṣayo arātayaḥ* SV. Benfey renders SV. 'devoured' (root *aś* 'eat', middle pple. in passive sense). It is a Verballhornung; the orig. itself is rather obscure; *vi-naś* is peculiarly used.

*yato bhayaṁ abhayaṁ tan* (KS. 35. 1c †*abhayatvaṁ*) *no astu* (AV. ed. *asti*, misprint) AV. KS.* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ımam indra vardhaya kṣatriyaṁ me* (TB. *kṣatriyāṇām*) AV. TB. KauŚ.

*viṣṇūvaruṇā* (TB. °*ṇāv*) *abhiśastipāvā* (TB. °*pā vām*) MS. TB. Followed by *devā yajanta haviṣā ghṛtena*. 'O V. and V., let the 'gods' (TB. comm. *ṛtvijaḥ*) sacrifice to you two as protectors from imprecation' etc. The variant form must be dual, and as MS. can be so interpreted only by understanding it in a bizarre way (stem °*pāva*, or irregularly from °*pāvan*), we assume that TB. is orig.

*bṛhaspataye* (MŚ. °*pate*) *mahiṣa* (TS. *mahi ṣad*) *dyuman namaḥ* AV. TS. MŚ. Comm. on AV. agrees with TS., which has the correct reading; see §392.

*dātuṁ cec chikṣān sa svarga eva* AV.: *dātuṁ cec chaknúvāṅsáḥ* (so, with double accent, Calc. ed.) *svarga eṣām* TA. For the latter read *chaknávāṅ* (or better °*vān*) *sá* with Poona ed.; see VV I p. 165.

*purastāt* (AB. *puras tvā*) *sarve kurmahe* AB. ŚŚ. See §365.

*sumitraḥ soma no* (KauŚ. *sumano*) *bhava* RV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. KauŚ.

*stomo yajñaś ca* (TB. *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. TB. See §188.

*arepasaḥ* (ApŚ. adds *samokasaḥ*) . . . *cite goḥ* (SV. *citā goḥ*, ApŚ. *cidākoḥ*) SV. AV. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47.

*turaś cid viśvam †arṇavat tapasvān* AV.: *duraś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ* RV.

*tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it* RV.: *tvām arbhasya haviṣaḥ samānam it* SV. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*anupūrvaṁ yatamānā yati ṣṭha* (AV. *stha*, TA. *yatiṣṭa*) RV. AV. TA. See §86.

*agne vitatam antar ā* (LŚ. *antaram*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. LŚ. VHDh. Assimilation in LŚ. to *vitatam*.

*ā no yāhi* (also, *ā yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (MS. *jánişva*, ŚŚ. *janeṣv ā*) MS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The accent proves MS. wrong; it seems to presuppose *janeṣv ā*.

*yad uttaradrāv uparaś ca khādataḥ* AV.: *yad †apsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ. *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS. ApŚ. In AV. complementary sing. after elliptic dual (Edgerton, KZ. 43. 110 ff.). See VV I p. 270 f.

**§827.** Verbal endings are concerned in the following (cf. §825):

*srucā juhuta no* (ŚŚ. *juhutanā*) *haviḥ* TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛṇotu naḥ* (TB. *śṛṇotana*) RV. TB. N. Assimilation of form to the preceding *bharatā* in TB.

*yatheyaṁ strī pautram aghaṁ na rodāt* AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

*āpṛṇo 'si saṁpṛṇaḥ* (ApŚ. *āpṛṇoṣi saṁpṛṇa*) . . . ŚŚ. ApŚ. The latter inferior.

*ramadhvaṁ mā bibhīta mat* (Kauś. *bibhītana*) AV. Kauś.

*pratno hi* (TA. *pratnoṣi*) *kam īḍyo adhvareṣu* RV. AV. TA. See §299.

### 5. First syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

**§828.** Fairly numerous also are the cases in which a light word replaces the initial, instead of final, syllable of a longer word, or vice versa. In the list now following the form with one word is original, the 'patched' form secondary:

*śūro nṛṣātā śavasaś* (SV. MS. *śra°*) *cakānaḥ* (SV. *ca †kāme*) RV. SV. TS. MS. Assimilation in SV. to the preceding loc. *nṛṣātā*: 'hero in men-winning and in desire for glory'.

*vasavaś cātiṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca* AV.: *vasuś cetiṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. The bad meter and feeble sense of AV. show that it is a corruption of the other; moreover Ppp. agrees with the other texts (Barret, *JAOS* 42. 108).

*śukrāṁ vayanty asurāya nirṇijam* RV.: *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirṇije* SV. 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura': 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the Asura'.

*nadayor vivratayoḥ śūra indraḥ* RV.: *na devo vṛtaḥ śūra indraḥ* SV. The 'uncontrolled bulls' of RV. seem to be Indra's horses; lect. fac. in SV.

*asūrte* (MS. KS. *°tā*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS. *°tā*; KS. *na sattā*) RV. VS. MS. KS. N.: *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* TS. Here *na* seems to be the comparative particle; it is of course secondary.

*aryo naśanta* (SV. *naḥ santu*) *sanişanta* (SV.† *°tu*) *no dhiyaḥ* RV. SV.

Again a lect. fac. in SV. (*santu* taken with preceding, 'devoured . . . be our foes').

*ūrjaṁ bibhrad vasuvaniḥ* (VS. LŚ. ŚG. ApŚ. **vaḥ sumanāḥ*, ApŚ. **vaḥ suvaniḥ*, ApŚ. **vasumanāḥ*) *sumedhāḥ* AV. VS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. (thrice) ŚG. HG. See §227.

*ailabṛdā* (MS. °*mṛdā*, KS. *aiḍamṛdā*) *yavyudhaḥ* (VS. *āyuryudhaḥ*, MS. *vo yudhaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. See §241.

*pari ghraṁsam omanā* (TB. *parighraṁsa vāṁ manā*) *vāṁ vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV. MS. TB. N. The original: 'he shall go thru the heat by your aid unto strength'. Corruption in TB.

*dame-dame suṣṭutyā* (TS. °*tīr*, MS. °*tī*, AŚ. ŚŚ. °*tir*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV. °*nau*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iyānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §236.

*amanmahīd anāśavaḥ* (PB. °*hīt tad āśavaḥ*) RV. AV. PB.

*brāhmaṇebhyo 'bhyanujñātā* (MahānU. *hy anu*°) TA. MahānU.

*tam ahve* (SV. *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV.

*tilvilā* (misprinted *tilvalā*) *stām irāvatīm* AG.: *tilvilā sthājirāvatī* ŚG.: *tilvalā sthirāvatī* MG.: *tilvilā syād irāvatī* ApMB. A desperate passage; all forms corrupt. Oldenberg (on ŚG., p. 144) suggests something like *sthāvarāvatī* for the original. In ApMB. a mistaken rationalization; a third person verb is out of place here, since there is a direct address.

[*pra yaḥ satrācā* (TB. Conc. *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB. °*tai*) RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *satrācā*.]

**§829.** In the rest the form with two words seems to be the original:

*adyā mamāra sa hyaḥ samāna* (MS. *sahyaḥ samānaḥ*; p.p. *saḥ, hyaḥ, saṁ, āna*) RV. AV. SV. MS. TA. N. The MS. makes no sense, and its p.p. gives the true reading.

*yas tā vijānāt* (TA.* MahānU. *yas tad veda*, AV.* VS. *yas tāni veda*) *sa pituṣ* (VS. MahānU. *pituḥ*, TA. *savituḥ*) *pitāsat* RV. AV. VS. TA. MahānU. N. See §198.

*sa dahan* (GB. *sadanān*) *pradahan nv* (GB. *v*) *agāḥ* GB. Vait. One ms. of Vait. has the same absurd reading as GB.

*sā prasūr* (ŚG. *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG. °*gā*) *bhava* AV. ŚG. ApMB. HG.

*garbhe* (MS. °*bhaḥ*) *sañ* (VS. ŚB. *san*, KS. MS. *saṁ*°) *jāyase punaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. But it is likely that MS. KS. really intend *san* (so MS. p.p.).

*sa eva jātaḥ* (TA. MahānU. *sa vijāyamānaḥ*) *sa janiṣyamāṇaḥ* VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU.

*svasāra āpo abhi gā utāsaran* (SV. *udā*°) RV. SV. See §60.

*agne yāhi dūtyaṁ mā riṣaṇyaḥ* (TB. °*yaṁ vāriṣeṇyaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. AŚ. See §225.

*tan mā jinva* TS. MS.: *tan mārjitvā* KS. See §354. KS. probably secondary.

*amuṁ ma iṣāṇa*, and: *sarvalokaṁ ma iṣāṇa* VS.: *amuṁ maniṣāṇa*, and: *sarvaṁ maniṣāṇa* TA. The form *iṣāṇa* can properly only mean 'send', but is doubtless felt confusedly as meaning 'wish', as if from *icchati*: 'send (as if, 'wish') me that (world)', . . . 'every world'. TA. has a monstrous quasi-imperative middle (with ending *āna*!), as if from the aorist of root *man*; comm. *prayaccha*.

*ā samudrā* (KS. *ā sīm ugrā*, TS. ApŚ. *āsminn ugrā*) *acucyavuḥ* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Obscure and difficult with any reading, but MS. seems clearly secondary.

*apāṁ na yanty* (SV. *apo nayanta*) *ūrmayaḥ* RV. SV. 'Like streams of water go (the somas)': '(the somas) lead on the waters'.

*upākṛtaṁ śaśamānaṁ yad asthāt* (MŚ. *sadhasthāt*, v. l. *sad asthāt*) AV. TS. MŚ. MŚ. If *sadhasthāt* is right (see Knauer's note), it must depend on *upākṛtam*.

*pariṣītaḥ kveṣyasi* ApMB.: *pariṣīdaḥ kleṣyasi* HG. The true reading is *kva iṣyasi*, or more properly *eṣyasi*, 'whither wilt thou go?' The HG. has foolishly attempted to rationalize the reading by connecting it with the quasi-root *kliṣ* (thinking of *kliś*).

### 6. Dissyllabic words broken up into two 'light words', and vice versa

**§830.** Next comes a group which may be said to belong to both the two preceding classes at once. That is, a dissyllabic word is broken up into two light words, or vice versa; often with further changes. We begin as before with cases in which the dissyllabic word seems to be the original:

*tad vipro abravīd udak* (ŚŚ. *u tat*) AV. ŚŚ. See §65.

*ava* (RV. *abhi*, MS. *ā vaḥ* [text *vaḥ* preceded by *haviṣā*], VS. ŚB. *vācā*) *somaṁ nayāmasi* (RV. *mṛśāmasi*, VS. ŚB. *avanayāmi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*sanvan* (KŚ. *sa tvaṁ*) *saniṁ suvimucā vimuñca* KŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. The secondary KŚ. reading may be graphic.

*yamasya dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvasi* TA.: *yamasya dūtaś ca vāg vidhāvati* MS. See §145.

*satyaṁ* (SV. ApŚ. *sa tvaṁ*) *vṛṣan vṛṣed asi* RV. SV. ApŚ.

*irāṁ u ha* (AV. *aha*) *praśaṁsati* AV. ŚŚ. ŚG.

*pra ṇa*(SV. *na*) *indo mahe tane* (SV. *tu naḥ*) RV. SV.

*samyak* (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ.* MŚ. *sam it*, KS.* *sarit*) *sravanti sarito*

(TAA. Conc. °*tā*, Poona ed. text and comm. °*to*) *na dhenāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.* ŚB. TAA. KŚ. ApŚ.* MŚ. The second reading of KS., *sarit*, tho given by all mss., is evidently a mistake for *sam it*, which is secondary to *samyak*.

*nyañ* (AV. *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV. °*tim*) RV. AV. KS.

*tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV.: *sa īṁ* (TS. *ī*) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*, MS. *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS. TS. MS.: *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS. As all commentators realize, the passage is hopelessly corrupt; but *sa īṁ* (*ī*) looks like a secondary lect. fac. for some single word (as in AV. KS.).

**§831.** In the following the version with two light words seems to be original:

*idaṁ ta ekaṁ para ū ta* (TB. ApŚ., but not KS., *uta*) *ekam* RV. AV. SV. KS.† TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Comm. on TB. *uta, api ca*; but the text leaves the word accentless, which, as well as the bad sandhi (*uta ekam*, with hiatus), indicates that the true reading was *u ta* (*te*).

*sa tū* (SV. *sato*) *dhanaṁ kāriṇe na pra yaṅsat* RV. SV. 'He verily shall give wealth to the singer': 'he shall give wealth to the virtuous, to the singer'. The genitive, followed by a dative in the same construction, is an indication of the badness of SV.

*kavir yaḥ putraḥ sa īm ā* (TA. Conc. *sā imāḥ*, Poona ed. text and comm. *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV. AV. TA. N. Comm. on TA. *imā, etāni dṛśyamānāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni*.

*vidyāṁ yām u ca* (ŚŚ. *uta*) *vidmasi* AB. ŚŚ.

*ā yaṁ* (MS. MŚ. *āyan*) *naraḥ sudānavo dadāśuṣe* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ. The corruption of MS. is indicated by the fact that the verb *ácucyavuḥ* in the next pāda still has the accent, tho it is no longer in a relative clause, and there is no other reason for the accent.

*ku ṣṭhaḥ ko vām aśvinā* SV.: *kūṣṭho devāv aśvinā* RV. It is universally recognized that RV. must be read *kū ṣṭho*.

*utem* (SV. *ūtim*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV. AV. SV. MS. *uta-īm: ūtim*, 'aid'.

*mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV.: *mihaṁ na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV.

*ā tvā* (AV. *emāṁ*, ŚG. *enaṁ*) *parisrutaḥ* (AG. °*śritaḥ*, MG. °*sṛtaḥ*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB. †*kumbhāḥ*, ŚG. *kumbhyā*) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG.

*tve ā* (SV. *tvayā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ* RV. SV. Note resolution of *e* to *ay*.

*svaḥpatir yadī vṛdhe* SV.: *svarpatiṁ yad īṁ vṛdhe* RV. AV.

*sarvaḥ sarvā vi caratu prajānan* MS.: *sa vaḥ sarvāḥ saṁ carati prajānan* AV. The MS. p.p. *saḥ, sarvāḥ*; in the saṁhitā text stupid assimilation to the following word.

*yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ* (ApMB. *tanuvaṁ yatra vāsaḥ*) AV. ApMB.: *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsaḥ* HG. Probably *yac ca* of AV. is original and *yatra* due to assimilation to the preceding *yatrā*.

[*ā tvam* (GB. *ātmam*, but Gaastra correctly *ā tvam*; LŚ. *ā svam*) *indrāya pyāyasva* VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.]

[*name tad upadambhiṣar . . .* MS. MŚ.: *na ma idam upadambhiṣag . . .* ApŚ. We must read *ná me* in MS. MŚ.; there is no p.p. here, and *náme* is simply bad editing.]

[*vi gā indra vicaran spāśayasva* TA. ApŚ. In TA. text printed *vigā*, but both syllables accented; clearly *vi gā(ḥ)* is intended; so comm.]

### 7. Longer words, not compounds, broken up into two or more shorter words, and vice versa

**§832.** We come next to a group of variants in which a word of more than two syllables, generally at least four, is split up into two or more shorter words; or vice versa. Excluded are divisions of compounds into parts, which have been treated above. First come cases in which the longer word is original:

*balim icchanto vitudasya* (AG. *vi tu tasya*, v. l. *vidurasya*) *preṣyāḥ* (MahānU. AG. *preṣṭhāḥ*) TAA. MahānU. AG. See §65.

*upānasaḥ †saparyan* RV.: *upo nu sa saparyan* SV. Indra is meant; SV. has obvious earmarks of secondariness.

*yad indra citra mehanā* (SV. PB. *ma iha na*) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. As in the preceding, a rather obscure word (*mehanā*, adv.) is broken up into a series of harmless particles in SV.

*na me* (so read, §831) *tad upadaṁbhiṣar . . .* MS. MŚ.: *na ma idam upadambhiṣag* (once erroneously *udaṁ bhiṣag*) . . . ApŚ. A simple and obvious blunder, possibly only a misprint.

*mā* (AG. MG. *ā*) *tvā prāpann aghāyavaḥ* (MG. *adyāyavaḥ*) AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG. See §868.

*akṣāṇāṁ vagnum* (AV. em. *gaṇam*, true reading probably *gatnum* with SPP., see Whitney's note; MS. †*vagmum*) *upajighnamānaḥ* (AV. *upalipsamānāḥ*, MS. *avajighram āpaḥ*) AV. MS. TB. TA. The MS. is corrupt; its p.p., yet worse: *akṣṇā, avagmam ity ava-gmaṁ, avajighram ity ava-jighraṁ, āpaḥ*. But the original is obscure enough.

*viśvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. °*ṣebhyaḥ*) AV. KS.: *viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhiyaḥ* VS. TS.: *vy amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣāṇām* MS. Evidently VS. TS. are secondary, tho interpretable; cf. §783.

*yasya te viśvamānuṣaḥ* (SV. *viśvam ānuṣak*) RV. AV. SV. It is surprising to find the simple and commonplace RV. reading distorted in SV. into one that is much more recondite, and hard to interpret. See Benfey's note in Translation, p. 259.

*anvādīdyāthām iha naḥ sakhāyā* TB. TA.: *manmā dīdhyānā utā naḥ sakhāyā* MS. The latter seems clearly corrupt; p.p. *dīdhyānāṁ*, the nasal perhaps preserving a trace of the original, which means: 'make us shine here, O ye two friends (Mitra and Varuṇa)'.

*yebhyo madhu pradhāvati* (AV. *pradhāv adhi*) RV. AV. TA. The AV. comm., followed by SPP. and Whitney's Transl., reads *pradhāvati*, correctly.

*tvaṁ no devatātaye* (AV. *deva dātave*) RV. AV. SV. See §61.

*prathamāya januṣe bhūmaneṣṭhāḥ* (AV. *bhuvane°*, ŚŚ. *bhūma neṣṭhāḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. If ŚŚ. intends this division, it would seem to mean 'that thou shalt lead the world'. Obscure.

*yajñaḥ pratyaṣṭhāt* (v. l. *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS.: *yajñaḥ praty u ṣṭhāt* (v. l. *pratyaṣṭhāt*) . . . MŚ.: *yajña pratitiṣṭha* . . . TB. ApS.

*apāmityam* (AŚ. *apām ittham*) *iva saṁbhara* MS. KS. AŚ. A graphic error in AŚ.

*ubhe yatete ubhayasya* (AV. *ubhe asya*) *puṣyataḥ* RV. AV. Cf. next.

*ubhe id asyobhayasya* (AV. *asyobhe asya*) *rājataḥ* RV. AV. In same verse as prec.; here Whitney adopts the RV. reading. See §911.

**§833.** Next cases in which the reading with one long word is secondary:

*ava tara* (TS. *avattaraṁ*) *nadīṣv ā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *avattaro nadīnām* AV. *ava tara* 'descend in the rivers' is original; in TS. AV. there is no verb, and one must be awkwardly supplied. The double *t* is suspicious (cf. §401); BR. take it, following the Indian tradition, as from the participle of root *av*, which is not at all likely to lead to the original sense (however it may have been felt in TS. AV.). Keith rejects the comm. and connects with *ava*, while Whitney follows the tradition. MS. p.p. *avataraṁ*.

*prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvirīr* (SV. *prāntarikṣāt sthāvirīs te*) *asṛkṣata* RV. SV.

*pra dhārā yantu madhunaḥ* AB.: *pra dhārayantu madhuno ghṛtasya* AG. (corrupt; abandoned by Stenzler for the other reading).

*dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyātā* BDh.: *dyauḥ samā tasyādītya upadraṣṭā* . . . HG. The BDh. reading seems like a secondary adaptation of HG., which is typical stylistically.—The next two variants are in the same passage.

*antarikṣasamantasya te vāyur upaśrotā* BDh.: *antarikṣaṁ samaṁ tasya vāyur upadraṣṭā* . . . HG. As prec.

*pṛthivīsamantasya te 'gnir upadraṣṭā* BDh.: *pṛthivī samā tasyāgnir upadraṣṭā* . . . HG. See prec. two.

*sutarasi tarase* (MahānU. *sutarasiddhatarase*) *namaḥ* RVKh. TA. MahānU. The latter has a v. l. like the others, but its comm. reads the recorded version, which is obviously a secondary attempt to make the meaning simpler. *Sutarasi* is voc. sing. fem., and *tarase* an infinitive.

*śīte vāte punann iva* (AŚ. LŚ., mss. of Vait., most mss. of ŚŚ., and v. l. of KSA. *punarniva*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. Doubtless a graphic corruption; but its wide spread is curious.

*antarā dyāvāpṛthivī apaḥ suvaḥ* TB. ApMB. HG.: *antarā dyāvāpṛthivyor apasyuḥ* MG. Is *apasyuḥ* understood as *apa-syuḥ*, from *apa-as* 'be away'? It is hard to construe a nom.-sing. of *apasyu*. In any case it is secondary.

*anupauhvad anupahvayet* HG.: *anu po 'hvad anuhvayaḥ* ApMB. See §732.

*yajñapataye* (ŚŚ. adds *vasu*; TA. *yajamānāya*) *vāryam ā svas kaḥ* (TA. *ā suvas kar asmai*, ŚŚ. *āsaṁskarase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. The latter secondary.

*tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāḥ* AV.: *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāḥ* AB. AŚ. The AV. is probably original. See §254.

*ayaṁ sahasram ānavo dṛśaḥ kavīnāṁ matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ. °*mā*) SV. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ayaṁ sahasram ā no dṛśe . . . vidharmaṇi* AV. Benfey is forced to interpret the corrupt SV. reading *sahasramānavo* as one compound word, against the accents: 'der tausendbewachende'. Probably AV. is original, tho it too is not very sensible.

*agnir hotreṇedaṁ* (*hotreṇa, agnihotreṇedaṁ*) *havir* . . ., see §354.

*vande dārum vandamāno vivakmi* RV.: *vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu* SV. On this troublesome and disputed passage see references quoted in VV I p. 218.

### 8. Different divisions of two or more independent words

**§834.** Finally we come to a large class in which two or more independent words are involved in both forms of the differently divided variant. They fall into three subdivisions. Perhaps the simplest (a) are those which concern different resolutions of a final or initial vowel between the two words, so that in one form of the variant the vowel belongs exclusively to either the preceding or the following word, while in the other it (not necessarily the same vowel) contains a fusion of the final of one word with the initial vowel of the next. Secondly, (b)

there are cases in which a final consonant is detached from one word and affixed to the next. And thirdly, (c) cases with more extensive alterations, at least one entire syllable being detached from one word and attached to another; sometimes a whole series of words is affected, resulting in complete revision of the passage.

(a) Different resolution of final-initial vowels

**§835.** We begin with the cases concerning final-initial vowels. In one form of these variants a vowel at the end of one word or at the beginning of the next belongs exclusively to the one word, while in the other it (not always the same vowel) contains a fusion of a final with an initial vowel. Either form may be the older; we begin with those in which sandhi, combination of two vowels, seems to be the original reading, which is much more frequently the case:

*avakrakṣiṇaṁ vṛṣabhaṁ yathājuram* (SV. *yathā juvam*) RV. AV. SV. *ajuram* 'ageless'; *juvam* 'swift'.

*na māṁsam asi nodalam* (HG. *no dalam*) ApMB. HG. If the division is so intended, HG. must mean 'thou art not flesh, nor a fragment'. The comm. on ApMB. (Winternitz, Introduction, p. xxiv) takes *nódálam* for *ná-udáram*, 'nor a (part of the) belly'.

*ya ājagma* (N. °*muḥ*) *savanemā* (TS. KS. *savanedaṁ*, N. *savanam idaṁ*, VS. MS. ŚB. *ya ājagmedaṁ savanaṁ*) *juṣāṇāḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Conc. suggests *savanemā* (*savanā-imā*) for AV., and Whitney notes that the AV. text (p.p. *sávane, mā*) is a corruption of this, tho he translates 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation'.

*samidhyamānaḥ prathamānu †dharmā* (TB. ApŚ. *prathamo nu dharmaḥ*) RV. TB. ApŚ. The later texts stumble over the antiquated forms *prathamā . . . dharmā* (neut. plur.) of RV. 'According to ancient ordinances': 'as the very first law'.

*prasthāyendrāgnibhyāṁ somaṁ vocatopo* (KB. *vocato yo*) *asmān brāhmaṇān brāhmaṇā hvayadhvam* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. As Keith says in his Transl., KB. must be read *vocatopo*. A graphic corruption.

*jihvā pavitram aśvināsan* (TB. °*nā saṁ*) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. KS. TB. The original, of which TB. is an uncomprehending corruption, contains *āsan* 'in his mouth'.

*viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsañ juhomi* TS. GB. Vait. ApŚ.: *viśloka viśvadāvye tvā saṁjuhomi svāhā* MŚ. Precisely like the prec., except that here the secondary reading is verbally intelligible.

*gāva upāvatāvatam* (SV. *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV. SV. See §60.

*yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ* (ApMB. *tanuvaṁ yatra vāsaḥ*) AV. ApMB.: *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsaḥ* HG. The latter corrupt; see §198.

*ṛdhag* (RV. AV. *dhruvam*) *ayā* (AV. *ayo*, TS. MS. KS. *ayāḍ*) *ṛdhag* (RV. AV. *dhruvam*) *utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* (MS. KS. °*ṣṭa*, AV. *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. See §234.

*yat tvemahe* (SMB. *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś. *prati nas toj*) *juṣasva* RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. Original has *tvā-īmahe*. SMB. comm. alternatively takes *mahe* as a verb, *pūjayāmi*, or as a noun, *utsave*, supplying *pūjādikaṁ karma* with *yat*. All mss. agree on it.

*āśuṁ tvājau* (ApŚ. *ākhuṁ tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantaḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*hariśmaśruṁ na varmaṇā dhanarcim* SV.: *hiriśmaśruṁ nārvāṇaṁ dhanarcam* RV.

*dhātā vidhātā* (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota saṁdṛk* (KS. *paramo na saṁvṛk*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. Graphic change in KS., §871.

*hotā viṣṭīmena* (ŚŚ. *viṣṭvī me*) *jaritar* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. See §367.

*tenemām upa siñcatam* RV. AV. TA. N.: *tena mām abhiṣiñcatam* ŚŚ. SMB. Different contexts; *imām* or *mām*.

*tena tvam agna iha vardhayemam* AV.: *tenāgne tvam uta vardhayemam* (MS. °*yā mām*) TS. MS. KS. *imam* or *mām*.

*piteva putraṁ jarase nayemam* (MS. *ma emam*) MS. KS. ApMB. HG. The corruption of MS. is indicated by its p.p.: *jarasena, ā, imam*, pointing to the other reading.

*yaded* (KS. *ād id*) *antā adadṛhanta* (TS. *adadṛṁh*°) *pūrve* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*yenākṣā* (SMB. °*kṣān*, PG. °*kṣyāv*, ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*) *abhyaṣicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *abhyaṣiñcatam*, PG. °*tām*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. For the original 'dice' ŚŚ. lamely substitutes 'earth'.

[*tvayāvasena* (ŚG. text *tvayā jvasena*) *sam aśīmahi tvā* TS. KS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. Kauś. ŚG. SMB. PG. The ŚG. seems to be a misprint.]

**§836.** We come now to the much fewer cases in which the original reading assigns the vowel exclusively to one of the two variant words, the form with vocalic sandhi being secondary:

*yadārāghaṭī* (read *yadā rā*°) *varadaḥ* Vait.: *yadā rākhāṭyau vadataḥ* ApŚ.: *yad adyārādhyaṁ vadantaḥ* MŚ. See §70.

*praty eva* (ŚŚ. *pra tveva*, i.e. *tvā-iva*) *gṛbhāyata* AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

*grāvāvādīd* (ApŚ. *grāvā vaded*) *abhi somasyāñśum* (ApŚ. °*śunā*) KS. ApŚ. But KS. ed. prints the ApŚ. reading, with v. l. °*vādīd*.

*śrutakakṣo araṁ* (SV. °*kakṣāraṁ*) *gave* RV. SV. Nom.: voc.

*vīhi svām āhutiṁ juṣāṇo manasā* AV.: *vīhi svāhāhutiṁ juṣāṇaḥ* TS. TB. The ritualistic exclamation *svāhā* is always allowable, but is here secondary.

*viśvasmai bhūtāyādhvaro* (KS. MŚ. *bhūtāya dhruvo*) *astu devāḥ* (TS. °*dhvaro 'si*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *adhvara: dhruva;* it is not certain that the latter is more original.

*mā na āyuḥ param avaraṁ mānadonaiḥ* MS.: *mā naḥ param adharaṁ mā rajo 'naiḥ* (MŚ.†*param adhanaṁ mā rajo naiḥ*) TA. MŚ. The MS. is corrupt, and its p.p. is worse: *mā, anat, ā, unaiḥ*! Cf. VV I p. 93.

*ā māśiṣo* (or *ām āśiṣo*, so MS. understands) *dohakāmāḥ* MS. KS.: *emā agmann āśiṣo dohakāmāḥ* TS. ApŚ. It is possible that KS. also intends *ām* (interjection) *āśiṣo*. It seems that TS. ApŚ. (*ā-imās*) have a lect. fac.

[*ātmāsy ātmann ātmānaṁ* (GB. *ātmanātmānaṁ*, but Gaastra as the others) *me mā hiṁsīḥ* GB. Vait. Kauś.]

(b) Final-initial consonant transferred from one word to another

**§837.** Next there are a few cases in which a consonant is mobile between words, being attached to the preceding word in one form of the variant, to the following word in another. This process may be illustrated within the RV. itself, in the pāda traditionally recorded as *agner aveṇa marutāṁ na bhojyā*, 1. 128. 5b. Here we must surely read *agne raveṇa;* see Conc. and Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.* I. 127. This is commonly recognized, altho Oldenberg, *Noten*, has some slight doubts. Similarly, it is commonly recognized that for *nṛbhir yad yukto vive rapāṁsi*, RV. 1. 69. 8, we must read *viver apāṁsi;* and for *muṣāyaś cakram avive rapāṁsi*, RV. 6. 31. 3, *aviver apāṁsi*. Also in AV. 6. 116. 1a, *yad yāmaṁ cakrur nikhananto agre*, read probably *yady āmaṁ;* see Bloomfield, *AJP* 17. 428, *SBE* 42. 457, and Whitney *ad loc.*

*āsann ā* (SV. PB. *āsan naḥ*) *pātraṁ janayanta* (KS. °*tu*) *devāḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB.

*madhu reto* (TS. *madhor ato*, KS. †*madhur ato*, AŚ. text printed *madhu-reto*) *mādhavaḥ pātv asmān* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Keith on TS. thinks the KS. reading is correct. He calls the MS. 'nonsense', which is a little strong considering that we are dealing with a yajus formula; *madhu* and *reto* might be taken as coordinate with either subject or object. But the MS. p.p. reads *madhuḥ, amtaḥ*, pointing towards the KS. reading.

*revatī ramadhvam, revatīr amedhyam*, see §255.

*ā māśiṣo* (MS. text *ām āśiṣo*) *dohakāmāḥ* MS. KS. And others; see §836. MS. and KS. may intend the same reading.

*agor arir ā ciketa* RV.: *nāgo rayir ā ciketa* SV. Benfey understands *na-ago(s)*, from *agu* 'nicht preisend' = 'bös'. Doubtful; the SV. is hardly interpretable.

*ubhayor ārtnyor* (TS. *ārtniyor*, NīlarU. *ubhayo rājñor*) *jyām* VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. An absurd corruption in the last; it can only refer to the two ends of the bow, and so the comm. calmly takes it.

*satyād ā* (ApŚ. *satyā tā*) *dharmaṇas patī* (ŚŚ. *dharmaṇā*, and so mss. of MŚ.; Vait. MŚ. *pari*, ŚŚ. omits *patī*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.

*purovāto varṣañ jinvar āvṛt svāhā* TS. ApŚ.: *purovāta* (KS. °*to*) *jinva rāvaṭ* (KS. °*vat*) *svāhā* MS. KS. And other formulas in same passage; see §168. TS. is secondary.

*yam aśvinā namucer āsurād adhi* (ŚŚ. †*namucāv āsure dadhi*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. Followed by: *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya*. Some verb, probably a form of *su*, is understood: 'which (soma) the Aśvins pressed out (Caland on Vait. entnahmen) from the asuric N.' ŚŚ. is secondary and poor; *dadhi* 'sour milk' conceals *adhi*, to which is affixed the *d* of the abl. which preceded in the original form. For the myth in question see Bloomfield, *JAOS* 15. 144–63.

(c) More extensive false divisions between separate words

**§838.** In the rest the alteration involved in the false division is more extensive: at least one syllable is detached from one word and attached to another. Sometimes a whole series of words is affected, as in:

*śatāpāṣṭhādya* (read with Poona ed. of both °*ṭhā gha*) *viṣā pari ṇo vṛṇaktu* TB. TA.: *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇaḥ* MS. (corrupt).

*pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā* TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. In MahānU. a v. l. agrees with TA. but for *anūp*°; but the comm. keeps to the text as printed. He explains *pītābhā* by *pītavarṇā*, and *tanūpamā* by *sūkṣmeṇopamīyate kuṇḍalinīti yāṁ naigamā āhuḥ*. The TA. makes *pītā bhāsvatī* = *pītavarṇā*, and *aṇūpamā* is explained by *laukikānāṁ tanūnāṁ sūkṣmavastūnām upamā bhavituṁ yogyā*.

*acikradat svapā iha bhuvat* AV.: *adidyutat sv apāko vibhāvā* RV. MS. Whitney says the AV. has 'an adaptation, or corruption, or both' of the other reading. Ppp. *bhavat* for *bhuvat* (§602).

*deva puraścara saghyāsaṁ* (MS. *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsaṁ*) *tvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. The MS. is corrupt: p.p. *deva, punar iti punaḥ, carase*. See §817.

*dviṣas taradhyā* (ApŚ. °*yai*) *ṛṇayā na īyase* (SV. *īrase*) RV. SV. KS. AB ApŚ.: *dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveṇeyase* AV. 'A simple corruption' (Whitney) in AV.

*ṛtasyartena mām uta* (TA. *ita*) TB. TA.: *ṛtásya tv ènam ā'mútaḥ* MS. (p.p. *tú, enaṁ, mā'ṁ, uttáṁ ma*, in part pointing to theTB.reading). MS. is corrupt; in TB. supply *muñcata* from preceding pāda.

*graha viśvajanīna niyantar viprāyāma te* (MS. p.p. *viprāya, 'mate;* KS. *nyantar vipra ā* †*satī*) MS. KS.

§**839.** In several instances the prefix *su* exchanges with *su* locative ending:

*made suśipram* (SV. *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasaḥ* RV. SV.

*tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV.: *sa īṁ* (TS. *ī*) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (MS. °*sā starīman*, TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*) VS. TS. MS.: *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS.

*maṇḍūky apsu śaṁ bhuvaḥ* AV.: *maṇḍūkyā su saṁ* †*gamaḥ* (TA. *gamaya*) RV. TA. The familiar association of the frog with waters leads to the secondary reading of AV.

§**840.** The rest hardly need classification:

*yas te soma prajāvat so 'bhi so aham* MahānU.: *yās te soma prajā vatso 'bhi so aham* TA. Both are obscure, and the far-fetched interpretations of the comms. give little help. For instance, the TA. comm. explains *soma* as *sa* + *uma*, from *umā* = *brahmavidyā*, so that *soma* = *paramātman*!

*viśvakarman bhauvana māṁ didāsitha* (ŚB. *manda āsitha*) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. *didāsitha* is taken as a desiderative from *dā*. 'O V. Bh., thou didst seek to give me (the earth) away': '. . . thou wast slow of wit (so comm., *mandamatiḥ*)'. Either meaning is possible.

*bhrātāntarikṣam abhiśastyā naḥ* (TA. *abhiśasta enaḥ*) AV. TA. Comm. on TA.: *yad eno 'smābhiḥ kṛtaṁ tad abhiśastaḥ śatrusthānīyam*! It would be better to understand *abhiśaste*, 'upon the accursed one (may) the sin (light)'. Whitney understands a verb 'save' in AV.

*samudrād udajani vaḥ* (ApŚ. *udacann iva*) *srucā* MS. ApŚ. The ApŚ. reading seems better.

*yā saṁjayantam adhi yāsu vardhase* KS.: *āśuṁ jayantam anu yāsu vardhase* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.

*mānasya patni śaraṇā syonā* AV.: *mā naḥ sapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā* HG. See §189.

*jyeṣṭhasya dharmaṁ dyukṣor anīke* SV.: *jyeṣṭhasya vā dharmaṇi kṣor anīke* RV. The bad form *dyukṣor* is taken by Benfey as for *dyukṣayor*, from *dyukṣa*.

*brahmādhiguptaḥ* (PG. *brahmābhi°*, MG. *brahmābhigūrtaṁ*) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG. *surakṣitaḥ syām*, MG. *svarākṣāṇaḥ*, most mss. *svārārakṣāṇaḥ*) *svāhā* AG. PG. MG. The original is probably AG., see §742. PG. has a simple lect. fac.; MG. is corrupt.

*yena bhūyaś ca rātryām* (ApMB. *carāty ayam*, MG. *caraty ayam*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §61.

*sarasvatyai vāco yantur yantriye* (VSK. *vāco yan turye turyaṁ*) *dadhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB. Corruption in VSK.

*āyuḥpati rathaṁtaraṁ* (MŚ. *āyuḥ pratirathaṁ°*) *tad aśīya . . .* ApŚ. MŚ. Caland would read *°patī* (nom.) in ApŚ., and observes that MŚ. is yet more corrupt.

*ud vaṅśam iva yemire* RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mbh.

*kratvā variṣṭhaṁ vara āmurim uta* RV. AV.: *kratve vare sthemany āmurīm uta* SV.

*ruvad dhokṣā* (TB. *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhir evaiḥ* RV. MS. AB. KB. TB. See §684.

*prathamachad* (KS. *parama°*) *avarāṅ* (TS. *paramachado vara*) *ā viveśa* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Keith takes *paramachado* as a gen. depending on *vara* (*vare*). The result is close to nonsense.

*ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan* (TS. MS. *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV. VS. TS. MS.

*tena saṁhanu kṛṇmasi* AV.: *tena sann anugṛhṇāsi* HG. See §47.

*pathā madhumatā bharan* (MS. *°mad ābharan*) VS. MS. TB. Either makes good sense.

*ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve* (VS. *°ṣṭhīve*, TS. *ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā*) *bṛhadrathaṁtare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS. †*kalpantām*) VS. TS. MS. Cf. §803; TS. secondary.

*pumāṅsaṁ vardhatāṁ mayi* ŚG.: *pumān saṁvartatāṁ mayi* PG.: *pumān garbhas tavodare* SMB. See §97. Despite the Conc., ŚG. is quite correct, and may well be the original reading.

*jāmim itvā mā vivitse lokān* TA.: *jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV. See §198.

*hiraṇyavad annavad dhehi* (ApŚ. *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS. ApŚ.

*utem anaṁnamuḥ* (KB. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. *uteva naṁ°*) TS. MS. AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*athem ava sya vara ā pṛthivyāḥ* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *athemam asyā vara ā pṛthivyāḥ* AV. See §236.

*utānyo asmad yajate vi cāvaḥ* (TB. *vicāyaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. N. See §254.

*anūdhā yadi jījanad* (SV. *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*) RV. SV.

*pra su* (HG. *sa*) *mṛtyuṁ* (SMB. *pra sumartyaṁ*, MG. *prathamam artiṁ*) *yuyotana* (MG. *yuyotu naḥ*) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. The last is secondary.

*yaśasendrābṛhaspatī* (ArS. *yaśo mendrā*°) ArS. PG. MG. Graphic change.

*dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoḥ* (AV. °*tīkaḥ sasūnuḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §189.

*dhiyā martaḥ śaśamate* (SV. *martasya śamataḥ*) RV. SV. See §189.

*yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat* (MG. *riṣat*, most mss. *riṣak*) PG. MG.: *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS. See §189.

*yunajmi tisro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ save*, or *savaḥ*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §189.

*pragāyāmasy agrataḥ* PG. ApMB.: *pragāyāmy asyāgrataḥ* MG.: †*prajāyāmasy agrataḥ* HG. *asya* in MG. is to be taken in a cosmic sense; it is of course secondary.

*yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat* (TA. *āya*, MS. *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV. MS. TA. Whitney describes the MS. as a 'corrupt guess'.

*māyādevā avataran* HG.: *adevā devavattaram* ApMB. See §401.

*ā gharmo agnim ṛtayann asādi* (TA. *asādīt*) RV. TA.: *ā gharmo agnir amṛto na sādi* MS. The latter is of course secondary.

*adha syāma surabhayo* (ApŚ. *syām asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu* AV. KS. ApŚ.: *athā syāta surabhayo gṛheṣu* MS. The ApŚ. is worthless; Caland tacitly adopts the other reading.

[*iṣur nāvīrastāram* ŚŚ.: *iṣuṁ na vīro astā* AV. RWh. by emendation; but mss. as ŚŚ. except for *iṣuṁ*.]

[*pātaṁ mā dyāvāpṛthivī adyāhnaḥ* (Kauś. text *aghān naḥ*) TS. ApŚ. Kauś. Read *adyāhnaḥ* in Kauś.; cf. critical note, p. 295, n. 4 of ed. In the reading quoted for ms. Bü *hna* should be read for *dna*.]

## 9. Patch-words

**§841.** In the earlier parts of this chapter, and especially in §§822–31, we have met many cases of variation between a longer word and a shorter word 'patched' by a light word. We shall now add a group of variants involving such light words—'patch-words', Flickworte, Lückenbüsser—to which 'false division' in the strict sense seems not to apply, because the phonetic resemblance between the variant words is insufficiently close. There is no hard and fast line between the two groups, however, and we are far from regarding the separation we have

made as absolute. Doubtless many of the variants which follow might with justice have been classed above. At least they all belong in the same chapter.

**§842.** For instance, in a pāda like

*syonaṁ patye* (AV. *patibhyo*) *vahatuṁ kṛṇuṣva* (AV. *kṛṇu tvam*) RV. AV. SMB. ApMB. MG. N.,

it is clear that AV. has substituted an active imperative form for a middle, filling out the meter with the pronoun *tvam*. There is still a certain resemblance in sound between the syllables *tvam* and *-sva*. This resemblance approaches the vanishing point in

*ni no rayiṁ subhojasaṁ yuvasva* (TS. *yuveha*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.,

where TS. likewise uses an active for a middle imperative, patching the pāda with the adverb *iha*. And in a pāda like

*āpas tad ghnantu sarvadā* (MG. *te sadā*) MG. YDh.,

it would obviously be impossible to speak of 'false division', since *sarvadā*, if it is the original reading, cannot be thought of as divided into *te sadā;* rather, the synonym *sadā* is substituted, and the line is then patched by inserting the light word *te*. If, as we suspect, the original form of this pāda was that of MG., the order of change is reversed, but the principle is the same.

**§843.** Prevailingly these variants are concerned with metrical requirements, as is clearly suggested by the above examples. The use of a patch word is designed to fill out a metrical unit which would otherwise be defective. This comes out very interestingly in a small group of cases where the original reading had or seemed to have defective meter, and in a secondary text this is corrected by inserting a patch word:

*agniṁ* (SV. *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśocişam* RV. SV. In RV. *śreṣṭha-* constituted three syllables (Wackernagel I p. 51). The SV. has lost consciousness of this fact, feels that a syllable is lacking, and inserts the harmless *u*.

*viṣe viṣam apṛkthāḥ* (*aprāg api*) AV. (both). The shorter form (with ending read as two syllables?) was probably the original.

*yataḥ sūrya udeti* AV.: *yataś codeti sūryaḥ* ŚB. BṛhU. KaṭhaU. †4. 9a.

*āśūn huve suyamān ūtaye* TS. MS. KS.: *āśūn iva suyamān ahva ūtaye* AV. Here the longer form of AV. may be original; at least it is better not only metrically but in sense.

**§844.** There are, however, a few cases in which the addition of a patch word spoils, or at least injures, the meter. In one of these the form without the patch word is probably historically secondary, and due to an attempt to improve the meter by omitting (instead of adding) a light word:

*tasmai no* (AV. *mā*) *devāḥ paridatteha* (AV. PG. °*dhatteha*, KS. MŚ. °*dhatta*) *sarve* (MŚ. *viśve*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. BDh. Even the KS. MŚ. form, lacking *iha*, is not really good in meter.

**§845.** But in most cases of this sort the light word appears to have been added secondarily, to the detriment of the meter:

*śatena pāśair varuṇābhi dhehi* KS.: *śatena pāśair abhi dhehi varuṇainam* AV. The reading of Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 37. 298) is that of KS., and this is doubtless original.

*tam aham punar ādade* KŚ. PG.: *imaṁ taṁ punar ādade 'yam* (read *'ham*, as Kirste suggests) HG.

*tasmā u rādhaḥ kṛṇuta praśastam* (AV. *kṛṇuhi supraśastam*) RV. AV. The superfluous *su* is ignored by AV.Anukramaṇī and omitted in Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 41. 266).

**§846.** Once SV. omits a pronoun from a good and simple pāda of RV., thereby spoiling the meter; the change was possibly conditioned by the use of the hieratic case form *sutāsaḥ* (straining for archaic effect), which made the pāda too long, altho the omission of *ime* leaves is too short:

*tubhyaṁ somāḥ sutā ime* RV.: *tubhyaṁ sutāsaḥ somāḥ* SV.

**§847.** Change of meter makes both forms passably metrical in the following:

*anumate 'nv idaṁ manyasva* AV.: *anumate 'nu* (KapS. †*anu*) *manyasva na idam* KS. Cf. *anumate 'nu manyasva* (prose) GG. KhG. HG. ApG.

*apāṁ napātam aśvinā huve dhiyā* (TS. †*hayantam*) AV. TS. The mss. of AV. read *aśvínā* (accented) and *dhiyaḥ*. Neither text makes sense as presented in the mss., but both are metrically correct. See Whitney's and Keith's notes.

**§848.** In the next AV. by a later resolution gets two syllables out of one of RV., and to save the meter omits the light word *u*:

*agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā* (AV. Kauś. *sa id dhotā*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §996.

**§849.** In the remainder the variants with and without patch word are metrically equivalent. We shall begin with those in which the form with patch word is probably secondary; they are, as we should expect, far the more numerous group:

*imaṁ* (AV. **tam u*) *me agadaṁ kṛta* (AV. *kṛdhi*) RV. AV.* VS. TS.

*anu manyasva suyajā yajāma* (MŚ. *yaje hi*, most mss. *yajeha*) TS. MŚ.

*taṁ manyeta* (ViDh. *taṁ vai manyet*) *pitaraṁ mātaraṁ ca* Saṁhitopaniṣad B. VāDh. ViDh.

*asmān* (AV. *sā naḥ*) *sīte payasābhyāvavṛtsva* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*upa yajñam asthita* (MŚ. *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RVKh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ.

*apasedhan* (SV.† °*dhaṁ*) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV. *no mṛda*) RV. SV. See VV I §194. In RV. *ṛ* in *mṛdaya* is long; in SV. it was pronounced short, and the change with insertion of *no* is intended to improve the meter.

*marutāṁ pitas tad ahaṁ gṛṇāmi* (MS. *gṛṇe te*) TS. MS.: *marutāṁ pitar uta tad gṛṇīmaḥ* KS.

*tasya doham aśīmahi* (KS. *aśīya*, AŚ. *aśīya te*) VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. In KS. prose.

*tvaṣṭā sudatro* (TA. *no atra*) *vi dadhātu rāyaḥ* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. N.

*sa naḥ pito madhumāṅ ā viśeha* (Kauś. *viveśa*) KS. Kauś.: *sa no mayobhūḥ pitav* (TS. TB. *pito*, MŚ. *pitur*, SMB. Jörgensen *pitav*) *āviśasva* (AŚ. *āviśeha*, MŚ. *āviveśa*) TS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG.

*aṅgirobhir ā gahi yajñiyebhiḥ* RV. TS. MS.: *aṅgirobhir yajñiyair āgahīha* AV.

*dadhad ratnāni* (RV. once *ratnā vi*) *dāśuṣe* RV. (thrice) SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.: *dhattaṁ ratnāni dāśuṣe* RV.: *dadhad ratnā dāśuṣe vāryāṇi* RV. VS.

*tviṣir apsu goṣu yā puruṣeṣu* AV.: *tviṣir aśveṣu puruṣeṣu goṣu* TB. The Ppp. agrees with TB. (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 204).

*anāgā devāḥ śakuno gṛheṣu* (AV. *gṛhaṁ naḥ*) RV. AV. MG. The Ppp. according to Roth agrees with RV.; and the AV. text makes poor sense as Whitney observes.

*abhūn mama* (KS. *nu naḥ*) *sumatau viśvavedāḥ* TS. KS. PG.

*ahnā yad enaḥ kṛtam asti pāpam* (AŚ. *asti kiṁcit*; ŚŚ. *enaś cakṛmeha kiṁcit*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.

*edaṁ barhir ni ṣīdata* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *ṣīda naḥ*) RV. VS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Change of context in AŚ. ŚŚ. requires a singular verb, and the pāda is neatly patched with *naḥ*.

*devebhyo havyaṁ* (MS. MŚ. MG. *havyā*) *vahatu* (TB.* AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *vaha naḥ*, Kauś. **vaha*) *prajānan* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.* AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.* MG. In one form Kauś. is unmetrical, lacking *naḥ*.

*pra tad voced amṛtasya* (VS. *amṛtaṁ nu*, TA. MahānU. *voce amṛtaṁ nu*) *vidvān* AV. VS. TA. MahānU.

*vīryebhir* (MS. *vīrebhir*, AV. *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śaci°*, Poona ed. *śavi°*) AV. VS. MS. ṢB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*punantu viśvā bhūtāni* (MS. *bhūtā mā*) AV. VS. MS. KS. Is the MS. reading a reminiscence of *viśve devāḥ punīta mā*, which is the RV. form of this pāda?

*śataṁ pavitrā vitatā hy* (MS. *vitatāny*) *āsu* MS. ApŚ. ApMB. Undoubtedly MS. is original; form assimilation to *pavitrā* in the others.

*hvayāmi* (AV. SV. TS. MS. *huve nu*) *śakraṁ puruhūtam indram* RV. AV. SV. MS. VS. TS. KS. MahānU.

*apriye* (AV. **apriyaḥ*) *prati muñcatām* (Kauś.† °*tam*, AV. **muñca tat*) AV. (bis) Kauś.

*sarvāṅ agnīṁr* (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vaḥ* (MS. omits *vaḥ*; AV. *havāmahe*) AV. TS. MS. TB. See VV I p. 253.

**§850.** The much fewer cases in which the form with a light word seems to be the older are:

*ṛṣīṇāṁ ca stutīr* (SV. *suṣṭutīr*) *upa* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*agnim indraṁ* (TB. *agnī indrā*) *vṛtrahaṇā huve 'ham* (TB. *vām*; MS. °*haṇaṁ huvema*) AV. MS. TB.

*yā antarikṣyā* (TB. ApŚ. °*kṣa*) *uta pārthivāsaḥ* (TB. ApŚ. AG. *pārthivīr yāḥ*) KS. AG. TB. ApŚ. Since the adjectives are feminine (agreeing with *āpaḥ*), the KS. form is less regular (Wackernagel III §62); but it may nevertheless be the original.

*yā akṛntann avayan yā atanvata* (AV. *yāś ca tatnire*) AV. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yā akṛntan yā atanvan* MG. Discussed in VV I §§46, 218.

*jarāṁ gachāsi* (PG. *gacha*, AV. *su gacha*) *pari dhatsva vāsaḥ* AV. PG. ApMB. HG. Only the relative antiquity of AV. favors greater originality of its reading; and perhaps this is not conclusive.

## CHAPTER XIX. RIME WORDS

**§851.** A large majority of all the variant words treated in this volume are rime words, in so far as they are not different forms of identical words. But in addition to these, there are found not a few other variants which rime with each other and tend to be associated, at least partly on that account. It seems worth while to present some examples of such variants; the list includes, of course, only words which do not seem to be explicable by any of the phonetic changes treated above, nor yet by graphic confusion. Even so restricted, the list could no doubt be extended. We hope, however, that we have included at least all cases of the repeated occurrence of such rime words in variation. They are sufficiently numerous to illustrate the phenomenon as a whole. It is to be noted that the words are as a rule fairly close to one another in sense as well as sound; that is, they are mostly quasi-synonyms.

**§852.** We begin with the roots *jinv* and *pinv*, closely associated from early times, and semi-synonyms: 'inspire' and 'make to prosper'. The ease with which they interchange is illustrated well by the first two formulas, which follow one another in the Saṁhitās; both verbs are found in all texts that have both pādas, but the two are exchanged in different texts:

*mano me jinva* (MS. KS. *pinva*, Vait. *mano jinva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Vait.
Followed by:

*vācaṁ me pinva* (MS. KS. ŚŚ. *jinva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.

*tad indrāgnī jinvataṁ* (MŚ.† *pinvatām*) *sūnṛtāvat* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*jinva* (AŚ. †*pinvaṁ*, read *pinva*) *gā jinvārvataḥ* TB. ApŚ. AŚ. Cf. *pinvataṁ gā jinvatam arvato naḥ* RV. KS.

**§853.** Other verb forms are:

*ūrjā pṛthivīṁ gachata* (MS. *yachata*) TS. MS. KS. TB.

*paramaṁ padam ava bhāti* (VS. ŚB. *bhāri*) *bhūri* (TS. *bhūreḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The comm. on VS. calmly says: *avabhāri avabhāti, takārasthāne chāndaso rephaḥ*! BR. derive from root *bhṛ*, as aor. pass. 'wurde eingedrückt', which is at least possible.

*trikadrukebhiḥ patati* (AV. *pavate*) RV. AV. KS. TA. ApŚ. Cf. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth*[1]. I. 500.

*pratilāmīti* (AŚ. °*nīti*, TS. KSA. TB. *pra sulāmīti*) *te pitā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Derived by the comms. from roots *til* and *sul*, both with obscene meanings, and both unknown otherwise.

*saṁ bāhubhyāṁ dhamati* (AV. *bharati*, TS. TA. *namati*, KS. *namate*, MS. °*bhyām adhamat*) *saṁ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. *saṁ-dham* and *saṁ-nam* practically synonyms here, 'weld together'. Note also the noun forms *patatra*: *yajatra* (graphic change).

*asadan* (TS. *asanan*) *mātaraṁ puraḥ* (TS. *punaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Practically synonyms: 'has seated himself': 'has reached'.

*yābhyāṁ svar ajanann* (TB. *suvar ajayann*) *agra eva* MS. TB. MŚ.: *yābhyām ajayan svar agra eva* AV. 'By which they created (won) light in the beginning.'

*saṁ grāvabhir nasate* (SV. *vasate*) *vīte adhvare* RV. SV. Both 'unite with'; SV. lect. fac. (*saṁ-nas* was obsolete).

*rasena sam aspṛkṣmahi* (RV. *agasmahi*, KS. LŚ. *aganmahi*, AV. JB. *apṛkṣmahi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB. *saṁ-sṛj* and *saṁ-pṛc* practically synonyms. Cf. *saṁ-pṛc* and *saṁ-spṛś*, §375.

*añgād-añgāt saṁbhavasi* (SMB. **saṁśravasi*) ŚB. BṛhU. KBU. AG. SMB.* GG. ApMB. HG. MG. N. Mahābh. In SMB. a synonym is introduced in one occurrence for the sake of variety: 'thou flowest together' for 'thou arisest'. The pāda is immediately repeated with the reading of the other texts. In both cases some mss. of SMB. have the alternative reading.

*pra ketunā bṛhatā yāty* (AV. TA. *bhāty*) *agniḥ* RV. AV. SV. TA. 'Agni goes (shines) forth with mighty beam.' Perhaps graphic?

*śocasva* (VS.* *rocasva*) *devavītamaḥ* (KS. °*vittamaḥ*) RV. RVKh. VS.* TS. MS. KS. TA. Synonyms.

*tataś* (RV. *ataś*, KS. *tatra*) *cakṣāthām* (RV. °*the*, MS. KS. *cakrāthe*) *aditiṁ ditiṁ* ca RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Root *cakṣ*: perfect of *kṛ*.

*adhi skanda vīrayasva* AV.: *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG. Quasi-synonyms. AVPpp. also reads *kranda*, which therefore may be original, tho *skanda* seems more appropriate ('mount', of sexual approach).

*mā chetthā* (v. l. *bhetthā*) *mā vyathiṣṭhāḥ* KBU.

[*varṣmā rathasya ni jihīṣate* (ŚŚ. *jihīlate*) *divaḥ* AV. ŚŚ. So RWh.; but the mss. of AV. read *jihīdate*, which should be kept.]

§**854.** Riming participles occur in the following:

*pratyag enaṁ śapathā yantu tṛṣṭāḥ* (AV. *sṛṣṭāḥ*) RV. AV. Comm. and one ms. of AV. *tṛṣṭāḥ*, for which *sṛṣṭāḥ* may be called a lect. fac.: 'Let the curses go back upon him, the harsh ones', or 'those emitted (by him)'.

*yā dabhrāḥ parisasruṣīḥ* ŚG.: *yā †ārdroghnīḥ pari tasthuṣīḥ* ApMB. Pples. of roots *sru* and *sthā*.

*āyurdā deva* (AV. *agne*) *jarasaṁ vṛṇānaḥ* (ApMB. ApG. HG. *gṛṇ°*) AV. MS. KS. MŚ. ApMB. ApG. HG.: *āyurdā* (VS. ŚB. *āyuṣmān*) *agne haviṣo juṣāṇaḥ* (VS. ŚB. ŚG. *haviṣā vṛdhānaḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. The ApMB. etc. readings are an interesting blend of those which contain *vṛṇānaḥ* and *juṣāṇaḥ*. Perhaps *gṛṇānaḥ* was felt as meaning 'praising' rather than 'devouring'; even this would be none too sensible in the context. Oldenberg adopts *vṛṇānaḥ* for HG. Still a different version ('thriving by the oblation') is adopted in VS. etc.; this is an easy lect. fac. in a passage relating to Agni.

*ā sutrāvṇe* (MS. KS. *bhūyiṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatiṁ āvṛṇānaḥ* AV. MS. KS.: *oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatiṁ gṛṇānāḥ* TS. 'Choosing to myself (praising) his kindness.'

**§855.** Among riming nouns and adjectives, the pair *dhāman*: *nāman* stands out. In the mystical religious language of the Veda they are easily interchangeable; the 'name' and the 'station' of anything both mean its mystic essence. In some cases the change from one to the other is due to the influence of adjoining words, as in:

*yat te 'nādhṛṣṭaṁ nāma yajñiyaṁ* (KS. *nāmānādhṛṣyaṁ*, MS. *dhāmānādhṛṣyaṁ*) *tena tvādadhe* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The change in MS. was suggested by *ādadhe*.

*sedaṁ priyeṇa dhāmnā priyaṁ sada †āsīda* (VSK. *priyeṇa nāma priye sadasi sīda*) VS. VSK. ŚB. Also:

*priyeṇa dhāmnā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nāmnā*, VSK. *nāma*) *priyaṁ sada āsīda* (VSK. TS. TB. ApŚ.* *priye sadasi sīda*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. In this and the prec. (which are variants of each other) only the VS. texts have *dhāman*, and it is reasonable to suppose that it was substituted there for *nāman* because it is a synonym of *sadas*.

*vidmā te nāma* (AV. *vidma te dhāma:* Ppp. *gandharvo nāma*) *paramaṁ guhā yat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.: *gandharvo dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat* (VS. *vibhṛtaṁ guhā sat*) AV. VS.: *gandharvo nāma nihitaṁ guhāsu* TA. MahānU. Here two different pādas have become confused; one began originally with *vidmā te nāma*, the other with *gandharvo dhāma*. The AVPpp. reading (not in Conc.) occurs in the verse where AV. has *vidma te dhāma*.

*puruṣṭutasya dhāmabhiḥ* (MS. *nā°*) RV. AV. MS. Vait.

**§856.** Twice the RV. phrase *pratnena manmanā* 'by ancient hymn'

is changed in SV. to *pratnena janmanā* 'by ancient generation (birth)', much to the detriment of the sense. In one case TB. follows SV.:

*ahaṁ pratnena manmanā* (SV. *jan°*) RV. SV. AV.

*agniḥ pratnena manmanā* (SV. TB. *jan°*) RV. SV. MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. MŚ.

**§857.** Other nouns and adjectives:

*aktaṁ* (MS. MŚ. *aptubhī*, KS.**arthaṁ*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS. TB. *viyantu*) *vayaḥ* TS. MS. KS.* TB. MŚ. GG. KhG.: *vyantu vayo 'ktaṁ rihāṇāḥ* VS. A very obscure passage; the isolated *arthaṁ* may possibly be due to graphic confusion.

*śarīraṁ me vicarṣaṇam* (RVKh. *vicakṣaṇam*) RVKh. TA. TU.: *pratīkaṁ me vicakṣaṇam* PG. 'My body (face) be active (glorious)'. Scheftelowitz on RVKh. reads *vicakṣaṇa*, but it seems that *°ṇam* must be the true reading.

*paktā* (KSA. *panthā*) *sasyam* TS. KSA. The latter is called 'ludicrous' by Keith. On *paktā* see Wackernagel III p. 204; he takes it as a masculine form used as neuter, rendering 'die Saat pflegt reif zu werden'; cf. Oertel, *Syntax of Cases* I p. 171.

*kuhūm ahaṁ* (AV. Vait. *kuhūṁ devīṁ*) *suvṛtaṁ* (AV. MS. KS. *sukṛtaṁ*, TS. *subhagāṁ*) *vidmanāpasam* AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. Quasi-synonyms.

*dyumnā sukṣatra maṁhaya* RV.: *dyumnaṁ sudatra maṁhaya* SV.

*dhanaṁjayaṁ dharuṇaṁ dhārayiṣṇu* RVKh.: *bhūmidṛṁham acyutaṁ pārayiṣṇu* AV.: *bhūmidṛṁho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣṇuḥ* AV. The evidently secondary *cyāv°* is suggested by *'cyutaś*: 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)'.

*aśloṇo 'piśācadhītaḥ* ApMB.: *anandho 'śloṇo 'piśācadhīraḥ* HG. The latter is a strange corruption; the original means 'not sucked by demons'.

*adroghavācaṁ matibhiḥ śaviṣṭham* (RV.* *°bhir yavi°*) RV.* AV. See *RVRep.* 275 f.

*abhi dyumnaṁ* (RV. VS. *sumnaṁ*) *devabhaktaṁ yaviṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitaṁ yaviṣṭhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. Quasi-synonyms.

*nagnahur dhīras* (KS. *vīras*) *tasaraṁ na vema* VS. MS. KS. TB. Synonyms.

*pāhi no agna enase* (ŚG. *edhase*) *svāhā* TA. MahānU. ŚG. *edhase* is certainly right: 'protect us unto prosperity'. TA. comm. quotes the text as *enaso*, tho both editions print *enase*. The corruption is due to recollection of other phrases in which *enasaḥ* or the like is

associated with the root *pā* in the sense of 'protect from evil' or 'sin'.

*punar brahmāṇo* (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °*nītir*, KS. °*dhītam* and †°*nītha* [so 38. 12b], MS. °*dhīte*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The form with *n* is apparently original; in MS. KS. it is contaminated from such forms as *vasudhā*, *vasudhiti*.

*kuvin no asya sumatir navīyasī* (SV. *bhavīyasī*) RV. SV. 'His very fresh (abundant) favor'.

*sthirā cin namayiṣṇavaḥ* RV.: *dṛḍhā cid yamayiṣṇavaḥ* SV. Practically synonyms, 'bending': 'subduing'.

*aṅdhi khaṁ vartayā paṇim* (SV. *pavim*) RV. SV. Benfey and Grassmann would read *pavim* in RV. The emendation is exceptionally tempting, but one must be cautious about it; cf. Oldenberg's judicious remarks (*Noten* ad loc.). It is easy to see how *pavim* could be substituted for an original *paṇim* under the influence of *kham*; a reason for the reverse change in the tradition is not so apparent.

*tās tvā viśantu manasā śivena* (TB. *mahasā svena*) AV. TB. The English words 'mind' and 'might' substantially reproduce the rime, and are derived from the same roots. Cf. next.

*ut satvanāṁ māmakānāṁ manāṅsi* (TS. *mahāṅsi*) RV. SV. VS. TS. Cf. prec.

*dviṣadbhyaḥ prati muñcāmi pāśam* (HG. *pāpam*) SMB. ApMB. HG. The two words are near-synonyms; *pāśam* is clearly original.

*upa śreṣṭhā na āśiṣaḥ* (MS. *āśiraḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

*panasyuvaḥ saṁvasaneṣv* (SV. °*varaṇeṣv*) *akramuḥ* RV. SV. Quasi-synonyms; 'at the dwelling-places (enclosures, sanctuaries?)'.

*asya* (AŚ. *mama*) *snuṣā śvaśurasya praśiṣṭim* (AŚ. *praviṣṭau*) TB. AŚ. Complete change of meaning as well as syntax.

*svāhā tvā sūryasya* (MS. *vātāya sūr*°) . . . *vṛṣṭivanaye* (MS.° *sanaye*) . . . MS. TA. ApŚ.

## CHAPTER XX. GRAPHIC VARIANTS

**§858.** There are not a few variants in which it seems at least possible that graphic confusion between letters written similarly may have been a contributing cause. Some of them, such as variations between *b* and *v*, *th* and *dh*, *ṭ* and *ṭh*, *p* and *v*, have been treated above, as having also phonetic aspects. Those which follow in this chapter would appear to be purely graphic. We have no doubt that the list could be considerably extended, especially with the help of experts in Indian paleography, a title to which we lay no claim. We have merely noted down such variations as have struck our attention between certain letters which resemble one another in well-known modern Indian alphabets. Even so limited, the collection seems to us important enough to suggest that graphic confusion must have played a considerable part in the variants of the Vedic tradition. It will be seen that different manuscripts and even different editions of the same work not infrequently vary regarding words of this group, which confirms that conclusion; it may be fairly assumed that in many other instances, where no manuscript variants are recorded, we nevertheless may be dealing with phenomena of the same sort. At the same time we would emphasize the fact that we do not mean to assert that all the variations here collected are due solely or even chiefly to graphic confusion. For, of course, there are many cases where neither phonetic nor graphic matters can be concerned. We mean only that this is one feature of the Vedic variants which cannot be ignored.

**§859.** The largest number of variants here collected concerns the letters *n* and *r*. Fairly numerous, also, are shifts between *p* and *y*, *c* and *v*, *gh* and *dy*, *d* and *v*, *s* and *m*, *t* and *n*. The rest are more sporadic. We shall present the cases in the approximate order of their frequency.

### *n* and *r*

**§860.** The variation between *n* and *r* is fairly common, and may certainly be due to graphic confusion. The signs for these two letters when not combined with other consonants are not very dissimilar in the principal Indian alphabets. They are still more similar in Devanāgarī, for instance, when they follow other consonants in combined characters. When in such consonant combinations they precede other consonants,

the Devanāgarī, to be sure, clearly distinguishes between *n* and *r*, so that a misreading would be unthinkable. But this is by no means true of all Indian alphabets. Notably in Śāradā *n* and *r* before other consonants are written almost alike, and confusion is very easy and frequent.

**§861.** We present first cases of *n* and *r* not combined with other consonants:

*indhāna enaṁ jarate* (MS. KS. *janate*, but MS. p.p. *jarate*, KS. v. l. *jarite*) *svādhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. N. One ms. of KS. reads *jarite*, and the p.p. of MS. *jarate*; this is clearly the proper reading.

*mṛttike hana* (MahānU. *hara*) *me pāpam* TA. MahānU. Here the change is facilitated by the nearly equivalent meanings of the roots *han* and *hṛ* in such a context ('destroy' and 'take away').

*asadan* (TS. *asanan*) *mātaraṁ puraḥ* (TS. *punaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*avimuktacakra* (v. l. °*rā*) *āsīran* PG.: *vivṛttacakrā āsīnāḥ* HG. ApMB.

*tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV.: *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS. Others, §830.

*tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā* MS.: *mahāntaṁ gahvareṣṭhām* SV.

*nirṛtho* (MS. °*to*) *yaś ca nisvanaḥ* (AV. °*raḥ*) AV. MS. TA.

*nigalgalīti dhārakā* VS. ŚB.: *ni jalgulīti* (KS.† *jalgalūti*, mss., em. °*līti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA.

*deva puraścara saghyāsaṁ* (MS. *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsaṁ;* p.p. *deva, punar iti punaḥ, carase*, etc.) *tvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. The text of MS. is corrupt in both readings.

*mā na āyuḥ param avaraṁ mānadonaiḥ* MS.: *mā naḥ param adharaṁ* (MŚ. *param adhanaṁ*) *mā rajo 'naiḥ* (MŚ. *naiḥ*) TA. MŚ. Two cases; *adhanaṁ*: *adharaṁ*, and *mā rajo*: *mānado-* (corrupt).

*ruvad dhokṣā* (TB. *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhir evaiḥ* RV. MS. AB. KB. TB. But *ṛ* may be regarded as a phonetic substitute for *ru*; §684.

**§862.** Next, *n* and *r* before other consonants; note one case in RV. itself:

*viśvāny anyo* (RV.*KS. *aryo*) *bhuvanā jajāna* RV. (both) MS. KS. TB. In different contexts.

*balivardāya* (KSA. °*vandāya*) *svāhā* KSA. TB. ApŚ. Apparently *balivardāya* is intended.

*iluvardāya* (KSA. *alivandāya*) *svāhā* KSA. TB. ApŚ. Follows the prec.

*gaurīr* (TB. TA. *gaurī*, AV. *gaur in*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV. AV. TB. AA. TA. N.

*vidyur* (ApMB. *vidyun*) *me asya devāḥ* RV. AV. KS. ApMB. See Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., xxiv. *vidyun* is doubtless a corruption due to unintelligent thought of *vidyut*; it is read by all mss. and confirmed by the comm., who says that *t* for visarga is *chāndasa*! *vidyur* is 3d plural verb form.

*śīte vāte punann iva* (AŚ. LŚ., mss. of Vait., most mss. of ŚŚ., and v. l. of KSA. *punarniva*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. The persistence in the mss. of the impossible *punarniva* is striking.

*ni nivartana vartayendra nardabuda* (KS. *nandabala*) TS. KS. ApMB. See §273.

*adyā tvā vanvan* (KS. *vardhan*) *surekṇāḥ* RV. KS. TB.

*ukhāṁ sravantīm agadām aganma* (MŚ. *akarma*) KŚ. MŚ.

*anārbhava mṛḍa* KS. ApŚ. The ms. of KS. reads *anānbhava*, em. v. Schroeder; see p. w. 5, Nachträge. Cf. *anābho mṛḍa dhūrte* (read *dhūrta* with some mss. of MS. and all of MŚ.) MS. MŚ. See §749.

**§863.** As to *n* and *r* after other consonants, most of the variants contain forms of the stems *agni* and *agra*. A special historic, and as it were romantic, interest attaches to this variation on account of the famous falsification of RV. 10. 18. 7d, *ā rohantu janayo yonim agre*, into which by substituting *agneḥ* for *agre* there was introduced a justification for widow-burning: 'Let the women mount upon the (proper) place in the beginning' was made to mean 'Let the women mount into the seat of fire'. In the Vedic occurrences of this pāda, which is found also in AV. and TA., there is no authority for this change. There are, however, a number of other Vedic passages where a like change occurs, always, with one exception, between the locative *agre* and the vocative *agne*. It is noteworthy that in most instances the stem *agra* is evidently original, and the stem *agni* secondary. The explanation is that the context is regularly one that concerns the god Agni, whose name is secondarily introduced by a natural confusion.

**§864.** The list is as follows; the first is the only variant which does not concern the forms *agre* and *agne*:

*dhvāntaṁ vātāgram anusaṁcarantam* (PB. *abhisaṁ°*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.: *dhvāntā vātā agnim* (mss. of both *vātāgnim*) *abhi ye saṁcaranti* MŚ. MG. Clearly *agnim* is secondary.

*agre vikṣu pradīdayat* RV.: *agne vikṣu pratīdayat* TB. (Poona ed. *agre* without v. l., but comm. *he agne.*)

*tubhyam agre* (MG. *agne*) *pary avahan* RV. AV. PG. ApMB. MG.

*agre* (MS.*KS.*MŚ. *agne*) *bṛhann uṣasām ūrdhvo asthāt* RV. VS. TS. MS.*KS.* ŚB. ApŚ., and Pratīkas AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Rvidh. BṛhD.

*tenemam agra* (TB. *agna*) *iha varcasā* †*samañgdhi* KS. TB. Here, by exception, *agna* (=*agne*) may be the original reading; one accented ms. of KS. leaves *agra* unaccented, suggesting that a vocative (which could only be *agna*) was intended.

*tavāhaṁ nāma bibharāṇy agne* (AŚ. *agre*) TS. AŚ.: *tavāham agne bibharāṇi nāma* MŚ. Here it seems even more probable that *agne* is the older reading.

[*agre* (TB. *agne*, but Poona ed. text and comm. *agre*) *yajñasya śocataḥ* (KS. TB. *cetataḥ*) RV. KS. TB.]

[*agne* (AV. *agre*) *samidham āhārṣam* AV. Kauś. *agre* is only an emendation in the Berlin ed., which is rightly withdrawn by Whitney in his Translation.]

**§865.** Aside from variants of these two stems, we have noted only the following:

*akṣāṇāṁ vagnum* (MS. †*vagmum*) *upajighnamānaḥ* (MS. *avajighram āpaḥ*) MS. TB. TA. The MS. is certainly wrong. TB. comm. *upahataṁ kurvan.*

*girā ca* (AV. *virājaḥ*) *śruṣṭiḥ sabharā asan naḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Whitney on AV. adopts *śnuṣṭiḥ* with most mss.; Ppp. *suniṣṭas.* See §57.

*ūrdhvacitaḥ* (MS. KS. °*śritaḥ*) *śrayadhvam* (VS.† *śna*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Doubtless corruption, if not misprint; see §195.

*c* and *v*

**§866.** Under this heading we find first a few cases of shift between the roots *vi-cṛt* and *vi-vṛt*, in all of which the sense is more favorable to *vi-cṛt*, 'unloose'; also a few, the majority being of very doubtful authenticity, between the synonymous bases *śac* and *śav*. The others are sporadic.

*agniṁ hotāram antarā vivṛttāḥ* AŚ.: *hotāram agnim antarā vicṛttāḥ* ApŚ. 'Bonds' are referred to, which are 'loosened' by this stanza, so that *vicṛttāḥ* is very natural, but it may for that reason be regarded as a secondary lect. fac. It is not necessary to the sense, as the following pāda declares that the bonds shall 'bind the fool, but the wise shall go past them'.

*ṛtasya tantuṁ vitataṁ vivṛtya* (VS. *vicṛtya*, AV. *dṛśe kam*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. The true reading is probably *vicṛtya*. So Poona ed. of TB. text and comm., tho with v. l. *vivṛtya*; comm. gloss *guruśāstramukhān niścitya*, which looks as if he had read *vivṛtya* and taken it from *vi-vṛ* 'elucidate', a meaning which can hardly be right in any

case. MahānU. reads *vivṛtya* without recorded variant; comm. gloss *vṛtī sandīpena sandīpya*, which is obscure to us.

[*vi pāśaṁ madhyamaṁ cṛta* (TB. and MŚ. v. l. *vṛta*) RV. KS. TB. MŚ. So Conc., seemingly erroneously; MŚ. has *cṛta* without recorded variant, and Poona ed. of TB. likewise *cṛta* text and comm. with no v. l.]

*śabali prajānāṁ śaciṣṭhā vratam* (ApŚ. *śaviṣṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣaṁ svāhā* PB. ApŚ.

[*vīryebhir* (MS. *vīrebhir*, AV. *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śaci°*) AV. VS. MS. ṢB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. But Poona ed. of TB. *śaviṣṭhā* in text and comm. without v. l.]

[*devānāṁ devatamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śaci°*) MS. TB. Again Poona ed. of TB. *śavi°* without v. l.]

*viciṭi* (or *viviṭi*) *svāhā* MahānU.: *viviṣṭyai svāhā* TA. TAA. There is also a v. l. *civiṭi* in MahānU. The word is meaningless. Comm. *viciṭi*, which he does not explain; he quotes also a v. l. *vidhijña*. Poona ed. of both TA. and TAA. *viviṭṭyai*, explained by comm. as for *viviṣṭyai* by Vedic license.

*vakratuṇḍāya* (TAA. *cakra°*) *dhīmahi* TA. TAA.† MahānU.

*sam arvanto raghudruvaḥ* (VSK. *°drucaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. VSK. MS. Meaningless corruption in VSK.

*ghṛtapratīkaṁ va* (TB. *ca*) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB. *dhūruṣ°*, Poona ed. *dhūrṣ°*) RV. TB. ApŚ. The sandhi shows that TB. is secondary and poor.

*yatra cābhimṛśāmasi* (HG. *vābhi°*) ApMB. HG.

## *p* and *y*

**§867.** A miscellaneous but fairly numerous group:

*indrāpāsya* (two mss. *indrāyāsya*) *phaligam* ApMB.: *indrāyayāsya* (corrupt; Kirste suggests *indra āyāsya*) *śepham alīkam . . .* HG.

*hriyai śalyakaḥ* (VS. *śalpakaḥ*) VS. MS. The *p* is a false reading; VS. comm. *śvāvit*.

*bṛhaspataye śitpuṭaḥ* (KSA.† *śimyuṭaḥ*) TS. KSA. An otherwise unknown word; said to be a kind of cat.

*prasthāyendrāgnibhyām somaṁ vocatopo* (KB. *vocato yo*) *asmān . . .* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Read in KB. as the others (Keith).

*saṁ bāhubhyāṁ dhamati* (etc., §853) *saṁ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

*prapunvanta upa spṛśata prapunvadbhya svāhā* ApMB.: *prayunvanta upaspṛśata prayunvadbhyaḥ svāhā* HG. Both anomalous forms and scarcely interpretable.

*susasyāḥ* (VSK. °*pāḥ*) *kṛṣīs kṛdhi* VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ.: *kṛṣyai tvā susasyāyai* (KS. †*sumanasyāyai*, bis) TS. KS. ApŚ. With the VSK. reading cf. *śaṣpa*.

*pūlyāny* (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB. The mss. of both texts vary between *lp* and *ly*.

*anaḍvāṅs tapyate vahan* (MŚ. *talpate vahān*) ApŚ. MŚ. If MŚ. is correct (it occurs in an unedited part of the text), it is a mere corruption.

*tvaṁ hi rādhaspata* (text °*yata*, wrongly) *eka īśiṣe* ŚŚ.

*ubhe ca no* (etc.) . . . *aṅhasaḥ* (°*sas*) *pātām* (TB. Conc. *syātām*, Poona ed. *aṅhasaḥ spātām*, AŚ. text †*aṅhasa syātām*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The true reading can only be *aṅhasaḥ* (or °*sas*) *pātām*.

[*tanūpā* (TB. °*yā*, Poona ed. °*pā*) *bhiṣajā sute* VS. MS. KS. TB.]

[*vahiṣṭhebhir viharan yāsi* (TB. Conc. *pāhi*, comm. and Poona ed. text *yāsi*) *tantum* RV. TB. KS. AŚ. ApŚ.]

[*tvaṣṭā turīpo* (TB. *turīyo*, Poona ed. text and comm. °*po*) *adbhutaḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.]

[*āpataye* (GB. *āya*°, Gaastra *āpa*°) *tvā gṛhṇāmi* VSK. TS. MS. GB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.]

[*varuṇeti śapāmahe* (MS.† °*hai*, LŚ. †*ṣayāmahe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. Probably a double misprint in LŚ.]

[*viśvatohasta uta viśvataspāt* (TA. °*taḥ syāt*, but Poona ed. correctly °*taspāt*) TS. MS. KS. TA.]

## *gh* and *dy*

**§868.** The variants are again miscellaneous, tho fairly frequent:

*mā* (AG. MG. *ā*) *tvā prāpann aghāyavaḥ* (MG. *adyāyavaḥ*) AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG. The correct reading is *mā . . . aghāyavaḥ* 'Let not the malicious ones reach thee'. It is strange that apparently all mss. of AG. MG. read *ā* at the beginning, preceded by anusvāra at the end of the preceding pāda. (Stenzler assumes *mā*.) The further corruption in MG. seems an attempt to patch up a bad job; it implies *adya-āyavaḥ* 'may lives today reach thee.'

*magham* (MS., but not KS.†, *madyam*) *indrāya jabhrire* VS. MS. KS. TB. 'Brought a gift (liquor) unto Indra.' Indra's well-known bibulous habits are responsible for the secondary change in MS., involving the misreading of *gh* as *dy*. Cf. next.

*sa bibheda balaṁ* (VS. and Poona ed. TB. *valaṁ*) *magham* (MS. *madyam*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Cf. prec.

*śatāpāṣṭhādya viṣā* (read with Poona ed. of both °*ṣṭhā gha viṣā*) *pari no vṛṇaktu* TB. TA.: *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇaḥ* MS. (Poona ed. of

TB. records v. l. *'dya*, and comm. v. l. *adya*.) The MS. is hopelessly corrupt but has another graphic corruption, *ddh* for *gh*, cf. §875; see also §838.

*pātaṁ mā dyāvāpṛthivī adyāhnaḥ* (Kauś. *aghān naḥ*, read *adyāhnaḥ*) TS. ApŚ. Kauś. See §840.

[*kevalāgho* (TB. *kevalādyo*, but Poona ed. text and comm. *°lāgho*) *bhavati kevalādī* RV. TB. N. Gloss in TB. comm.: *pāpam eva saṁpādayati na tu kiṁcid api puṇyam.*]

[*sa ghā* (TB. *sadyā*, read with Poona ed. text and comm. *sa ghā*) *no devaḥ savitā sahāvā* (TB. *savāya*) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.]

[*yad vā ghā* (TA. *vādya*, but Poona ed. *vā ghā*, and comm. *vā gha*) *satyam uta yan na vidma* RV. TS. MS. KS. TA. There is a v. l. *vādya* in TA. Poona ed., but gloss in comm. (*yad eva kiṁcid*) proves that he read *vā ghā*.]

*d* and *v*

**§869.** Under this head we find principally a group of variants between the stems *diś* and *viś*; both stems always appear in the plural number, cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 48, foot. These are of course rime words. In every case except the first mentioned the original form seems to contain *viś*. There are, in addition, a couple of other miscellaneous variants between *d* and *v*.

*devānāṁ patnīr* (VS. *patnyo*, MS. *patnayo*) *diśaḥ* (MS. KSA. †*viśaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The 'wives of the gods' must apparently be the 'directions', not 'tribes'. This is the only case of original *diś*, and even it is perhaps not certain.

*ye vā nūnaṁ suvṛjanāsu vikṣu* (AV. *dikṣu*) RV. AV. A v. l. *vikṣu* occurs in AV., and so Ppp. reads.

*śaśvad viśaḥ* (TB. *diśaḥ*) *savitur daivyasya* RV. TB. The change in TB. was perhaps due to assimilation in meaning to the parallel *bhuvanāni* in the next pāda.

*viśāṁ* (TB. *diśāṁ*) *patir abhavad vājinīvān* MS. TB. Indra is referred to, and the original is doubtless *viśām*.

*viśo* (SV. *diśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuḥ* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni is meant.

*hṛtsu kratuṁ varuṇo* (MS. *varuṇaṁ*) *vikṣv* (RV. *apsv*, MS. *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV. VS.† TS.† MS. KS. ŚB.†

*apa durhārddiśo jahi* Kauś. (read *durhārdviśo*, Conc.)

*ut parjanyasya dhāmabhiḥ* (TS. TA. ApMB. *śuṣmeṇa*, MS. *dhāmnā*, KS. *vṛṣṭyā*, PG. *dṛṣṭyā*) VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. PG. ApMB.

*dhātā vidhātā* (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota saṁdṛk* (KS. *paramo na saṁvṛk*) RV. VS. TS. KS. MS. N. *saṁvṛk* perhaps 'seizer'; certainly inferior.

*avasphūrjan vidyud* (TS. *didyud*) *varṣan* . . . TS. MS. KS.

*bhūmir iti tvābhipramanvate janāḥ* AV.: *yāṁ tvā jano bhūmir iti pramandate* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. The latter secondary and poor; Mahīdhara, *stauti*, which the verb can hardly mean.

*s* and *m*

**§870.** Here the variants are quite miscellaneous:

*kṛṣyai tvā susasyāyai* (KS. †*sumanasyāyai*, bis) TS. KS. ApŚ. Others, see §867. The original is clearly *susasyāyai*.

*agne yān devān ayāḍ* . . . *tāṁ sasanuṣīṁ* (KS. ms. *tāṁ samanoṣīṁr*, ed. em. *samanaiṣīr*) *hotrāṁ* . . . MS. KS. TB. The corrupt ms. reading of KS. seems to point towards the reading of MS. TB., rather than towards Von Schroeder's emendation, which should probably be replaced by the other version.

*pṛkṣasya* (ArS. *prak°*) *vṛṣṇo aruṣasya nū sahaḥ* (ArS. *mahaḥ*) RV. ArS. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Svidh. Synonyms.

*athā jīvaḥ* (KS. *adhā viṣitaḥ*, VS. ŚB. *athaitaṁ*, AV. *adomadam*) *pitum* (AV. *annam*) *addhi prasūtaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *pramuktaḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*graha viśvajanīna niyantar viprāyāma te* (MS. p.p. *viprāya, mate*; KS. *nyantar vipra ā* †*satī*) MS. KS.

*yaśasendrābṛhaspatī* (ArS. *yaśo mendrā°*) ArS. PG. MG.

*mā brāhmaṇasya* (3c *sā br°*) *rājanya* AV. 5. 18. 1c, 3c. In the Berlin ed. *mā* is misprinted for *sā* in 3c, hence this is not recorded in Conc. But it is a deliberate variant with change of meaning, not a graphic error.

*mahas te sato mahimā panasyate* (SV. *paniṣṭama*) RV. AV. SV. VS.: *mahāṁs te mahato mahimā* AV. The related words in the context have, of course, helped in the secondary change to *mahato*.

*vahāsi mā* (KS. †*vahāṁsi sā*) *sukṛtāṁ yatra lokāḥ* (KS. *lokaḥ*) KS. TB. Certainly KS. is secondary and inferior, but *sā* may refer to the *juhū*.

*tvaṣṭā devaiḥ sahamāna indraḥ* MG.: *tvaṣṭar devebhis sahasāma indra* ApMB.

*nīlāgalasālā* AV.: *nīlagalamālaḥ śivaḥ paśya* NīlarU. See §512. Some copyist tried to correct the reading in NīlarU., thinking of *nīla-gala* and *mālā*.

### *t* and *n*

**§871.** The variants we have noted are less numerous than might have been expected from the frequency of the sounds and the similarity of the forms of the letters. Our list may be incomplete:

*sa tvaṁ* (ŚŚ. ApŚ. *sanvan*) *saniṁ suvimucā vimuñca* KŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. See §830.

*tan mā jinva* (KS. *mārjitvā*) TS. MS. KS. See §§354, 829.

*dhātā vidhātā* (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota saṁdṛk* (KS. *paramo na saṁvṛk*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. See §835.

*yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno* (MahānU. *nānyo*, v. l. *mānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA. Poona ed. *'yaṁ*) *nāmne* (MahānU. *yatnān me*, v. l. *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA. MahānU.

*upa stuhi* (Poona ed. *snuhi*) *taṁ nṛmnām* (Poona ed. *nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA. (Other forms, see §110.) The mss. of the comm. vary between *stuhi* and *snuhi*; gloss *bhūmau prasrāvaya*, pointing to *snuhi*.

*yām apītā upatiṣṭhanta āpaḥ* LŚ.: *yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpaḥ* AV.

*prapīnam* (MŚ. v. l. °*tam*, TS. ApŚ. *prapyātam*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ. *salilasya*) *madhye* VS. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ghṛtaṁ duhānā viśvataḥ prapītāḥ* (TB. ApMB. *prapīnāḥ*, AVPpp. *pravīṇāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

*āvitte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau* MS. KS.: *āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate* TS. TB.

*āvittau* (TS. *āvinnau*) *mitrāvaruṇau dhṛtavratau* (TS. °*ṇāv ṛtāvṛdhau*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Others with *āvitta: āvinna*, see Conc. 188.

*grāmaṁ sajānayo* †*gachanti* ApMB.: *grāmān sajātayo yanti* HG.

*jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān* TA.: *jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV.

*vīrān mā no rudra bhāmito* (°*no*) . . ., *mā no vīrān rudra bhāmino* . . ., see §209.

*savitā bhṛtyām* (KS. ms.† *manyām*) TS. KS. See §242.

### *ṣ* and *p*

**§872.** The variants are few:

*atho* (LŚ. ApŚ. *nir mā*) *yamasya paḍbīśāt* (VS. °*vīśāt*, LŚ. †*ṣaḍviṁśāt*) RV. AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. See §217.

*vājinaṁ śepena* VS.: *śeṣo vājinena* MS. But MS. p.p. *śepaḥ*; read certainly *śepo*.

*ye tātṛṣur* (TB. *tātṛpur*) *devatrā jehamānāḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś. 'Thirsted': 'delighted'.

### *ā* and *prā*

**§873.** In Devanāgarī, at least, these letters are easily confused. It is interesting that we find one variant here within the RV. itself:

*āvo* (and *prāvo*) *yudhyantaṁ vṛṣabhaṁ daśadyum* RV. (both)

*āsmā aśṛṇvann āśāḥ* AV.: *prāsmā āśā aśṛṇvan* TA.

*āvat tam* (TA. Conc. *prāvartam*, comm. *āvartam;* Poona ed. text and comm. *āvar tam;* so also KS. ms.) *indraḥ śacyā dhamantam* RV. AV. SV. KS. TA.

### *s* and *p, pt, pr, bh, t*

**§874.** The remaining graphic variants are more sporadic and we shall group them in our arrangement. In this paragraph are included various other letters exchanging with *s* (on *s* and *m* see §870):

*suśīmaṁ somasatsaru* AV.: *suśevaṁ somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh. See §180. *s* and *p* (*t*).

*rasena sam asṛkṣmahi* (RV. *agasmahi*, KS. LŚ. *aganmahi*, AV. JB. *apṛkṣmahi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB. *s* and *p*.

[*āptaṁ manaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApŚ. So read in TB., for which Bibl. Ind. ed. has *āsaṁ*.]

*sacyutiṁ* (AŚ. *pracyutiṁ*) *jaghanacyutim* MS. TB. AŚ. Preceded by a pāda ending in *sacyutim* (MS. *hastacyutim*). Perhaps the AŚ. variant (*s: pr*) is not so much graphic as deliberately stylistic (for the sake of variety).

*anugrāsaś* (PB. *anugrābhaś*) *ca vṛtrahan* RV. AV. PB. The original is a nom. pl. of *an-ugra*. PB. misunderstands and rationalizes it, with graphic change of *s* to *bh*.

*yad adya dugdhaṁ pṛthivīm asṛpta* (TB. ApŚ. *asakta*, MŚ. *abhakta*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Again *bh* is secondary to *s*.

*agne svaṁ* (TS. TB. *svāṁ*, ŚB. *tvaṁ*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. *sv: tv*, the latter secondary.

### *gh* and *dh* and other similar letters

**§875.** The only common graphic interchange of *gh*, that with *dy*, has been treated in §868. The shift between *dh* and *gh* has phonetic aspects, see §147. The rest are sporadic:

*gṛhāṇāṅgāny apve* (SV. *aghe*) *parehi* RV. AV. SV. VS. N. The SV. is certainly corrupt; see Benfey's Nachträge to SV. text, p. 258. Benfey curiously retains *aghe* in his Glossary, but in his Translation substitutes the proper name *Apvā*. *gh: pv*.

*agdhād eko 'hutād ekaḥ* . . . TS.: *adhvād eko 'ddhād eko hutād ekaḥ* . . . MŚ. *gdh: dhv* or *ddh.*

*ima udvāsīkāriṇa ime* . . . TB. ApŚ.: *imā uddhāsicāriṇa ime* . . . MŚ. *ddh: dv.*

*ruvad dhokṣā* (TB. *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhir evaiḥ* RV. MS. AB. KB. TB. The TB. is secondary; *ddh: dbhy.*

### *v* and *j, ṣ, tr, ṭh*

**§876.** Compare §§866, 869 for *v* and *c, d.*

*pra viṣṭīminam āviṣuḥ* AV. VS. ŚŚ.: *pra saṁhṛṣṭinam ājiṣuḥ* LŚ. The whole passage is obscure; LŚ. doubtless secondary, with *j* for *v.*

*usrāv* (VSK. *usrā*) *etaṁ dhūrṣāhau* (VSK. MŚ. *dhūrvāhau*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. Others, §122. *ṣ: v.*

[*vairājī* (KSA.† °*je*) *puruṣī* (so also KSA.†, Conc. wrongly *puruvī*) TS. KSA.]

[*pra yaḥ satrācā* (TB. *sa vācā*, but comm. and Poona ed. text *satrācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB. °*tai*, Poona ed. text and comm. °*te*) RV. TB.]

[*śaṁ te pruṣvāva śīyatām* AV.: *śam u pṛṣṭhāva* (read *pṛṣvāva* with Poona ed. text and comm., tho v. l. *pṛṣṭhāva*) *śīyatām* TA.]

### *y* and *ṣ, th*

**§877.** For *y* and *p* see §867; for *dy* and *gh*, §868.

*ṛṣvāḥ satīḥ kavaṣaḥ* (KSA. *kavayaḥ*) *śumbhamānāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA. See Keith's note on TS. While the meaning of *kavaṣaḥ* is quite uncertain, *kavayaḥ* (found also in some TS. mss.) is probably only a graphic lect. fac.

*tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām* (TB. *asthām*, Poona ed. *aśyām*) RV. MS. AB. TB. AŚ. See §287.

*apāmityam* (AŚ. *apām ittham*) *iva sambhara* MS. KS. AŚ. The AŚ. is an absurd graphic blunder.

*samiddho agnir vṛṣaṇāratir* (AV. °*ṇā rathī*, ŚŚ. °*ṇā rayir*) *divaḥ* AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Here the reverse error, *y* for *th*, has occurred in ŚŚ.; see §93.

### Miscellaneous

**§878.** Other miscellaneous variants which may be graphic in character:

*āptye* (AV. **apriye*, **dviṣate*) *saṁ nayāmasi* RV. AV.* The AV. comm. reads *āptye* for *apriye.* But the variant *dviṣate* suggests that *apriye* must have been known in very early times; and indeed Ppp. reads

*apriye* (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 220). The RV. says: 'We collect and heap (evils) upon (the scapegoat, Trita) Āptya'. The AV. charm-monger knows little and cares less about this old mythological character; with characteristic practicality he heaps evils on 'the enemy'. Without this intermediate step, in which the graphic resemblance to *pty* to *pr* may have shared, the further change to *dviṣate* would be unintelligible.

*tāsāṁ viśiśnānām* (KS. *viśiśnyānām*) MS. KS.: *teṣāṁ viśipriyāṇām* (VS. ŚB. °*ṇāṁ vo 'ham*) VS. TS. ŚB. *śn(y): pr.* Both words are obscure; Keith renders 'without handles' and conjectures that MS. KS. meant the same.

*pratiśrutkāyā artanam* (TB. *ṛtulam*) VS. TB. *n: l.* Possibly phonetic; cf. §273.

*khanyābhyaḥ* (KSA. *khalyā*°) *svāhā* TS. KSA. Von Schroeder suggests reading with TS. *n: l;* cf. preceding.

*anarśarātiṁ* (SV. *alarṣirātiṁ*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV. SV. AV. N. See §292. *n: l.*

*śaśvat parikupitena* (HG. °*pilena*) ApMB. HG. *t: l.* Oldenberg abandons the HG. reading.

*abhi yo na irasyati* (AV. *no durasyati*) RV. AV. The AV. reading (found also in Ppp. as *durasyatu*, Barret, *JAOS* 26. 210) is nearly a synonym for that of RV., which is antiquated and limited to RV. *du: i.*

*aciṣyāma* (p.p. *ami*, for *abhi*, *syāma*) *vṛjane viśva ūtī* MS.: *abhi ṣyāma vṛjane sarvavīrāḥ* RV. KS. *c: bh* (note p.p. of MS.).

## CHAPTER XXI. SANDHI

**§879.** In the great mass of variants concerning phonetic relations of various individual sounds, already treated, not a few really relate to sandhi. This has been pointed out in individual instances as we have come to them. They are, however, mostly so sporadic that they can hardly be said to throw much light on the rules of sandhi as applied in the texts in general. As instances we may refer to §§142 and 145 (gutturals and dentals), 148 (gutturals and labials), 308 f. (nasal as 'Hiatustilger'), 338 ff. and 359 ff. (*y* and *v* as 'Hiatustilger'), 709 and 731 (elision of final *a* before initial *e* and *o*), and various parts of Chapter X, on internal consonant assimilation.

**§880.** We shall now present, as an appendix, a collection of variants showing different treatments of vowels or consonants in sandhi, which are sufficiently numerous in each rubric to make worth while an investigation of their bearings on the rules of sandhi. We believe that the results of this investigation will be found very fruitful; not a few new principles have come out of the study.

**§881.** Regarding the interpretation of these materials, a general word of caution will not be out of place. Changes in external sandhi are matters of great delicacy and finesse. In actual speech they probably always varied to some extent, in different communities, in different speakers, perhaps even in the same speaker at different times. On a number of points the Vedic grammatical authorities, the Prātiśākhyas, reflect this variation by their apparent confusion of statement. The manuscripts on which our editions are based are in general at least equally confused. Modern editors sometimes increase the confusion. And if they are conscientious and desire to bring order into the chaos, they are often (quite naturally and inevitably) at a loss how to proceed. Shall they treat each occurrence of a given sandhi-combination as a separate problem without reference to similar cases, and print what the best manuscript evidence seems to suggest for each individual word? Shall they, on the other hand, try to determine the usual procedure of their text, by considering all analogous cases together, and then standardize by printing them all alike? To what extent shall they be influenced by the usual procedure of other Vedic texts, of the same or

different schools? These are some of the problems which confront every conscientious Vedic editor. Different scholars have chosen different solutions; and in some cases a rather careful study of their critical notes is necessary to determine the actual usage of the texts.

§882. For these reasons the variants gathered from our actual printed texts in certain of the sections on sandhi are of doubtful value. At times they tell us less about Vedic usage than about the ideas of some modern editor. We refer particularly to such matters as the treatment of final *s* before sibilants, §§969 ff. But in spite of such considerations, for which we have tried to make all due allowance, there is no doubt of the value of most of the sections which follow. And they frequently add a good deal to our knowledge of the usages of various Vedic schools. This is notaby the case, for instance, with the 'abhinihita' sandhi (initial *a* after final *e* and *o*).

§883. The following matters of sandhi will be taken up, in the order indicated. First, final *au* and *o* before initial vowels (except, in the case of *o*, initial *a*). Next, the 'abhinihita' sandhi, final *e* and *o* before initial *a*. This is one of the most interesting sections. The variants seem to us to indicate clearly that an attempt was made, at some time or other, to standardize the writing of *a* after *e* and *o* in accordance with the pronunciation in metrical passages; for details see the section itself. The only other case of vocalic sandhi is that of final *a* vowels followed by initial vocalic *ṛ*; here new and interesting results regarding the usage of various Vedic schools appear.

§884. Coming to consonantal sandhi, we take up first the treatment of final *n*, before vowels, and then before consonants. Then the change of dental to lingual *ṇ*, in which again the various schools are shown to have individual rules or tendencies. Next the cases of final *s* before initial *t*, lingualized after non-*a* vowels in most texts, but regularly retained in the Taittirīya school (often also in KS.). Regarding final *s* before initial *k* and *p*, the Taittirīya school is again exceptional in that it usually has *ḥ*, as in classical Sanskrit, especially after *a* vowels. After a few cases of final *r* before *k* and *p*, we come to final *s* before an initial sibilant alone, and then before initial sibilant plus consonant; here, as stated above, we are more than usually doubtful of the value of the evidence. No clear school tendencies appear in the matter of initial *s* after final non-*a* vowels (sometimes kept, sometimes changes to *ṣ*). We conclude with a section on secondary crasis or double vocalic sandhi, and its converse, hiatus between vowels, which proves to be in considerable part due to metrical considerations.

### FINAL *au* AND *o* BEFORE INITIAL VOWELS

**§885.** Here are treated variants concerning *au* before all initial vowels and *o* before all except short *a* (abhinihita sandhi), which is treated in the next section. We find very definite school rules observed in this matter, to wit:

(a) AV. writes *āv* for *au*, but *a* for *o*, without regard to the character of the following vowel. This is required by APr. 2. 21 f. But once, in a passage inherited from RV., AVŚ. shows *ā* for *au* before *u*; Ppp. has the regular *āv*.

(b) All other schools treat *au* and *o* in a quite analogous manner. Thus Maitrāyaṇīya and Kāṭhaka texts, and VSK, write *ā* for *au* and *a* for *o* before all vowels. This is prescribed by VPr. 4. 124; for the practice of VS. see just below. The rule is not quite without exceptions in Maitr. texts; cf. *kṛṇutāṁ tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ. 5. 1. 3. 27. So, at least, Knauer reads with no report of v. l. On the other hand, at MŚ. 3. 5. 14c Knauer reads *yatra cuścutad agnāv evaitat*, without any ms. authority; the corrupt mss. are closer to *agnā*, the expected form.

(c) Taittirīya texts write *āv* and *av* before all vowels. This is contrary to TPr. 10. 19, which prescribes *ā* and *a*. But 10. 21 adds the opinion of another teacher who says *āv* and *av* should always be written; this is favored by the comm. on TPr., and is according to Weber the regular usage of the mss. of TS. The variants indicate that it is also the regular usage of Tait. school texts, at least in their mantra materials.

(d) Other schools—that is, those of RV., SV. (very few instances), and VS.—write *ā* and *a* before *u*-vowels, but *āv* and *av* before other vowels. So RPr. 129 (2.9) and 135 (2. 11); and so VPr. 4. 125 gives the opinion of 'some', opposed to its own rule 4. 124, quoted above.

(e) To summarize: before *u*-vowels, Tait. texts write *āv* and *av*; AV. writes *āv* for *au* but *a* for *o*; others *ā* and *a*.

(f) Before other than *u*-vowels, Maitr. texts, KS., and VSK. write *ā* and *a*; AV. writes *āv* but *a*; all others *āv* and *av*.

(g) In a few sporadic instances the final *o* of voc. sing. forms is retained without change before a following vowel. Cf. Wackernagel I §273b; the variants show that the phenomenon is not quite so limited as Wackernagel represents it.

**§886.** The variants of *au* before *u*-vowels are the following:

*aśvinau dvyakṣareṇa* (MS. KS. °*rayā*) *prāṇāpānāv* (MS. KS. °*nā*) *ud ajayatām* TS. MS. KS.

*asā* (ApŚ. *asāv-asāv*) *upahvayasva* ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*asmākaṁ yonā* (ApŚ. *yonāv*) *udare suśevāḥ* MS. ApŚ.

*imaṁ yajñaṁ juṣamāṇā* (TB. °*ṇāv*) *upetam* MS. TB.
*upasthe mātuḥ surabhā* (TS. °*bhāv*) *u loke* RV. TS. MS. KS.
*ubhā* (AV. *ubhāv*) *upāṅśu prathamā pibāva* RV. AV.
*urūṇasāv* (TA. *uru*°) *asutṛpā* (AV. TA. °*pāv*) *udumbalau* (TA. *ulu*°) RV. AV. TA. AŚ.
*kā* (TA. *kāv*, AV. VS. *kim*) *ūrū pādā* (TA.† *pādāv*) *ucyete* RV. AV. VS. TA. The only exception to the rule in AV. Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 42. 113) reads *pādāv*, regularly.
*daivyā hotārāv ūrdhvam* (VS. MS. °*rā ūrdhvam;* KS. *hotārordhvam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. †18. 17a. In KS. the form *hotārā*, not °*rau*, is concerned.
*na yonā* (TS. *yonāv*) *uṣāsā*° VS. TS. MS.
*rakṣohaṇau* (VS. ŚB. °*ṇau vāṁ*) *valagahanā* (TS. ApŚ. °*hanāv*) *upa*° . . . VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.
*syone kṛṇudhvaṁ surabhā* (TS. °*bhāv*) *u loke* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

**§887.** The variants of *o* before *u*-vowels are:

*uṣṇena vāya* (ApMB. *vāyav*) *udakenehi* (with varr.) AV. SMB. ApMB. AG. GG. PG.
*deva viṣṇa* (ApŚ. *viṣṇav*) *urv* . . . PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
*divo vā viṣṇa* (TS. *viṣṇav*) *uta vā pṛthivyāḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *divo viṣṇa* etc. AV. MS.
*maho vā viṣṇa* (AV. *maho viṣṇa*) *uror antarikṣāt* (TS. *viṣṇav uta vāntarikṣāt*) AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB.
*viṣṇa* (TS. ApŚ. *viṣṇav*) *urukrama* . . . VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

**§888.** The variants of *au* before other than *u*-vowels are:

*agnāv* (VSK. MS. KS. MŚ. *agnā*) *agniś carati praviṣṭaḥ* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB.; pratīka, Vait. KŚ. Kauś. GG.
*agnīṣomāv* (MS. KS. MŚ. °*ṣomā*) *imaṁ su me* RV. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚŚ.
*ajasya nābhāv* (MS. KS. *nābhā*) *adhy ekam arpitam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
*asāv* (MS. KS. MŚ. *asā*) *anu mā* . . . MS. KS. LŚ. MŚ. ApŚ.
*āyur dadhad yajñapatāv* (MS. KS. °*tā*) *avṛhrutam* RV. SV. ArS. VS. MS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ.
*imau bhadrau dhuryāv* (MS. °*yā*) *abhi* SV. MS. JB.
*usrāv etaṁ* . . . VS. TS. ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. KŚ.: *usrā etaṁ* . . . VSK. KS. In MŚ. the rule is violated; no v. l. reported.
*gośaphe śakulāv* (VSK. °*lā*) *iva* AV. VS. VSK. ŚŚ. LŚ.
*tāv* (KS. *tā*) *ehi saṁ* . . . TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. HG. BṛhU.: *tāv iha saṁ* . . . AV.: *tāv ehi* (MG. *tā eva*) *vi* . . . AG. ŚG. PG. MG.: *tāv eha saṁ* . . . AB.

*dīkṣito 'yam asā āmuṣyāyaṇaḥ* MS. MŚ.: *adīkṣiṣṭāyaṁ brāhmaṇo 'sāv amuṣya* . . . ApŚ.

*daivyā hotārāgnā* (KS. AŚ. °*gna*, ŚŚ. °*rā agna*) *ājyasya vītam* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Since ŚŚ., if it stands for *hotārau*, is contrary to the rule which requires °*rāv*, we should perhaps read *hotārāgna* also in ŚŚ., or consider it a case of hiatus between *hotārā* and *agna*; the other texts of course have the form *hotārā*, not °*rau*. No v. l. reported for ŚŚ.

*nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca vārṣikāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*kā*) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. MS. TB. ŚB. KS.

*namucāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*cā*) *āsure sacā* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*pañcabhir dhātā vi dadhāv* (MS. KS. *dadhā*) *idam* . . . TS. MS. KS. But MS. p.p. *dadhe*.

*putram iva pitarāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*rā*) *aśvinobhā* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*praiṣān sāmidhenīr āghārāv ājyabhāgāv* (KSA. *āghārā ājyabhāgā*) *āśrutam* TS. KSA.

*madhavyau stokāv* (MS. °*kā*) *apa tau rarādha* TS. MS.

*muṣkāv* (VSK. *muṣkā*) *id asyā ejataḥ* AV. VS. VSK. ŚŚ.

*yajñasya yuktau dhuryā* (TB. ApŚ. °*yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS. °*thām*) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ.

*yadā cariṣṇū mithunāv* (MS. °*nā*) *abhūtām* RV. MS. N.

*yo 'sāv* (MU. *'sā*) *āditye puruṣaḥ so 'sāv* (MU. *'sā*) *aham* VS. MU.

*rādhāṅsīt saṁpṛñcānāv* (MS. MŚ. °*si* °*nā*) *asaṁ* . . . MS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*viṣṇuḥ śipiviṣṭa* †*ūrāv* (VSK. †*ūrā*) *āsannaḥ* VS. VSK.: *śipiviṣṭa* †*ūrā āsādyamānaḥ* KS.

*sacetasāv* (VSK. °*sā*, MS. *samokasau sacetasā*) *arepasau* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *samokasāv* (KS. °*sā*) *arepasau* TS. KS. Kauś.

*samiddhe agnāv* (VSK. MS. KS. *agnā*) *adhi māmahānaḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*samrājāv* (MS. °*jā*) *asya bhuvanasya rājathaḥ* RV. MS.

*sarasvatīm aśvināv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*nā*) *indram agnim* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*sahaś ca sahasyaś ca haimantikāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*kā*) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*upa* (MS. *utā*) *no mitrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam* (MS. °*ṇā ihāgatam*) MS. TB. TA.

*ṛtena sthūṇāv* (MG. *ṛteva sthūṇā*) *adhi* . . . ApMB. HG. MG.

*tena* (TB. *tato*) *no mitrāvaruṇāv* (MS. °*ṇā*) *aviṣṭam* (TB. *avī*°) RV. MS. TB.

*madhuś ca mādhavaś ca vāsantikāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*kā*) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*viṣṇūvaruṇā* (TB. °*ṇāv*) *abhiśastipāvā* (TB. °*pā vām*) MS. TB.

*yāv* (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanvad* . . . AV. TS. MS. KS.

*agniṁ sve yonāv* (VSK. MS. KS. *yonā*) *abhār ukhā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ahāv* (MS. KS. *ahā*) *anadatā hate* AV. TS. MS. KS.

*ā tasthāv* (VSK. MS. KS. *tasthā*) *amṛtaṁ divi* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*indravāhāv* (KS. °*hā*) *ṛbhavo vājaratnāḥ* RV. KS.

*mitrāvaruṇāv* (VSK. °*ṇā*, MS. *indrāvaruṇā*) *algābhyām* VS. VSK. MS.

*vāsantikāv* (KS. *ime vās*°, MS. KS. °*tikā*) *ṛtū abhikalpamānāḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

*śaiśirāv* (MS. °*rā*, KS. *ime śaiśirā*) *ṛtū abhikalpamānāḥ* TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*iṣaś corjaś ca śāradāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*dā*) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ubhā dātārāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*rā*) *iṣāṁ rayīṇām* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ko nu vāṁ mitrāvaruṇāv* (MS. °*ṇā*) *ṛtāyan* RV. MS. KB. ŚB.

*tapaś ca tapasyaś ca śaiśirāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*rā*) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*devī uṣāsāv* (VSK. MS. °*sā*) *aśvinā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.

*daivyāv* (VSK. °*yā*) *adhvaryū ā gatam* VS. VSK. ŚŚ.

*dhanasātāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*tā*) *ihāvatu* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

*praharṣiṇo* (KS. ms. °*ṇaṁ*, ed. em.) *madirasya made mṛṣāsāv* (KS. °*sā*) *astu* . . . KS. ApŚ.

*mahāntāv* (MS. °*tā*) *indrāvaruṇā mahāvasū* RV. MS.

*yajñasya pakṣā* (TS. °*ṣāv*) *ṛṣayo bhavantī* TS. MS. KS.

*yat pṛthivyāṁ yad urāv* (VSK. MS. KS. *urā*) *antarikṣe* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*yā* (AV. omits) *rājanye dundhubhāv* (KS.† °*bhā*) *āyatāyām* AV. KS. TB.

*yo no mitrāvaruṇā abhidāsāt sapatnaḥ* (TS. °*varuṇāv abhidāsati*) TS. MS.

*imau* (Kauś. *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK. MS. KS. *pakṣā*) *ajarau patatriṇau* (VSK. TS.† KS. °*ṇaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

*rājānaḥ samitāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*tā*) *iva* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

*vāyava ārohaṇavāhāv* (KSA. °*hā*) *anaḍvāhau* TS. KSA.

*veṇubhāraṁ girāv* (KSA. *girā*) *iva* TS. KSA. TB.

*śacyā harī dhanutarāv* (KS. °*rā*) *ataṣṭa* RV. KS.

*śukraś ca śuciś ca graiṣmāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*mā*) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
*śūdrāryāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*yā*) *asṛjyetām* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
*śrīś ca te lakṣmīś ca patnyāv* (VSK. °*nyā*) [*ahorātre*] VS. VSK.
*saṁ yāv apnastho* (MS. *yā apnaḥstho*) *apaseva janān* RV. MS.
*sajoṣasāv* (VSK. °*sā*) *aśvinā daṁsobhiḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB.
*sahasrasā* (RV. also °*sāṁ*) *medhasātāv* (VSK. °*tā*) *iva tmanā* RV. (bis) VSK. KB. (This RV. repetition is omitted in *RVRep.*)
*somārudrāv* (MS. °*drā*) *iha su mṛḍataṁ naḥ* RV. AV. MS.
*staumi devāv* (MS. KS. *devā*) *aśvinau nāthito johavīmi* TS. MS. KS.
*hatāghaśaṁsā* (TB. °*sāv*) *ābharadvasū* MS. KS. TB.
*hatāghaśaṁsāv* (VSK. °*sā*) *ābhārṣṭāṁ vasu vāryāṇi* VS. VSK. TB.
*hemantaśiśirāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*rā*) *ṛtū* (TS. *ṛtūnām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
*hotārāv* (VSK. MS. °*rā*) *indram aśvinā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.
*hotārāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*rā*) *indraṁ prathamā suvācā* VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB.

**§889.** The variants of *o* before other than *u*-vowels are:
*ubhayebhyaḥ pra cikitsā gaviṣṭau* (VSK. *gaiṣṭau*) RV. VS. VSK.
*kuvit su no gaviṣṭaye* (MS. KS. *gaïṣṭaye*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ.
*ye śāmbare harivo ye gaviṣṭau* (VSK. *gaïṣṭau*) RV. VS. VSK. AB. KB.
*eko bahūnām asi manyav īḍitaḥ* (AV. *manya īḍitā*) RV. AV.
*taṁ tvā ghṛtasnav* (VSK. °*sna*) *īmahe* RV. SV. VSK. ŚB.
*tava vāyav* (VSK. *vāya*) *ṛtaspate* RV. VS. VSK. ŚB.
*niyutvān vāyav* (VSK. *vāya*) *ā gahi* RV. ArS. VS. VSK.
*niyudbhir vāyav* (VSK. MS. KS. *vāya*) *iṣṭaye duroṇe* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.
*niyudbhir* (AV. *viyugbhir*) *vāyav* (AV. VSK. MS. *vāya*) *iha . . .* AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.
*maitrāvaruṇasya camasādhvaryav* (MŚ. °*ya*) *ādrava* (*ehi*) TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
*vasaṭ te viṣṇav* (KS. *viṣṇa*) *āsa ā kṛṇomi* RV. SV. TS. KS. AŚ.
*vy astabhnā* (etc., §137) *rodasī viṣṇav* (VSK. MS. KS. *viṣṇa*) *ete* RV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.
*sahasaḥ sūnav* (MS. KS. *sūna*) *āhuta* RV. TS. MS. KS.

**§890.** In the following *o* of voc. sing. is retained without change:
*sa no mayobhūḥ pito* (AŚ. ŚG. PG. SMB. [Jörgensen] *pitav*) *āviśasva* (AŚ. *āviśeha*) TS. TB. AŚ. ŚG. PG. SMB.
*tāsv adhvaryav ādhāve° . . .* ŚŚ.: *tāsv adhvaryo indrāya . . .* AB. AŚ.

*bṛhaspatisutasya ta* (MS. *tā*; KS. omits) *indo* (MS. KS. *inda*) *indri*° TS. MS. KS.: *bṛhaspatisutasya deva soma ta inda indri*° VSK.

### INITIAL *a* AFTER FINAL *e* AND *o*

**§891.** In the great mass of variants under this heading, the initial *a* is in one form elided as in classical Sanskrit (abhinihita), while in the other form both the *a* and the final diphthong are left unchanged in writing. A few cases of different and anomalous treatment will be mentioned at the end of the section. Disregarding them for the moment we shall consider the writing or elision of *a*. On the probable actual pronunciation of *e*, *o* when followed by written *a*, see Wackernagel I p. 324; the diphthong was, as he says, no doubt regularly pronounced in some way as a short vowel, but the variants throw no light on this question.

**§892.** On the principles governing writing or elision of initial *a* after *e* and *o* the Prātiśākhyas give no help. Boiled down, their statements amount only to this, that the *a* is sometimes written and sometimes elided. VPr. 4. 78 specifies that it is generally written in verses (*ṛkṣu*).

**§893.** Early statements in western grammers add little except that in metrical passages the meter shows that the *a* was generally pronounced, whether written or not, tho it is generally omitted in writing, whether pronounced or not. Whitney, *Grammar* §135c, says specifically that there is no 'accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and the spoken form of the text.'

**§894.** Yet as long ago as 1862, in his note to APr. 3. 54, Whitney himself showed, from a count of AV. instances, that:

(a) In prose passages, *a* is omitted seven times out of eight.

(b) In metrical passages where the meter indicates elision (we shall use this familiar term, altho doubtless 'absorption' would be more accurate, cf. Wackernagel, l. c., p. 324, bottom) of *a*, it is omitted in writing six times out of seven.

(c) In metrical passages where the meter indicates pronunciation of *a*, it is written nine times out of ten; except that at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a verse-line, where of course it is always pronounced, it is omitted in writing four times out of five.

**§895.** If these facts are at all typical of Vedic works in general, and there is reason to believe that they are, they seem to indicate that at some time in the history of our tradition an attempt was made to make the writing conform to certain definite standards, which had some relation to actual pronunciation. The statement quoted above from

Whitney's *Grammar* is therefore exaggerated, to say the least. To be sure, the attempt was either incompletely carried out, or else its results have been somewhat disturbed by later copyists and redactors. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 460 f., Wackernagel I p. 325.

*General practice of Vedic texts*

§896. Before summarizing the evidence of the variants, we shall venture a statement of what seems to us to have been the general procedure in the Vedic tradition. Apparently this tradition was fixed at a time when the usual custom was to elide the *a*, as in classical Sanskrit. But those who established the norm in the Vedic texts were quite aware of the fact that these texts themselves, by their meter, indicated that the *a* frequently, if not usually, had to be pronounced. As a concession to this observed fact, or perhaps, more accurately, in order to help in the proper recitation of the Vedic texts, they undertook to write the *a* in cases where the meter required its pronunciation, leaving it unwritten in the comparatively rare cases where the meter required its omission, and in prose generally. Only when the *a* came at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a line, the *a* was elided in writing, in accordance with the general custom of the time when the redaction was carried out; perhaps for the very reason that no confusion or error of pronunciation could well arise in such cases. That is: since the *a* would have to be pronounced in every such case, its omission in writing, according to the usual rule of the time, was considered allowable.

§897. Thus, except in the last-mentioned case, an attempt was made to conform spelling to original pronunciation of the metrical texts; while in prose texts the *a* tended to be omitted. Exceptions may often be explained as due to carelessness or ignorance, whether on the part of the original redactors who applied the rules, or on the part of later copyists or reciters.

*Evidence of the variants*

§898. In interpreting the bearing of the variants on these rules, we must remember that they are a specially selected group, and make allowance for the principle of selection. Thus, first, they cannot in the nature of things take note of the cases in which initial *a* is elided at the beginning of a pāda. All such pādas are necessarily printed in the Concordance, and in the Variants, with initial *a*; whereas, as we have seen, according to Whitney the *a* is elided in four-fifths of such cases

in the AV.; and much more regularly in the RV. In fact, RPr. 138 (2. 13) requires that *a* should never be written in this position.

§899. Secondly, every one of our variants contains, by definition, at least one instance, in some text or other, of both possible forms: *a* written and *a* elided. This means that invariably, except in the few cases in which a pāda can be read metrically either with or without pronunciation of *a*, at least one of the texts quoted violates the general rule. Consequently, statistics based on our variants cannot possibly be expected to agree precisely with the rules laid down in §896. If, despite this artificial weighting of the scales in favor of the *advocatus diaboli*, the variants nevertheless show a definite tendency in favor of the rules as stated, this may be considered a valuable confirmation of them. And such, we think, is the case.

§900. The extent to which variants may be trusted as representing general usage may be tested by comparing the AV. passages found among them with Whitney's statistics for the entire AV., mentioned in §894. Thus: in metrical passages where *a* is pronounced, Whitney found it written in nine-tenths of the cases; the variants have it written in more than two-thirds, or nearly five-sevenths of such cases (26 out of 38). In metrical passages where *a* is not pronounced, Whitney found it omitted in six-sevenths of the cases; the variants show it omitted in all the six cases which occur. The prose variants from AV. are very few (only 5); in two of them *a* is written, in three elided, whereas Whitney reports elision in seven-eighths of the prose cases. These correspondences suggest that when the variants occur in considerable numbers, they may be taken as a fair index of conditions in the texts as a whole.

### *Metrical passages*

§901. The *a* is pronounced in 59 metrical pādas among the variants; it is not pronounced in 10. In 24 it may be read either way, or the readings are changed in other respects so that both forms of the variant are metrical as written.

§902. When the *a* is shown by the meter to be pronounced, it is also written in nearly two-thirds of the cases in all texts together (213 to 117). In general, the proportion is higher in the older texts. Thus RV., written 21 times, omitted 4; AV. 25 to 12; TS. 19 to 7; MS. 24 to 9. But it is lower than the general average in VS. (10 to 6) and KS. (20 to 16). SV. forms a striking exception; among the variants it has *a* written only once, omitted 4 times. Its school texts show that this is no

accident due to the small numbers; they also write *a* 3 times and omit it 8 times. The SV. school clearly tended against the writing of *a*, in accord with classical Sanskrit usage (we shall see below that in prose texts, also, the dropping of *a* predominates in the SV. school much more than in the others). While the SV. and its school texts are the only ones that show a majority for dropping *a* when it is pronounced, later texts in general show a growing tendency to do so, approaching the classical norm. Thus RV. school texts have it written 14 times, omitted 11 times (against RV. itself 21 to 4).

**§903.** When the *a* is shown by the meter not to be pronounced, it is also omitted in writing in five-sevenths of the cases in all texts together (46 to 19). The cases are too few to make it safe to set up rules for the individual schools.

**§904.** Thus we see that in all metrical pādas the writing is consistent with the pronunciation in nearly two-thirds of the cases (259 to 136), whether the meter requires pronunciation of *a* or the reverse. In the few cases where it is possible to read the pāda metrically either way, we have given the written text the benefit of the doubt, assuming that it was pronounced when written, not pronounced when omitted in writing. They are not numerous enough to affect the result, and our procedure seems justified by the evidence of other cases where there is no ambiguity.

*Prose passages*

**§905.** In the prose variants the school texts of SV. show a considerable preponderance of elided over written *a* (12 to 1), and the same tendency, tho less decisive, is noticeable in the Taittirīya school, which shows elision in two-thirds of the cases (49 to 25). Other texts show no very marked tendency in either direction. MS. has a majority for *a* written (21 to 15), but its school texts are nearly even. The totals for all prose passages are 105 written, 151 elided. Contrast this with 232 written, 163 elided among the metrical variants (213 to 117 where the meter shows that *a* was pronounced).

*Table of final a written or omitted after e and o*

**§906.** The figures in the following table are worth quoting, tho perhaps not to be taken too absolutely. As stated above, when the meter permits either pronunciation or elision of *a*, we assume consistency of writing and pronunciation. Repetitions of the same formula in the same text, with or without modulations in the adjoining words, are not counted.

| TEXTS | METRICAL PASSAGES | | | | PROSE PASSAGES | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Writing and pronunciation consistent | | Writing and pronunciation inconsistent | | | |
| | *a* written and pronounced | *a* not written, not pronounced | *a* not written, but pronounced | *a* written, not pronounced | *a* written | *a* elided |
| RV | 21 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| RVKh | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| RV school texts | 14 | 2 | 11 | 1 | 9 | 14 |
| SV | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| SV school texts | 3 | 0 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 12 |
| AV | 25 | 6 | 12 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| AV school texts | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| VS | 10 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 13 | 13 |
| VSK | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| ŚB | 8 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 8 | 10 |
| Other Vāj. school | 5 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| TS | 19 | 6 | 7 | 2 | 10 | 20 |
| TB | 17 | 2 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 8 |
| ApŚ | 10 | 0 | 7 | 4 | 8 | 11 |
| Other Tait. school | 10 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 10 |

| TEXTS | METRICAL PASSAGES | | | | PROSE PASSAGES | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Writing and pronunciation consistent | | Writing and pronunciation inconsistent | | | |
| | *a* written and pronounced | *a* not written, not pronounced | *a* not written, but pronounced | *a* written, not pronounced | *a* written | *a* elided |
| MS | 24 | 6 | 9 | 3 | 21 | 15 |
| Maitr. school | 14 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 9 | 7 |
| KS | 20 | 8 | 16 | 3 | 15 | 18 |
| Late and misc. | 5 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| Totals | 213 | 46 | 117 | 19 | 105 | 151 |

**§907.** We now proceed to list the variant passages, beginning with the metrical ones, and first with those in which the meter indicates that the *a* was pronounced, whether written or not (59 items):

*so adhvarān* (AV. Kauś. *'dhvarān*) *sa ṛtūn kalpayāti* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

*anumate 'nu* (KapS.† *anu*) *manyasva na idam* (AV. *'nv idaṁ manyasva*) AV. KS. KapS. (quoted in note to KS.): *anumate 'nu manyasva* (prose) GG. KhG. HG. ApG.

*nir amuṁ bhaja yo 'mitro asya* TB.: *niṣ ṭaṁ bhaja yo amitro asya* AV.

*tatra śiśriye 'ja ekapādaḥ* AV.† 13. 1. 6: *tasmiñ chiśriye aja ekapāt* TB.

*teṣāṁ yo ajyānim* (PG. *'jyānim*) *ajītim āvahāt* (SMB. Conc. *ajījim āvahāḥ*, but Jörgensen as other texts) TS. SMB. PG. BDh.

*ṛco akṣare* (NṛpU. *'kṣare*) *parame vyoman* RV. AV. GB. TB. TA. ŚvetU. NṛpU. N.

*yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ. *anyo*) *asti* JB. ŚŚ.: *yasmād anyo na paro asti jātaḥ* PB.: *yasmān na jātaḥ paro anyo asti* (NṛpU. *'sti*) VS. TB. ApŚ. MahānU. NṛpU.

*ye agnayaḥ* (TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. *'gnayaḥ*) *samanasaḥ* (KS. adds *sacetasaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*taṁ tvā viśve avantu* (AV. *'vantu*) *devāḥ* AV. ApMB. HG. A very poor pāda but intended for triṣṭubh.

*yo 'syeśe dvipado yaś catuṣpadaḥ* AV.: *ya īśe asya* (MS. KS. * *īśe yo asya*) *dvipadaś catuṣpadaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (both).

*vaiśvānaro aṅgirasām* (AV. *'ṅgi°*, AŚ. *aṅgirobhyaḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasīnā* (MS. *ahann ojasīne*; KS. †*śukro ahany ojasye*; AŚ. *'hany ojasīnām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*sūryo ahobhir* (KS. *suryo* [misprint] *'hobhir*) *anu tvāvatu* KS. TB.

*so asmāṅ* (MŚ. *asmān*) *adhipatīn karotu* TS. MŚ.: *so 'smān adhipatīn kṛṇotu* ŚŚ.

*svāṁ tanvaṁ* (TS. TB. *tanwaṁ*) *varuṇo 'suṣot* (TS. TB. *aśiśret*) TS. MS. KS. TB. It would be forcing probabilities to compress the MS. KS. reading to an *anuṣṭubh*.

*agnir ajaro 'bhavat sahobhiḥ* MS.: *agnir amṛto abhavad vayobhiḥ* (KS. *sahobhiḥ*) RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

*na tā arvā reṇukakāṭo aśnute* (AV. *'śnute*) RV. AV. KS. TB. AŚ. Many AV. mss. read *aśnute*.

*adhi bruvantu te 'vantv* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *avantv*) *asmān* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*anīkair dveṣo ardaya* (ŚŚ. *'rdaya*) MS. ŚŚ.

*annaṁ payo reto asmāsu* (ŚB. *'smāsv*) *dhatta* (MS. ApŚ. *dhehi*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*anyaṁ te asman* (NṛpU. *'sman*) *ni vapantu senāḥ* RV. TS. NṛpU.

*anyo-'nyo* (Vait.-*anyo*) *bhavati varṇo asya* TB. Vait.

*avāsṛjo apo* (TB. *'po*) *achā samudram* RV. MS. KS. TB.

*pra vartaya divo aśmānam* (AV. *'śmānam*, v. l. *aś°*) *indra* RV. AV.

*prothad aśvo na yavase 'viṣyan* (TS. *aviṣyan*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*namo astu* (MŚ. *'stu*) *parāyate* AV. MŚ.

*prāñco agāma* (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.

*payo gṛheṣu payo 'stu tan naḥ* MŚ.: *payo vatseṣu payo astu tan mayi* AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*ye agnayaḥ pāñcajanyāḥ* (MŚ. *purīṣiṇaḥ*) VS. ŚB. MŚ.: *ye 'gnayaḥ purīṣyāḥ* (KS. *°ṣiṇaḥ*) TS. KS. ApŚ. JUB.

*dhātā samudro apa* (AG. *'va*) *hantu pāpam* AG. PG.: *dh° sa° abhayaṁ kṛṇotu* MG.

*śiśū krīḍantau pari yāto adhvaram* (AV. *arṇavam*, and *'ṛṇavam*) RV. AV. MS. TB.

*namo astu* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. PG. NīlarU. *'stu*) *sarpebhyaḥ* RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. NīlarU.

*ye 'do* (MS. *amī*) *rocane divaḥ* RVKh. TS. MS. ApMB.

*yo asyāḥ pṛthivyās tvaci* TB. ApŚ.: *yo 'syāḥ* (so all mss. but one, and so Conc., but ed.† *asyāḥ*) *pṛthivyā adhi tvaci* MŚ.

*yo naḥ svo* (AV. *svo yo*) *araṇaḥ* (SV. *'raṇaḥ*) RV. SV. AV. AG. ŚG. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 40, thinks of inserting *yo* in RV., tho he fails to note that AV. reads so.

*vaiśvānaro adabdhas* (AV. *no adabdhas*, TA. *me 'dabdhas*, MS. ApŚ. *'dabdhas*) *tanūpāḥ* AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. SMB.

*ko ambādadate* (AŚ. *'mbā°*) *dadat* MS. AŚ.

*mayā so annam* (AV. *'nnam*) *atti yo vipaśyati* RV. AV.

*indra vājeṣu no 'va* (TB. *ava*, KS. *vaha*) RV. AV. SV. ArS. MS. KS. TB.

*yad vā me api* (LŚ. *'pi*, Vait. *apa*) *gachati* AŚ. Vait. LŚ.

*ye agnayo divo ye pṛthivyāḥ* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ye 'gnayo divo ye 'ntarikṣāt* KS. (wrongly printed as prose in ed.)

*ye agnidagdhā ye anagnidagdhāḥ* (TB. Poona ed.† *'nagni°*; so v. l. of AV.) RV. AV. TB. AŚ.: *ye agniṣvāttā ye 'nagniṣvāttāḥ* (VS. *anagni°*) VS. TB. ApŚ.

*sā tvam asy amo 'ham* (ŚB. BṛhU. PG. *amo aham*, ApMB. *amūham*, MG. *āpy amo 'ham*) KS. JUB. ŚB. BṛhU. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG.: *sa tvam asy amo 'ham* AB.

*kīkasābhyo anūkyāt* (ApMB. *'nū°*) RV. AV. ApMB.

*te asmat* (TS. *'smat*) *pāśān pra muñcantv enasaḥ* (TS. *aṅhasaḥ*) AV. TS.

*divo antebhyas* (KS. *'nte°*) *pari* RV. SV. KS.

*yo adya* (PB. *'dya*) *saumyo* (AV. *senyo*) *vadhaḥ* AV. PB. AŚ.—Ppp. *'dya* acc. to Roth.

*vyāghro vaiyāghre adhi* (TB. *'dhi*) KS. TB.: *vyāghro adhi vaiyāghre* AV.

*ye anneṣu* (VS. KS. *'nneṣu*) *vividhyanti* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*varṣiṣṭhe adhi* (KS. *'dhi*) *nāke* TS. KS. TB.

*rājā me prāṇo amṛtam* (TB. *'mṛtam*) VS.† MS. KS. TB.

*idam* (KS. *ā mā*) *varco* (AŚ. *rādho*) *agninā* (KS. *'gninā*) *dattam āgāt* (AV. *āgan*, KS. *etu*) AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ.

*vṛṣāyamāṇo 'vṛṇīta* (AV. *av°*) *somam* RV. AV. TB.

*śatotaye 'bhimātiṣāhe* (PG. *abhi°*) TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG.

*kṛṇvāno* (KS. *kurvāṇo*) *anyān* (TS. KS. ApŚ.† *anyāṅ*, MS. *anyaṅ*, KŚ.† *'nyān*) *adharān sapatnān* AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ. ApŚ.

*śṛṇvanty* (PB. *°tv*) *āpo adha* (PB. *'dhaḥ*) *kṣarantīḥ* RV. PB.

*so adhvarā* (AB. *'dhvarā karati*) *jātavedāḥ* AB. ŚB. Cadenced prose; cf. *kṛṇotu so . . .*

*annapate 'nnasya* (MS. KS. MŚ. MG. *an°*) *no dehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. PrāṇāgU. AG. ŚG. MG. SMB. Intended for triṣṭubh.

*ayaṁ yo asya yasya ta idam śiraḥ* MŚ.: *ayaṁ yo 'sı yasya ta idaṁ śiraḥ* KS. ApŚ.

[*yo asya kauṣṭhya jagataḥ* MŚ.: *yo 'sya kauṣṭhya* (KS. °*ṭha*) *ja*° KS. TA. ApŚ. So Conc.; but Van Gelder's ed. reads *'sya* for MŚ. without v. l.]

[*anamitraṁ no* (VSK. *me*) *adharāk* (AV. °*rāt*) AV. VSK.† KS. Conc. *'dharāk* for VSK.]

[*bṛhaspate abhiśaster* (AV. ed. *'bhi*°) *amuñcaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TAA. But read *abhi*° in AV.; see Whitney's note.]

**§908.** In the next group, a much smaller one, containing 10 items, the *a* seems not to have been pronounced, whether written or elided:

*namo 'stu* (TS. KS. *astu*) *nīlagrīvāya* (NīlarU. *nīlaśikhaṇḍāya*) VS. TS. KS. NīlarU. BṛhPDh.

*viśvasmai bhūtāya dhruvo* (TS. ApŚ. *bhūtāyādhvaro*) *astu* (TS. *'si*, MŚ.† *'stu*) *devāḥ* (TS. omits) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ye apsu ṣadāṅsi* (KS. *'psu sa*°) *cakrire* MS. KS.

*ye te 'ryaman* (KS. *arya*°) *bahavo devayānāḥ* TS. MS. KS.† 10. 13a.

*vājināṁ vājo 'vatu bhakṣo asmān* VSK.: *vājināṁ bhakṣo avatu vājo asmān* ApŚ.

*yo 'gniṁ* (AŚ. *agniṁ*) *hotāram avṛthāḥ* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ.†

*jātavedo maruto adbhis* (TB. *'dbhis*) *tamayitvā* TB. ApŚ.

*kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny* (TA. MahānU. *ati duritāty*) *agniḥ* AV. TA. MahānU.

*aghorebhyo 'tha* (MS. *atha*) *ghorebhyaḥ* MS. TA. MahānU.

*yāś ca devyo antān abhito tatantha* SMB.: *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta* (mss. *tatantha*) MG. See §63. The meter is poor in any case.

**§909.** We now come to the third group of metrical variants, 24 in number, in which the surrounding conditions are so flexible metrically that the *a* may either be pronounced or not (in which case we assume that it was pronounced when written, and not pronounced when not written); or in which there are further changes in the pāda which alter the metrical conditions:

*anv adya no anumatiḥ* (AV. Kauś. *'nu*°) AV. MS. ŚŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

*yān agnayo anvatapyanta* (TS. *'nva*°) *dhiṣṇyāḥ* AV. TS. MS.

*ye asmin* (KS. *'smin*) *mahaty arṇave* MS. KS. MŚ.

*jyok kṣatre 'dhi jāgarat* AV.: *jyog rāṣṭre adhi jāgarat* HG.

*jyok śrotre 'dhi* (HG. *adhi*) *jāgarat* AV. HG.

*antarikṣe adhy* (TS. KS. *'dhy*) *āsate* TS. MS. KS. MŚ.

*sarvābhyo abhayaṁ* (TB. *'bhayaṁ*) *karat* RV. AV. TB. N.

*garbho asy* (MS. *'sy*) *oṣadhīnām* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait.—Ppp. also *'sy* (Barret *JAOS* 48. 38).

*tanvo adya* (MS. *'dya*) *dadhātu me* AV. MS.

*vasanto asyāsīd* (VS. *'syāsīd*) *ājyam* RV. AV. VS. TA. The meter of VS (with *ājiam*) seems easier.

*satyam it tan na tvāvāṅ* (MS. °*vaṅ*) *anyo asti* (MS. *'sti*) RV. MS. KS. TB. The meter of MS. (*tuāvaṅ*?) is inferior.

*ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti* AV.: *yo asmāṅ abhyaghāyati* AV.

*ūrubhyāṁ te aṣṭhīvadbhyām* (ApMB. *'ṣṭhī*°) RV. AV. ApMB.

*te asmā agnayo* (MS. °*ye*, v. l. °*yo*) *draviṇaṁ dattvā* MS. ApŚ.: *te 'smā agnaye draviṇāni dattvā* KS. The meter of MS. ApŚ. is very poor.

*sviṣṭiṁ no abhi* (KŚ. *'bhi*) *vasīyo* (AV. *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS. KŚ.: *sviṣṭaṁ no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS. MŚ.

*sūryāyā ūdho 'dityā* (VSK.† KŚ.† *adityā*; KS. *aditer*) *upasthe* VSK. TS. KS. ŚŚ. KŚ.

*eko vo devo apy* (AV. *'py*) *atiṣṭhat* AV. MS.: *eko devo apy atiṣṭhat* TS. KS. Only MS. is certainly inconsistent (*a* written but not pronounced).

*bheṣajaṁ gave 'śvāya* (MS. *aśvāya*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. LŚ.: *bheṣajaṁ gave 'śvāya puruṣāya* KS. In the last the attaching of *puruṣāya* to this pāda makes the elision of *a* better metrically.

*mā va eno anyakṛtaṁ bhujema* RV.: *mā vayam eno 'nyakṛtaṁ bhujema* KS. In both forms of this variant the writing and pronunciation are consistent.

*tām u dhīrāso anudiśya yajante* VS. ŚB. (*a* not pronounced): *tāṁ dhīrāsaḥ kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta* MS. (*kavayo* looks like a secondary intrusion, cf. KS. in next form; without it *a-nu*° would have to be pronounced): *tāṁ dhīrāso anudṛśya* (VSK. °*diśya*) *yajante* (KS. *anudṛśyāyajanta kavayaḥ*) VSK. TS. KS. TB. (*a* pronounced).

*anyāṅs te asman* (KS. *anye 'sman*) *nivapantu tāḥ* MS. KS. Both writings are metrical. VS. TS. have *anyam asman niva*° *tāḥ*, which is inferior to both MS. and KS.

*yad vāto apo* (MS. MŚ. *'po*) *aganīgan* (TS. KSA. ApŚ. *agamat*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. MŚ. Writing and pronunciation are consistent in all texts except VS., where one of the initial *a*'s must be omitted in reading, tho both are written.

*yo agnau rudro yo apsv antaḥ* AV. (intended for triṣṭubh, reading *agnau, apsu*, and perhaps *rud-ṛ-o*, but more likely a syllable short): *yo 'gnau rudro yo 'psv antaḥ* ŚirasU. (meant for anuṣṭubh; *'gnau, 'psu*): *yo rudro agnau yo apsu* (MŚ. *rudro 'psu yo 'gnau*) *ya oṣadhīṣv* TS. ApŚ. MŚ. (triṣṭubh; *'gnau, 'psu*—inconsistent with the writing of TS. ApŚ.): *yo rudro agnau yo apsu*, (then as new pāda, correct Conc.) *ya oṣadhīṣu yo vanaspatiṣu* KS. (writing and pronunciation consistent).

*so asmān pātu sarvataḥ* AV.: *so 'smān pātu* (prose) TS.

**§910.** There follow the prose variants, which number 53:

*abhayaṁ vo 'bhayaṁ no astu* (AB. AŚ. *me 'stu*) AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *abhayaṁ me astu* (AB.† *'stu*) AB. ApŚ.

*iṣe rāye* (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . *dyumnāyorje* (VS. ŚB.† *dyumna ūrje*) *'patyāya* (VS.† ŚB.† *apa°*, TB.† *patyāya*, ApŚ. *°yorjapatyāya*) VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*etāni te aghniye* (PB. *'ghnye*) *nāmāni* TS. PB.: *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS. ŚB. MŚ. In the last, an attempt has been made to make metrical a passage which was most assuredly prose to begin with. This metrical form is not counted in our table; the *a-* may or may not have been pronounced (*aghnye* or *'ghniye*).

*vīvarto aṣṭācatvāriṅśaḥ* (MS. *'ṣṭā°*) MS. KS.: *vivarto 'ṣṭā°* VS. TS. ŚB.

*yo 'smān* (MS. MŚ. *asmān*) *dveṣṭi yaṁ* (AV. adds *ca*) *vayaṁ dviṣmaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. KBU. JUB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. HG. BDh. This extremely common phrase seems always to be written with *asmān* in texts of the Maitr. school, with *'smān* in all others, if the editions are to be trusted. For other formulas containing it see the Conc. under it, and also: *tam abhi śoca yo 'smān* etc.; *agne yat te tapas* (*tejas, 'rcis, śocis, haras*) etc.; *tasya nāmnā vṛścāmi* etc.; *ny ahaṁ taṁ mṛdyāsaṁ yo †asmān* (ApŚ. *'smān*) etc. MS. ApŚ.† 6. 18. 2; *abhy ahaṁ taṁ bhūyāsaṁ* etc.; *prāhaṁ tam atibhūyāsaṁ* (ApŚ. *†abhi°*) etc.; *vy asau yo* etc.; *durmitrās* (or the like) etc.

*devānāṁ tvā patnīr devīr . . . sadhasthe añgirasvad* (TS. *'ñgi°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with *aditiṣ ṭvā* (*°tis tvā*), *dhiṣaṇās tvā, varūtrayo* (etc.), *gnās tvā*.

*ākūtyai prayuje 'gnaye* (MS. KS. *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The same with *medhāyai manase, sarasvatyai pūṣṇe*, and *dīkṣāyai tapase*.

*agneḥ* (also, *indrasya, viśveṣāṁ devānāṁ*) *priyaṁ pātho 'pīhi* (TS. *apīhi*) VS. 8. 50, VSK. 8. 22. 4, TS. ŚB. 11. 5. 9. 12.

*yo maitasyā diśo abhidāsāt . . .* (five formulas) MS.: *agniṁ* (also, *indraṁ, mitrāvaruṇau, somaṁ*) *sa* (TB. *sa diśāṁ . . . devatānām*) *ṛchatu yo maitasyai* (KS. *°syā*) *diśo 'bhidāsati* KS. TB. ApŚ.

*namo agriyāya* (VS. KS. *'gryāya*, MS. *'grīyāya*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

*namo agrevadhāya* (MS. KS. *'gre°*) . . . VS. MS. TS. KS.

*namo aparasadbhyaḥ* (PB. and v. l. of MŚ. *'para°*) PB. MŚ.

*namo 'śvebhyo* (TS. *aś°*) *'śvapatibhyaś ca* . . . VS. TS.† MS. KS.

*namas te astu* (PB. JB. LŚ. SMB. *'stu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. PB. JB.

ŚB. TB. TA. TAA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB ApG. Occurs frequently, and apparently always with *astu* except in SV. texts, which read *'stu*.

*namo vo 'stu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *astu*) VS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. SMB. Here, in curious contrast with the preceding, the SMB. reads *astu* according to Jörgensen's edition (not in the Conc.), while *'stu* is read by VS. and Vait.

*tebhyo namo astu* (PG. *'stu*) VS. MS. KS. PG. ŚB.

*namo 'gnaya* (ApŚ. *agnaya*) *upadraṣṭre* ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*namo astu* (VS. ŚB. *'stu*) *rudrebhyo ye antarikṣe* (VS. KS. ŚB. *'ntari°*) . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. Also: *namo astu* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *'stu*) *ru° ye divi* (and, *pṛthivyāṁ*) . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.

*namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyaś* (KS. *'rbha°*) *ca* . . . VS. KS.: *namo bṛhadbhyo 'rbhakebhyaś ca* . . . MS. MŚ.

*namo rathibhyo arathebhyaś* (TS. *'rathe°*) *ca* . . . VS. TS.

*yo no anti śapati tam etena jeṣam* MŚ.: *yo me 'nti dūre 'rātīyati tam etena jeṣam* TS.

*rudro 'gnīt* (MS. *agnīt*) MS. TA. ŚŚ.

*rudro 'dhipatiḥ* (MS. *adhi°*) MS. TA.

*tasyāpo apsarasa* (KS.† *'psa°*, MS. *'psarasā*) *ūrjo nāma* (TS. *'psaraso mudāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*dhūrta* (KS. *°te*) *namas te astu* (KS. *'stu*) KS. ApŚ.: *dhūrte namante* (?) *astu* MS.

*praty etā vāmā* . . . *yajamāno 'grabhīd* (ŚŚ. *agra°*) . . . KB. ŚŚ.

*prāṇo agniḥ* . . . PrāṇāgU.: *prāṇo 'gniḥ* . . . MU.

*madhu hutam indratame agnau* (LŚ. *'gnau*) VS. ŚB. LŚ.: *hutaṁ havir* . . . *indratame 'gnau* MS. AB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*ye devā divibhāgā* (MS. *°gāḥ stha*) *ye antarikṣabhāgā* (TS. KS. *'ntari°*) . . . TS. MS. KS.

*śivaṁ prajābhyo 'hiṁsantam* (KS.† *ahiṁ°*) . . . *sadhasthe* (VS. ŚB.° *sthād*) *agniṁ* (TS. *'gniṁ*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.—KS. punctuates before *agniṁ*, so that elision of *a* is impossible.

*sajūr abdo ayavobhiḥ* (TS. ApŚ. *'yāvabhiḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*samidhaḥ-samidho 'gne-'gna* (ŚŚ. *°dho agna;* MŚ.† *°dho 'gnā*) *ājyasya vyantu* AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *samidho agna* (MS. *agnā*) *ājyasya* . . . MS. KS. TB. MŚ.

*suyame me adya* . . . ApŚ.: *sūyame me 'dya* . . . MS.

*agnir adhi viyatto asyām* KS.: *agnir viyatto 'syām* TS.

*agne yat te 'rcis* (MS. *arcis*) *tena* . . . AV. MS. KS. ApŚ.

*aṅgiraso me asya* (KS. *'sya*) *yajñasya prātaranuvākair ahauṣuḥ* MS. KS.

*taṁ* (KS.† *tat*) *tvendragraha . . . saha yan me 'sti* (ApŚ. *asti*) *tena* KS. ApŚ.: *taṁ tvā pra viśāmi . . . saha yan me 'sti tena* AV.

*diśo abhy abhūd ayam* MS. KS. MŚ.: *diśo 'bhy ayaṁ rājābhūt* TS. TB. Semblance of meter; perhaps to be classed with metrical variants.

*antimitraś* (TS. *antyami°*) *ca dūre-amitraś* (MS. *'mitraś*) *ca gaṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*andho achetaḥ* (TS. ApŚ. *'chetaḥ*) VS. TS. KS. ApŚ. Ed. of KS. *'chetaḥ*, but the sole ms. *aśchetaḥ*.

*apāgne agnim* (TS. MS. TB. MŚ. ApŚ. *'gnim*) *āmādaṁ jahi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*apsu dhautasya . . . yo aśvasanis* (KS. *'śva°*) . . . MS. KS.: . . . *yo bhakṣo aśvasanir . . .* TS.

*aśvibhyāṁ tiroahniyānāṁ* (MŚ. *tirohnyānāṁ*) *somānām anubrūhi* ApŚ. MŚ. Also: *tiroahniyān* (MŚ. *aśvibhyāṁ tirohnyān*) *somān prasthitān preṣya* ApŚ. MŚ.

*ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt* (VS. ŚB. *'dhvara āsthāt*, KS. *'dhvare sthāḥ*, ApŚ. *adhvare sthāt*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*āpo devīr agrepuvo agreguvo . . .* TS. TB.: *devīr āpo 'greguvo 'greṇīyo . . . .*MS. MŚ.: *devīr āpo agreguvaḥ premaṁ . . .* KS.

*ye devāḥ puraḥsado* (so also TS., for which Conc.† *paraḥ°*) *'gninetrā* (MS. *agni°*) . . . TS. MS. KS. BDh.

*dhūrva taṁ yo 'smān dhūrvati* VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *dhvara dhvarantaṁ yo asmān dhvarāt* MS.

*agnis te 'graṁ . . .* TS.: *agniṣ ṭe agraṁ . . .* MŚ.

*somo 'smākaṁ* (KS. *asm°*) *brāhmaṇānāṁ rājā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApŚ.

*svadhā pitṛbhyo 'ntarikṣasadbhyaḥ* (AV. *antar°*; GG.† *'ntarī°*) AV. ApŚ. MŚ. GG. HG.

*yo asmi so asmi* AV.: *yo 'smi sa san yaje* MS. KS. AB.: *yo 'ham asmi sa san yaje* TB. ApŚ.

*tutho vo viśvavedā vibhajatu varṣiṣṭhe adhi* (KS. *'dhi*) *nāke . . .* TS. MS. KS.

*nirasto aghaśaṅsaḥ* (ApŚ. *'gha°*) KS. ApŚ.

[*devo narāśaṅso 'gnau* (ŚŚ.† *'gnā*) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu* AŚ. ŚŚ. Conc. quotes *agnā* for ŚŚ.]

[*yena turyeṇa brahmaṇā bṛhaspataye 'pavathās . . .* JB.: *yena rūpeṇa prajāpataye* †*'vapathās* (Conc. *ava°*) . . . KS.]

**§911.** Very sporadically, other forms of sandhi between final *e* and initial *a* occur among the variants. For a single case of *y* as 'Hiatus-tilger' developed between *e* and *a*, see §338. In addition, there are a few

variants which seem to point to a possible resolution of *e* into *ay* before *a* and *ā*; but formal differences are always concerned, so that the variation is never one of sandhi pure and simple:

*tve ā* (SV. *tvayā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ* RV. SV. A loc. in RV. is replaced by an instr. in SV., with resolution of *e* to *ay*, this time however before long *ā*.

*ubhe id asyobhayasya* (AV. *asyobhe asya*) *rājataḥ* RV. AV. Followed by:

*ubhe yatete ubhayasya* (AV. *ubhe asya*) *puṣyataḥ* RV. AV. The verse is mystic and obscure. If the AV. text is right, it seems to have understood the original *ubhay-* as representing *ubhe*, perhaps under influence of suggestion from the preceding *ubhe*; so that we should have just the reverse of the resolution in question. Whitney translates the prior pāda according to the RV. reading, but keeps the AV. reading in the second.

**§912.** By a misquotation in the Conc. we would seem to have a single similar case of *av* for *o* before *a*:

*dyāvāpṛthivī uro antarikṣa* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.; the Conc. quotes *urav* for *uro* in VSK. But the actual text is *urv*. If the text as printed (with *antarikṣa*, not °*kṣam*) is right, it is an illogical blend of this with the other form of the variant, *dyāvā° urv antarikṣam* AV. TS.

### SANDHI OF *a*-VOWELS WITH FOLLOWING *ṛ*

**§913.** The variants indicate the following school tendencies. Rigvedic and Vājasaneyin texts write *a-ṛ* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *ṛ*. This is prescribed by RPr. 136 (2. 11) and VPr. 4. 48 (which gives *a-ṛ* for *ā-ṛ* and makes no reference to *a-ṛ*, implying no change).

**§914.** Taittirīya texts and KS. write *ar* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *ṛ*, as prescribed by TPr. 10. 8. So does LŚ. in the single variant noted.

**§915.** The rule of APr. 3. 46 is like that of TPr., *ar* for both *ā-ṛ* and *a-ṛ*. But the mss. of AV., according to Whitney's note on this passage, follow this rule in general only when the *ṛ* is not followed by a sibilant; when a sibilant follows they generally write *a-ṛ* (because of *svarabhakti*, Whitney on APr. 1. 101). There are exceptions in the mss., and the Berlin edition, says Whitney, does not always follow either the mss. or the Prātiśākhya rule, nor any consistent practice. As to the variants noted, the Berlin edition (and consequently the Conc.) agrees thruout with what Whitney tells us is the general practice of the mss., namely, *ar* for both *ā-ṛ* and *a-ṛ* except when a sibilant follows, in that case *a-ṛ*. Both Vait. and Kauś. sometimes write *ar* even when a sibilant follows; the instances recorded are few.

**§916.** Maitrāyaṇīya texts regularly write *ā-ṛ* and *a-ṛ* without change. Occasionally, however, they seem to shorten *ā* to *a*; so in one variant, see *yad dīdayac* (°*yañ*) etc., §918. Two variants occur in which final *a* is lengthened to *ā* before *ṛ* in MS.; these may be regarded as cases of rhythmic lengthening of final *a*, cf. §§452 and 458. They are found below in §919: *yatrā ṛṣayo jagmuḥ* and *yenā ṛṣayas tapasā* . . . There is even one variant in which complete sandhi, *ar*, is apparently found for *ā-ṛ* in MS.:

*savitre tvarbhumate* (VS. ŚB. *tva ṛbhu*°; MS. *tvarbhū*°) . . . VS. MS. ŚB. TA. This sandhi is unique among the MS. variants. It is perhaps worth noting that two mss. read *svarbhū*°; but p.p. *tvā, ṛbhu*°. Cf. §549, and Wackernagel I §267a*α*, note, which is somewhat misleading or at least incomplete as regards MS.

**§917.** It may be noted that in metrical passages the meter regularly indicates complete fusion (as if *ar*) in all variants, even for texts which write the *ṛ*-vowel separately.

There are a very few real or apparent exceptions to the above rules, besides those noted for MS.; attention will be called to them as they occur.

**§918.** The following are the cases concerning *ā* followed by *ṛ*:

*savitre tvarbhumate* (VS. ŚB. *tva ṛbhu*°, MS. *tvarbhū*°) . . . VS. MS. ŚB. TA. See §916.

*yad dīdayac chavasa* (MS. °*yañ śavasa*; TS. °*sā*) *ṛtaprajāta* (KS. *chavasarta*°) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. This is the only case in which MS. shortens *ā* to *a*; see §916. The TS. reading is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kaṇḍikā*, which always suspends all sandhi; it is no real exception to the Tait. practice.

*dvā yantārā bhavatas tatha ṛtuḥ* (TS. KSA. *tathartuḥ*, MŚ. *tathā ṛtuḥ*) RV. VS. TS. KSA. MŚ.

*agnijihvebhyas* (MS. *agnihvarebhyas*) *tvartāyubhya*[*ḥ*] (MS. *tvā ṛtā*°) . . . TS. MS. KS.

*yatha ṛṇaṁ saṁnayāmasi* (AV. *yatharṇaṁ saṁnayanti*) RV. AV.

*yatha ṛtava* (AV. TA. *yathartava*) *ṛtubhir yanti sādhu* (AV. *sākam*, TA. *kḷptāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

*svāha ṛṣabham* (MS. *svāhā ṛṣ*°, TB. *svāharṣ*°) . . .VS. MS. TB.

*viśvakarma ṛṣiḥ* (MS. °*mā ṛṣiḥ*, KS. °*marṣiḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*tapasarṣayaḥ* (MahānU. °*saṛṣayaḥ*) *suvar* (TB. *svar*) *anvavindan* TB. TA. MahānU. The MahānU. reading is exceptional, but is repeated in the comm., which calls special attention to the sandhi, referring to Pāṇ. 6. 1. 128.

*yayo rathaḥ satyavartmarjuraśmiḥ* AV.: *yo vāṁ ratha ṛjuraśmiḥ satyadharmā* TS. MS. KS. Here only AV. has this sandhi; the other texts stand for *rathas* plus *ṛju°*. Note, however, that the meter favors the pronunciation *ratharju°*, with double crasis, even in the YV. texts.

[*viśvādhiko rudro maharṣiḥ* (TA. Conc. *maharṣiḥ*, but Poona ed. correctly *maharṣiḥ*) TA. MahānU.]

**§919.** The rest are cases of short *a* followed by *ṛ*:

*yatra ṛṣayo* (MS. *yatrā ṛ°*, KS. *yatrar°*) *jagmuḥ* . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB. On the MS. forms of this and the next cf. §916.

*yena ṛṣayas* (MS. MŚ. *yenā ṛ°*, TS. KS. ApŚ. *yenar°*) *tapasā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Cf. prec.

*yatrarṣayaḥ* (Kauś. *yatra ṛṣ°*) *prathamajā ye* (Kauś. *°jāḥ*, om. *ye*) *purāṇāḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ. Kauś.

*śāradena* (also, *śaiśireṇa, vasantena, hemantena*) *ṛtunā* (KS. TB. *°nartunā*) . . . VS. MS. KS. TB. KŚ.

*ṛtuṣṭhā* (MS. *°āḥ*, KS. *°ās*) *stha ṛtāvṛdhaḥ* (KS. *sthartuspṛśaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ṛtava* (KS. *°vas*) *stha ṛtāvṛdhaḥ* (KS.† *sthartā°*) VS. KS. ŚB.: *ṛtasthā sthartāvṛdhaḥ* TS.

*medhāṁ sapta ṛṣayo* (ApMB. *saptar°*) *daduḥ* ApMB. RVKh. But Scheftelowitz reads *saptarṣayo* also in RVKh.

*svāhākṛtasya sam u tṛpṇuta ṛbhavaḥ* (TB. [so Poona ed.] ApŚ. *tṛpṇutarbhavaḥ*) RV. TB. ApŚ.

*brāhmaṇam adya ṛdhyāsaṁ* (KS. *adyardh°*) . . . MS. KS. MŚ.

*tasya ṛksāmāny* (TS. KS. *tasyark°*) . . . .VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*tvām adya ṛṣa ārṣeya ṛṣīṇām* (KS.† TB. *adyarṣa ārṣeyarṣīṇām*) . . . VS. MS. KS. TB.

*avaṛtyai badhāyopamanthitāram* (TB. *avartyai †vadhā°*, so Poona ed.) VS. TB.

*yathāhaṁ bharata ṛṣabha* (ŚŚ. *bharatarṣ°*) AB. ŚŚ. The only irregular case in ŚŚ. or any RV. text among the variants. No v. l. is recorded.

*yebhyo na ṛte* (TS. KS. *narte*) *pavate dhāma kiṁcana* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*varuṇasya ṛtasadanam* (KS. *°syarta°*) *asi* VS. KS. ŚB.

*varuṇasya ṛtasadany* (ApŚ. *°syarta°*) *asi* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.

*tṛtīyasya savanasya ṛbhumato* (ApŚ. *°nasyarbhu°*) . . . KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*tenarṣiṇā* (MS. AŚ. *tena ṛṣiṇā*) . . . TS. MS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*śruta ṛṣim* (TB. *śrutarṣim*) *ugram abhimātiṣāham* RV. MS. TB.

*śivo me saptarṣīn* (KŚ. MŚ. *sapta ṛṣīn*) . . . TS. Vait. KŚ. MŚ. Note *ar* in Vait. even before a sibilant; cf. §915.

*satyaś* (VS. *śukraś*) *ca ṛtapāś* (TS. KS. *carta°*) *cātyaṅhāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*saptarṣayaḥ* (VS. MS. *sapta ṛ°*) *sapta dhāma priyāṇi* VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. In TS. 1. 5. 3. 2b *sapta ṛṣ°* is read without sandhi merely because a *kaṇḍikā* ends here; it is no real exception to the rule.

*sapta ṛṣayo* (TS. KS. *saptar°*) *'sṛjyanta* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*saptarṣīṇāṁ* (ApŚ. Kauś. *saptar°*) *sukṛtāṁ yatra lokaḥ* Vait. KŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. Note *ar* in Kauś. even before a sibilant (one ms. *aṛ*); cf. §915.

*saptarṣīn* (ApŚ. *saptarṣīñ*) *jinva* ApŚ. KŚ.

*upahūtā dhenuḥ* (ŚB. *gāvaḥ*) *saharṣabhā* (ŚB. *°bhāḥ*, AŚ. ŚŚ.† *saharṣabhā*) TS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Irregular sandhi in ŚB.

*upa mā* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *māṁ*) *dhenuḥ saharṣabhā* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *saharṣ°*) . . . TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*indrartubhir brahmaṇā vāvṛdhānaḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *indra ṛbhubhir brahmaṇā saṁvidānaḥ* ŚŚ.

*indro vidyāt saha ṛṣibhiḥ* (KS. *saharṣ°*) RV. AV. KS. ApMB. In ApMB. we must certainly read *saharṣibhiḥ* with four mss., in accord with Tait. usage; Winternitz prints *saha ṛ°* with only one ms.

*upa ṛṣabhasya* (TB. LŚ. *uparṣ°*) *retasi* (AV. *yad retaḥ*) RV. AV. TB. LŚ.

*indrāya ṛṣabheṇa* VS.: *indrāyarṣabheṇāśvibhyāṁ sarasvatyai* TB.

*ṛṇān no narṇam ertsamānaḥ* AV.: *nen na ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānaḥ* TA.: *nem na ṛṇān ṛṇavān īpsamānaḥ* MS. Only AV. has this sandhi (*na, ṛṇam*); the others *nas, ṛ-*.

*yatrā sapta ṛṣīn* (TS. KS. *yatra saptarṣīn*) *para ekam āhuḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.

*yathaika ṛṣir* (KS. *°karṣir*) *vijānate* KS. TA. ApŚ. Only KS. has this sandhi; the others *eka(ḥ) ṛṣir*, two words.

### SANDHI OF FINAL *n*

**§920.** On this subject the variants throw little new light. School tendencies are seldom discernible; when they do seem to appear, other known facts sometimes throw doubt on the value of this evidence.

#### I. Final *n* before initial vowels

**§921.** All the variant passages concern forms which originally (prehistorically) ended in *s*, except a small group, mainly locative singulars of *n*-stems, in which the ending *n* (appearing as *nn*) varies with *ny*. These, of course, really concern morphology and not phonetics; they hardly belong in this place.

### 1. Final *ān* before vowels

**§922.** The Prātiśākhyas in general (RPr. 284 [4. 26], VPr. 3. 141, APr. 2. 27) make *anusvāra* the rule, but with numerous exceptions; Whitney's note says that AV. more often retains *n*. TPr. 9. 20–24 gives detailed rules and exceptions, without any generalization; Whitney's note (p. 225) states that TS. retains *n* five times out of six.

**§923.** Our variants are as confused as would be expected from these statements. It happens that those occurring in TS. show *anusvāra* more often than *n*; but this is probably accidental in view of Whitney's statement just quoted. Maitr. texts and KS. show about as many cases of one alternative as of the other. But as to Maitr. texts, when they change *n* to *anusvāra*, they generally also shorten the preceding *ā* to *a*; cf. Schroeder, MS., Einleitung, p. XXIX. When this shortening of *ā* is the only difference in the readings of a variant, we have not troubled to record it. The variants fall naturally into three divisions: accusatives plural, nominatives singular, and *s*-aorists (only one of the last).

**§924.** The cases involving accusatives plural in *ān* are:

*agniṣ ṭān* (MS.† *ṭaṅ*, KS.† *ṭāṅ*, TS. TA. *agnis tāṅ*) *agre pra* . . . AV. TS. MS. KS. TA. The same with *vāyuṣ* (AV.† *ṭān*).

*agne devāṅ* (MS. *devaṅ*, ŚG. *devān*) *ihā vaha* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. The isolated form of ŚG. is suspicious (misprint or error?).

*aty anyān* (VS. ŚB. *anyāṅ*) *agāṁ nānyān* (VS. ŚB. *nānyāṅ*) *upāgām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ.

*athā* (VS. ŚB. *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS. twice† °*nāṅ*; TS. twice† °*nāṅ*, once °*nān*) *indro me* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*asmāṅ* (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā* . . . RV. SV. TS. VS. MS. KS.

*iḍāsmān anu vastāṁ ghṛtena* ApŚ. MŚ.: *iḍaivāsmāṅ anu vastāṁ vratena* AV.

*unnayāmi svāṅ* (MS. *svaṅ*, AV. *svān*) *aham* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*etat tvaṁ deva soma* . . . *devāṅ* (TS. KS. ApŚ. *devān*) *upāgāḥ* VS. KS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.: . . . *devān upāvṛtaḥ* MS.

*kṛṇvāno* (KS. *kurvāṇo*) *anyān* (TS. KS. ApŚ.† *anyāṅ*, KŚ. *'nyān*) *adharān sapatnān* AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ. ApŚ.

*jambhyais* (KS. °*yebhis*) *taskarāṅ* (KS. °*rān*) *uta* VS. TS. KS.: *jambhābhyāṁ taskaraṅ* (p.p. °*rān*) *uta* MS.

*puroḍāśāṅ* (MŚ. °*śaṅ*, GB. Vait. °*śān*) *alaṁkuru* TS. GB. ŚB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*mā so asmāṅ avahāya parā gāt* TS.: *ned eṣo asmān avahāya parāyat* MS.: *maiṣo asmān avahāya parāgāt* KS.

*yāṅ* (AV. TS. MS. KS. Vait. *yān*) *āvaha uśato deva devān* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Vait.

*yā devīr antāṅ abhito 'dadanta* AV.: *yāś ca devīr* (SMB. *devyo*) *antān* etc. ApMB. SMB. HG.: *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān* etc. MG.

*rakṣohāmitrāṅ* (VS. °*trān*) *apabādhamānaḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*vājo devāṅ* (MS. KS. *devān*) *ṛtubhiḥ kalpayāti* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*sarvāṅ* (MS. °*vaṅ*) *agnīṅr apsuṣado huve vaḥ* (MS. omits *vaḥ*) TS. MS. AV.: *śivān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe* AV.

*sarvāṅ apa yajāmasi* Kauś.: *sarvān ava yajāmahe* KS.† TB. TAA. ApŚ.

*so asmāṅ* (MŚ. *asmān*) *adhipatīn karotu* TS. MŚ.: *so 'smān adhipatīn kṛṇotu* ŚŚ.

*ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti* AV.: *yo asmāṅ abhyaghāyati* AV.

**§925.** Nominatives singular in *ān* are concerned in the following:

*agniḥ pravidvān* (MS. °*vaṅ*, KS. °*vāṅ*) *iha tat . . .* MS. KS. ApŚ.

*iḍāvāṅ* (MS. °*vān*) *eṣo asura prajāvān* RV. TS. MS. KS.

*iṣṭo yajño bhṛgubhir . . . āśīrvāṅ* (ApŚ. °*vān*) *atharvabhiḥ* KS. ApŚ.

*cikitvāṅ* (MŚ. °*vān*) *anu manyatām* TS. KS. MŚ.

*pumāṅ enaṁ tanuta ut kṛṇatti* RV.: *pumān enad vayaty udgṛṇatti* AV.

*viśalyo vāṇavāṅ* (TS. MS. KS. *bā*°; MS. °*vaṅ*, v. l. °*vān*; KS. NīlarU. °*vān*) *uta* VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU.

*payasvān* (TS. TB. ApMB.° *vāṅ*) *agna āgamam* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB.

*pra yo jajñe vidvāṅ* (AV. *vidvān*) *asya bandhum* (AV.° *dhuḥ*) AV. TS. KS.

*haviṣmāṅ* (KS. °*mān*) *astu sūryaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

[*adha tviṣīmāṅ abhy ojasā . . .* RV. SV.† (Conc. *tviṣīmān* for SV.)]

**§926.** We have noted only a single case involving an aorist form:

*savitā jyotir ud ayāṅ* (KS. *ayān*, MS. *ayaṅ*) *ajasram* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

## 2. Final *īn* and *ūn* before vowels

**§927.** For this sandhi RPr. 289 (4. 29) requires *īṅr, ūṅr*. The other Prs. allow this also in specific cases, but it is very rare in other texts than RV. See APr. 2. 29 and Whitney's note; TPr. 9. 20 and Whitney's note; VPr. 3. 140. The variants include very few cases, not enough to justify deductions:

*sarvāṅ* (MS. °*vaṅ*) *agnīṅr apsuṣado huve vaḥ* (MS. omits *vaḥ*) TS. MS. AB.: *śivān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe* AV.

*padā paṇīṅr* (SV. *paṇīn*) *arādhasaḥ* RV. SV. AV.
*ṛtūṅr* (TB. *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaj* . . . RV. AV. MS. TB.
*ṛtūn* (AV. *ṛtūṅr*) *utsṛjate vaśī* AV. SV. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
[*tisro bhūmīr dhārayan* (MS. °*yaṅs*) *trīṅr uta dyūn* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. In this variant the printed text of MS. reads †*trīnr*, with nasal consonant *n*, instead of *trīṅr*. This reading, which the Conc. ignores, is no doubt merely a slip, or a bad writing, for *trīṅr*.]

### 3. Final *nn* varying with *ny* before vowels

**§928.** As remarked above, §921, this is really a morphological matter, not one of phonetics. The few cases are chiefly locatives singular of *n*-stems:
*asmin brahmaṇy asmin karmaṇy* . . . AV.: *asmin brahmaṇy asmin kṣatre* (ŚŚ. adds *'smin karmaṇy*) . . . KS. ŚŚ.: *asmin brahmann* . . . *asmin karmann* (PG. *karmaṇy*) . . . TS. ApŚ. PG.: *te naḥ pāntv asmin brahmaṇy asyāṁ purodhāyām asmin karmaṇy* . . . MS.
*ātmann* (IśāU. °*ny*) *evānupaśyati* VS. IśāU.
*śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasīnā* (MS. *ahann ojasīne;* KS.† *śukro ahany ojasye;* AŚ. *'hany ojasīnām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.
[*divye dhāmann* (once °*ny* acc. to Conc.) *upahūtaḥ* (once °*tā*) TB. (both). But Poona ed. *dhāmann* both times.]
[*tṛtīye dhāmany abhy* (VS. *dhāmann adhy*) *airayanta* VS. TS. MahānU. So Conc., but TA. MahānU. both have *dhāmāny*, acc. plur.]
One isolated case concerning verb forms:
*ajany agnir hotā* (ApŚ. *ajann agniḥ*) . . . KS. ApŚ. See VV I p. 51.

## II. Final *n* before initial consonants

**§929.** Before voiceless mutes, as is well known, the usage varies. The insertion of a sibilant, before which *n* becomes *anusvāra*, is commoner in later texts than in RV.

### 1. Final *n* before *c*

**§930.** RPr. 228 (4. 4) requires *ñ*; but numerous exceptions are mentioned; cf. 293f. (4. 32). VPr. 3. 133 and APr. 2. 26 require *ṅś*, and so does TPr. 5. 20f., with a few exceptions. Whitney's note on APr. l. c. says that this rule is universally followed in the mss. and text of AV., a statement which is true only if the twentieth book of AV. be excluded from consideration (the Pr. in fact does not deal with Book 20). In AV. 20, and occasionally elsewhere, we find *n* represented by *anusvāra* without an inserted sibilant. The variants are:

*acikitvāñ* (AV. °*vāṅś*) *cikituṣaś cid atra* RV. AV.
*anaḍvāṅś* (TS. °*vāñ*) *ca me* VS. TS. KS.: *dhenuś cānaḍvāṅś ca* MS. MŚ.
*asmāṅś* (RV. KS. *asmāñ*) *cakre mānyasya medhā* RV. MS. KS. Most mss. of MS. *asmān* (with dental *n*); v. l. of KS. *asmāṅś*.
*ghoṣeṇāmīvāṅś cātayata* (PB. °*mīvāṅ cātayadhvam*) TB. PB. ApŚ.
*tām airayaṅś candramasi svadhābhiḥ* MS. KS.: *yām airayaṅś* (TS.° *yañ*) etc. VS. TS. ŚB.
*mahaḥ pituṁ papivāñ* (AV. 20, °*vāṅ*) *cārv annā* RV. AV.
*vajriñ* (AV. 20, SV. *vajriṅ*) *citrābhir ūtibhiḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS.
*asmāñ* (SV. *asmāṅ*) *citrābhir avatād abhiṣṭibhiḥ* RV. SV.

### 2. Final *n* before *t*

**§931.** The usage fluctuates here also. RPr. 295 (4. 33) implies that it is exceptional to insert the sibilant, by quoting a few cases in which this is done. So also TPr. 6. 14. In the few variants found, the RV. and TS. schools, and KS., generally keep the nasal unchanged. On the other hand APr. 2. 26 and VPr. 3. 134 require *ṅs*, tho both allow exceptions. The variants from these schools are not inconsistent herewith; and Maitr. texts seem also to favor *ṅs*. But the number of variants is too small to be conclusive. Besides the writings *n* and *ṅs*, a couple of cases of *ṅ* alone without the sibilant occur, as before *c*, above, and before *j*, below; probably this is to be regarded as a bad writing for *n*.

**§932.** The following variants occur;
*agnir āyuṣmān sa vanaspatibhir āyuṣmān* (PG. KS. °*māṅs*) *tena* (KS. *tasyā*) . . . TS. KS. PG. ApMB. (in the last with punctuation after *āyuṣmān*).
*aśmaṅs* (KS. *aśman*) *te kṣut* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.
*ihaiva san tatra sato vo agnayaḥ* TB.: *ihaiva san* (MŚ. *saṅs*) *tatra santaṁ tvāgne* TB. AŚ. MŚ.
*tasmin* (Vait. MŚ. °*miṅs*) *tad eno* . . . RV. TAA. Vait. MŚ.
*tisro bhūmīr dhārayan* (MS. °*yaṅs*) *trīṅr* (MS. text †*trīnr*) *uta dyūn* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.
*paśūṅs* (RV. *paśūn*) *tāṅś cakre vāyavyān* RV. AV. VS. TA.
*pūṣan* (ŚB. TB. *pūṣaṅs*) *tava vrate vayam* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
*śarman* (MS. *śarmaṅs*) *te syāma* . . . MS. KS. TA.: *tava syāma śarmaṅs trivarūtha* . . . VS.: *tava syāṁ śarman trivarūtha* . . . TS.
*dhāman* (AG. *dhāmaṅ*) *te viśvam* . . . RV. VS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG.
*brahmaṅs* (MS. KS. *brahmā3ṅs*) *tvaṁ* (MŚ. *tvaṁ me*) *brahmāsi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *brahmā3n* (TB. °*mā3ṅ*) *tvaṁ rājan brahmāsi* TS. TB. ApŚ. (in the last with punctuation after *brahmā3n*).

[*brahman tvam asi* . . .MahānU.; acc. to Conc. *brahmaṅ* etc. in TA.; but the Poona ed. of TA. reads *brahman*.]

### 3. Final *n* before *j*

**§933.** The usual statements (e.g. Wackernagel I §280a) make no mention of any other possibility than assimilation of *n* to *ñ*. This is prescribed by the Prātiśākhyas: RPr. 228 (4. 4), APr. 2. 11, TPr. 5. 24, VPr. 4. 92. For *ñ* the spelling *ṅ* occurs very commonly in mss. of many, perhaps most, texts. Thus in the AV. mss., according to Whitney (note to APr. l. c.), it is the commonest writing in this case, and has been generalized in the Berlin ed.; Whitney, however, feels it as merely another way of writing *ñ* before *j*, and as such it is doubtless always to be taken. A modern editor would no doubt prefer to write *ñ*. We find, in fact, *ṅ* in all the AV. variants; and also in SV. in the two variants recorded there. (But in ArS. once *ñ*.) Compare the like writing before *c* and *t*, above.

**§934.** The variants from VS. and ŚB., following Weber's editions, print dental *n* before *j*, not *ñ*. Why Weber adopted this practice does not appear; his note on VPr. l. c. (*ISt.* 4. 237) seems to indicate that at least the excellent Chambers mss. follow the Prātiśākhya. Perhaps some of his other mss. keep dental *n*; if he gives information on the subject we have not noted the fact. Altho we can hardly attribute any importance to the recorded readings of VS. and ŚB. on this point, we report them in accordance with Weber. Note that the comm. on VPr. 4. 92 quotes as an example of the rule *ayaṁ vājāñ jayatu*, VS. 5. 37, which Weber prints *vājān*.

**§935.** According to Von Schroeder's edition, MS. also reads *n*, not *ñ*, before *j* in all the variant passages noted. The sole variant noted from another Maitr. school text is MŚ. 1. 6. 3. 15b, where Knauer's edition reads *gṛhāñ jugupataṁ yuvam* with a majority of his mss., but against that which he regards as the best; its reading is *gṛhān*, which is the reading found in the corresponding MS. passage according to Von Schroeder.—KS. usually reads *ñ*, but once *n* (*yat te asmin* etc., below). Most other texts read *ñ*, except in so far as they show *ṅ* (cf. above).

**§936.** The following are the variants:

*adyā devāñ* (VS. *devān*) *juṣṭatamo hi gamyāḥ* RV. VS. TS. KSA.

*ahīñś ca sarvān* (TS. KS. *sarvāñ*) *jambhayan* (KS. °*ya*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

*āyuṣmāṅ* (PG. ApMB. °*māñ*; RVKh. VS. °*mān*) *jaradaṣṭir* . . . RVKh. AV. VS. AG. PG. ApMB. Scheftelowitz reads *āyuṣmāṅ* for RVKh. The mss. of PG. have corruptly *āyuṣyam*.

*kam agañ* (AV. *agaṅ*) *janayopanaḥ* RV. AV. N.

*garbhaḥ saṁjāyase punaḥ* MS.: *garbhe sañ* (VS. ŚB. *san*, KS. *saṁ-*) *j° p°* RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

*tam arciṣā sphūrjayañ* (AV. *°yaṅ*) *jātavedaḥ* RV. AV.

*tvam etāñ* (AV. *etāṅ*) *janarājño dvir daśa* RV. AV

*te asmin* (TS. KS. *asmiñ*) *javam ādadhuḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*devān* (RV. TB. *devāñ*) *jigāti sumnayuḥ* RV. MS. ŚB. TB.

*paśyañ* (AV. *°yaṅ*) *janmāni sūrya* RV. AV. ArS. N.

*pitṝñ* (KŚ. *pitṝn*) *jinva* TS. KS. PB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ.: *ojasā pitṛbhyaḥ pitṝn jinva* MS.

*prajāḥ kṛṇvan janayan virūpāḥ* MS.: *prajā vikṛṇvañ* (ApŚ. *vikurvañ*) *janayan virūpam* (ApŚ. *°pāḥ*) KS. ApŚ.

*praty ajātān* (AV. *°tāṅ*, TS. KS. TA. *°tāñ*) *jātavedo nudasva* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA.

*māre asman maghavañ* (SV. *°vaṅ*) *jyok kaḥ* RV. SV.

*yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomi* KS.: *yad adya te ghora āsan juhomi* MS.: *yasyās te ghora āsan ju°* VS. ŚB.: *yasyās te asyāḥ krūra āsañ ju°* TS. ApŚ. Exception in KS.

*yāṅs* (TA. Poona ed. †*yās*) *te soma prāṇāṅs tāṅ* (Poona ed. *tān*; MahānU. *tāñ*) *juhomi* TA. MahānU.

*vibhrājañ* (AV. SV. *°jaṅ*) *jyotiṣā svaḥ* RV. AV. SV.

*vṛtrāṇi vṛtrahañ* (AV. *°haṅ*) *jahi* RV. AV.

*satyānṛte avapaśyañ* (AV. *°yaṅ*; MS. *°yan*) *janānām* RV. AV. TS. MS. ApMB. This is quoted by APr. 2. 11 as an example of *ñ* before *j*!

*saptarṣīñ* (KŚ. *saptarṣīn*) *jinva* KŚ. ApŚ.

[*gṛhān* (MŚ. *gṛhāñ*, read *gṛhān*, see above, §935) *jugupataṁ yuvam* MS. MŚ.]

### 4. Final *n* before *ś*

**§937.** Before *ś*, the regular sandhi of *n* requires *ñ*, which however is often written *ṅ*, and seems regularly to be printed so in the editions of SV. and AV. The *ś* changes to *ch* (representing *t-ś*). But in the single variant noted from the YV. Saṁhitās, TS. alone has this regular *ñ-ch*; MS. and VS. keep *ś* unchanged, MS. writing *ñ* before it and VS. *ṅ*; the sole ms. of KSA. reads like VS., but von Schroeder emended to *ñ-ch* in his edition. This exceptional treatment is due to the fact that a mute follows *ś*, in which case *ś* is retained by VPr. 4. 94. We begin with this variant:

*ādityāñ chmaśrubhiḥ* (VS. and ms. of KSA. *°tyāṅ śma°*, MS. *°tyāñ śma°*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*asmiñ* (AV. *asmiṅ*) *chūra savane mādayasva* RV. AV.

*tāṁ naḥ pūṣañ chivatamām erayasva* HG.: *tāṁ pūṣañ* (AV. *pūṣaṅ*) *chi*° . . . RV. AV. ApMB.

*divi ṣañ* (AV. *ṣaṅ*, SV. *san*) *chukra ātataḥ* RV. AV. SV.

*maghavañ* (AV. SV. PB. TB. Conc. °*vaṅ*, TB. Poona ed. °*vañ*) *chagdhi* . . . . RV. AV. SV. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. MahānU.

*yācchreṣṭhābhir maghavañ chūra jinva* RV.: *yāvacchreṣṭhābhir maghavaṅ chūra* . . . AV.

*yat te rājañ* (AG. *rājaṅ*) *chṛtaṁ haviḥ* RV. AG. ŚG.

*sūro na rurukvāñ* (SV. °*vāṅ*) *chatātmā* RV. SV.

*parārciṣā mūradevāñ* (AV. °*vāṅ*) *chṛṇīhi* RV. AV.

*pratyañcam arkam anayañ* (AV.° *yaṅ*) *chacībhiḥ* RV. AV.

*śataṁ hemantāñ* (AV. °*tāṅ*) *chatam u vasantān* RV. AV. N.

### 5. Final *n* before *s*

**§938.** Before *s*, the insertion of *t* after final *n* is required by APr. 2. 9 and TPr. 5. 33, and authorized by 'some' according to RPr. 236 (4. 6); cf. the divergent views recorded in VPr. 4. 14f. It is quite common in all texts; likewise the analogous insertion of *k* after final *n̄* before *s*. Cf. Wackernagel I §282. The Concordance ignores altogether the writing of *t* in such cases. It has not seemed profitable to try to collect and sift its occurrences. We therefore record here only a few stray cases in which final *n* before *s* varies with *anusvāra*; most of them concern *san: saṁ*, in the latter case the preposition *saṁ* being felt as involved.

*brahman* (LŚ.* *brahmaṅ*) *stoṣyāmaḥ praśāstaḥ* KB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ.

*sasavān san* (MS. *saṁ*) *stūyase* . . . RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The p.p. of MS. *san*; all saṁh. mss. *saṁ*. The other texts all actually read *sant*, except KS. *san*.

*pumāṁsaṁ vardhatāṁ mayi* ŚG. (Conc. says that this is an error for *pumāṅ saṁvar*°, but the text is correct; see §97): *pumān saṁvartatāṁ mayi* PG.

*jihvā pavitram aśvināsan* (TB. °*nā saṁ*) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. KS. TB.

**§939.** To these may be added a couple of cases—probably not a complete list—in which *k* is alternatively added after final *n̄* before *s:*

*pratyañ* (VS. TS. MS.† ŚB.* TB. *pratyañk*) *somo atidrutaḥ* (with var.) AV. VS. VSK. MS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Poona ed. of TB. *pratyañ*.

*prāñ* (VS. TB. *prāṅk*) *somo atidrutaḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Again Poona ed. of TB. *prāñ*.

### 6. Final *n* before *p*

**§940.** The only cases noted concern *nṝṇṣ* or *nṝṇḥ* for *nṝn*; since this variation really concerns final *s* before *k* and *p*, we quote the variants below under that heading, §965.

### 7. Final *n* before *k*

**§941.** Only a single case has been noted; AV. writes *jayaṁ* (*jayaṅ*) for *jayan* according to the edition, but Whitney and the Conc. would read *jayan*. In any case it is purely a matter of orthography:
*saṁjayan* (AV. ed. *jayaṁ*) *kṣetrāṇi* . . . AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ.

### 8. Final *n* before *y*

**§942.** See RPr. 287 (4. 28), VPr. 3. 135, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77. 2d.
*dadhanvāṅ* (MS. KS. °*vān*; VS. ŚB. TB. °*vā*) *yo naryo apsv antar ā* RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

### 9. Final *n* before *l*

**§943.** Two variants:
*agniṣ ṭāṅ* (VS. *ṭān*, AŚ. *ṭāl*) *lokāt pra ṇudāty* (etc.) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB.: *agniṣ ṭān asmāt* . . . AV. MŚ. Inconsistent with RPr. 227 (4. 4) and Wackernagel I §281b; the VS. reading also inconsistent with VPr. 4. 13, which requires nasalized *l*. Cf. further APr. 2. 35, TPr. 5. 26. A nasalized *l* is required by all authorities and was probably pronounced in all texts.
*eṣa me 'muṣmiṅ* (GB. *'muṣmiṅl*, Gaastra) *loke prakāśo 'sat* PB. GB.† 2. 5. 8.
[*viṣṇus tryaksareṇa trīṅl lokān* (VSK. *trīn imāṅl lokān;* TS.† *trīṅ lokān*) . . . . VS. VSK. TS.]

### 10. Final *n* before *v*

**§944.** One variant:
*puru tvā dāśvān* (SV. *dāśivāṅ*) *voce* RV. SV. N. Cf. RPr. 287 (4. 28), APr. 2. 28, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77. 2d.

## CHANGE OF DENTAL *n* TO LINGUAL *ṇ*

**§945.** The variants of course mainly concern the change of *n* to *ṇ* under the influence of a lingual sound in a preceding word (in the same word the lingualization occurs almost invariably). In general, the

greater degree of psychological propinquity between the alterant sound and the *n*, the greater is the likelihood of lingualization. That is, both verbal and nominal compounds show a tendency to be treated as single words for the purposes of this change; and enclitics, and other monosyllabic particles, tend to be regarded as parts of the preceding word. (For a few cases of variation between *n* and 'spontaneous' *ṇ*, not conditioned in the normal way, see §§163, 165, 170.)

**§946.** The school tendencies which appear are capricious and unstable; one sometimes has a feeling as if Taittirīya texts, in particular, took a perverse delight in violating their own general principles.

**§947.** (1) The *n* is the initial of monosyllabic words, especially enclitics; or in forms of the enclitic pronoun *ena-*. Here we find that Sāmavedic and Maitrāyaṇīya texts rarely alter to *ṇ*, while Taittirīya texts generally alter to *ṇ*; but there are exceptions in both cases. Other schools seem to show no definite tendencies among the variants.

**§948.** We have separated the cases in which the alterant sound is a final *r* of the preceding word from those in which it occurs earlier in that word. But so far as the variants indicate, we find no reason to suppose that lingualization was any more apt to occur in the former case than in the latter. This is, indeed, what we should expect on the analogy of the classical rule, by which lingualization is not in the least dependent on close proximity of the alterant to the altered sound. Note that after a final *r*, Taittirīya texts keep dental *n* in a case or two where all other texts (in one instance even SV. and MS., which generally avoid lingualization) show lingual *ṇ*; and yet, as we have said, Tait. texts generally favor lingualization.

**§949.** In the following cases the alterant sound is final *r:*

*svar ṇa* (TS. ApŚ. *suwar na*) *gharmaḥ* (ApŚ.* *gharma*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The same with *jyotiḥ, śukraḥ, sūryaḥ, arkaḥ*; all in the same passage, but not all in the same texts (see Conc.). Only TS. has *n* in the rest (they are not in ApŚ.)

*svar ṇa* (TS. *suwar na*) *jyotiḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*asya sutasya svar na* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *ṇa*) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*āśīr ṇa* (MS. MŚ. *nā*) *ūrjam* . . . AV. MS. Vait. MŚ.

*anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu* (MS. *ṇu*) RV. VS. MS. KS. The mss. of MS. read corruptly *nakṛṇu*; p.p. *nakiḥ, tu.*

*vṛtratūr no* (TB. *ṇo*) . . . MS. TB. (two variants in the same passage).

**§950.** In the rest the alterant sound is not final in the preceding word:

*pra ṇo naya vasyo acha* RV.: *pra no naya prataraṁ vasyo acha* RV.

*pra ṇa* (SV. MS. PB. *na*) *āyūṁṣi* . . . RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. VSK. MS. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. N.

*pra ṇa* (SV. *na*) *indo* . . . RV. SV.

*pra ṇaḥ* (SV. *naḥ*) *pinva* . . . RV. SV.

*pra nu* (TA. ApMB. HG. *ṇu*, Kauś. *ṇo*, read *ṇu*) *vocaṁ cikituṣe janāya* RV. TA. SMB. ApMB. Kauś. PG. HG. MG. Jörgensen reads *ṇu* for SMB., but with v. l. *nu*, which should undoubtedly be read in accord with the usage of SV. texts.

*pra no* (also, *ṇo*) *jāyantāṁ mithunāni rūpaśaḥ* Kauś. (both)

*pra no* (TS.† JUB. *ṇo*) *jīvātave suva* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. JUB. Conc. wrongly *no* for TS. 5. 5. 7. 5. Note JUB. *ṇo*, contrary to SV. usage.

*pra no* (TB. *ṇo*) *navyebhis* . . . RV. MS. KS. TB

*pra no* (AV. TS. *ṇo*) *yachatv aryamā* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*pra no* (AV. TS. *ṇo*) *yacha* (KS. *rāsva*) *viśaspate* (AV. *viśāṁ°*, TS. *bhuvas°*, VS. ŚB. *sahasrajit*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*parainān* (AV. *°ṇān*) *devaḥ savitā dadātu* RV. AV.

*pari ṇaḥ* (SV. *naḥ*) *śarmayantyā* RV. SV.

*pari ṇo* (SV. *no*) *aśvam aśvavit* RV. SV.

*pari ṇo* (VS. MS. *no*) *rudrasya* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.: *pari ṇo hetī rudrasya* . . . RV. VSK.: *pari no heḍo* . . . RV.

*ataś cid indra ṇa* (SV. *na*) *upa* RV. SV. ŚŚ.

*indra eṇaṁ* (KS. *enaṁ*) *prathamo adhyatiṣṭhat* RV. VS. TS. KS.

*indra eṇaṁ* (AV. *enaṁ*) *parāśarīt* AV. TB. ApŚ.

*sam indra ṇo* (AV. MS. KS. Kauś. *no*) *manasā* . . . RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. Kauś.

*sumitrā* (etc.) *na* (KS. *ṇa*) *āpa* . . .VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

*uruṣyā ṇo* (MS. *no*) *aghāyataḥ samasmāt* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. N.

*tebhiḥ* (RV. also *tena*) *somābhi* (TA. *°bhī*) *rakṣa naḥ* (TA. *ṇaḥ*) RV. (*bis*) TA.

*śikṣā ṇo* (TS. *no*!) . . . RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. AB. Note that TS. perversely avoids lingualization, despite its general tendency.

*devīḥ* (AV. *dai°*, KS. *trayīṣ*) *ṣaḍ urvīr uru ṇaḥ* (only RV. *naḥ*; AV. ed. *naḥ*, but read *ṇaḥ*, see Whitney's note; KS.† *ṇas*) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. KS. ApMB.

*asthūri ṇau gārhapatyaṁ* . . .MS. KS.: *tayor* (ApŚ. *tayor nāv*) *asthūri* (MŚ. *°ri ṇau*) *gārh°* . . . ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *asthūri ṇau gārhapatyāni* . . . Kauś.: *asthūri ṇau* (VSK. *ṇo*; ŚŚ. *no*) *gārhapatyāni* . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *asthūri no* (TS. TB. *ṇo*, KS. *ṇau*, MŚ. [van Gelder] †*nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* RV. TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. In the first-quoted version, the two best mss. of MS. read *nau*, in accord with MS. usage; but the MŚ. form of it (*tayor* etc.) has *ṇau* according to all Knauer's mss.

**§951.** (2) The *n* occurs in a longer word, or in the second part of a compound, the alterant being in the preceding word or the prior member of the compound. Note that in compounds initial *n* is nearly always, and medial *n* often, lingualized in the RV. just as in simple words: Wackernagel I §170.

**§952.** We begin with cases in which the *n* is initial. Here lingualization is standard and regular in verb forms from roots in *n-* compounded with *pra* (and certain other prepositions; Wackernagel I §169). When SV. shows three times forms of *pra-nu* with dental *n*, it is therefore exceptional. But otherwise, with independent words, lingualization is only sporadic. Among the variants, TS. twice lingualizes the *n* of *nāman*; and the *n* of *nāsatya* is twice lingualized, once in VS. and once in MS. (! despite the tendency of MS. to avoid lingualization):

*abhi pra ṇonumo* (SV. *no*°) . . . RV. SV. SV.

*abhi pra ṇonuvur* (SV. *nonavur*) . . .RV. SV.

*tvām abhi pra ṇonumaḥ* (SV. *no*°) RV. SV. KB.

*pra nāmāni* (TS. *ṇā*°) . . . RV. TS. MS. KS.

*athainaṁ jarimā ṇayet* HG.: *yathainaṁ jarase nayāt* AV.

*tasmād vār nāma* (TS. *ṇāma*) . . . AV. TS. MS. KS.

*gomad ū ṣu nāsatyā* (VS. *ṇā*°) RV. VS. AŚ.

*nāsatyā* (MS. *ṇā*°) *bhiṣajāśvinā* VS. MS. TB. Preceded in all by *bhiṣañ*, which may be meant for part of this pāda.

*punar āgāḥ punarnava* (AV. °*ṇava*, and °*ṇavaḥ*) RV. AV. (bis)

*uṣṭro ghṛṇīvān vārdhrīnasas* (MS. *ghṛṇāvān vārdhrānasas*) . . . VS. MS.: *gṛdhraḥ śitikakṣī vārdhrāṇasas* (KS. ms. *vārhīṇasas*, ed. em. *vārdhrī*°) . . . TS. KSA.

*sahasraṇīthaḥ* (SV.° *nīthaḥ*) *padavīḥ kavīnām* RV. SV.

**§953.** Of the rest, in which *ṇ* is not initial, there are only a few sporadic cases:

*sādhyebhyaś carmamṇam* (VS. °*mnam*) VS. VSK. TB. The form °*mna* occurs in RV.

*agne deva paṇibhir vīyamāṇaḥ* (MS. MŚ. °*naḥ*; VS. ŚB. *guhyamānaḥ*: KS. *idhyamānaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. TB.

*abhūr āpīnām* (HG. °*ṇām*, v. l. °*nām*) . . . ApMB. HG.

*dyutadyubhir namasyair iyāṇā* MS.: *mitajñubhir namasyair iyānā* RV.

*devaśrīḥ śrīmanāḥ* (VSK. TS. °*ṇāḥ*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*agneḥ purīṣavāhanaḥ* (MS. *purīṣya*°; VS.† ŚB.† °*vāhaṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

**§954.** (3) The alterant is in the same part of the same word as the *n*, so that lingualization would be expected. The variation is due:

(a) to secondary origin of the alterant sound, due to sandhi; in some texts the analogy of the uncompounded word keeps the *n* dental: *suṣumṇaḥ* (TS. N. °*naḥ*) *sūryaraśmiḥ* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In TS. N. there is thought of the simple *sumnaḥ*.

(b) to the use of the word as first member of a compound; in one text the *n*, in the seam of the compound, is felt as final and hence not lingualized, while in the other it is treated as internal and lingualized: *amṛṇmayaṁ* (ApŚ. *amṛn*°) . . . TB. ApŚ.

### FINAL *s* AFTER NON-*a* VOWELS, BEFORE INITIAL *t*

**§955.** On this point the various schools show markedly different tendencies. As to the Prātiśākhya rules: RPr. 349 requires *ṣ* regularly before *tvā* and *te* (but cf. 356), and 350–354 allows it also before other words, mostly pronouns. APr. 2. 84, 85 also makes *ṣ* the rule especially before pronouns, but allows various exceptions; according to Whitney, *ṣ* is commoner in AV. VPr. 3. 75, 76 (cf. 79ff.) likewise makes *ṣ* the rule particularly before monosyllables (mostly pronouns). TPr. 6. 5 allows the change to *ṣ* in only a few specified cases.

**§956.** Wackernagel I §286b says that the change to *ṣ* occurs, outside of compounds, mainly before pronouns, and 'die andern Saṁh. kennen solches *ṣ* im Satz ausser in den mit dem RV. gemeinsamen Stellen nur vor Pronominalformen.' This statement is copied by Macdonell 78, 2, b. It is, however, not quite correct, as is shown by the following two variants, in which SV. shows *ṣ* for RV. *s*, not before pronouns. These are, incidentally, the only variants where this sandhi occurs before other than pronouns:

*dhanuṣ ṭanvanti* (RV. *dhanus ta*°) *pauṁsyam* RV. SV.

*uṣā apa svasus tamaḥ* (SV. †*svasuṣ ṭamaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. AŚ.

**§957.** All the other variants concern cases with following pronouns. (Cf. *agneṣ ṭvā tejasā sūryasya* . . . MG., to which the parallels in other texts show *s*, because no pronoun follows: *agnes tejasā sūryasya* . . . MS. KS. AB. TB. TA.) They show that the schools of RV., AV., VS., and TS. follow fairly well the rules of the Prātiśākhyas to their respective Saṁhitās. To be sure, only one case happens to concern RV., and that is exceptional in showing *s*; but the RV. school texts show 12 cases of *ṣ* to 1 of *s*. AV. shows 4 of *ṣ* to 1 of *s*, and its school texts 3 to 0. VS. has 17 to 2, and other Vāj. texts (incl. VSK.) 22 to 1. TS., on the other hand, is unanimous for *s* (24 cases), and so are its school texts (28 cases). This is the only school which, on the evidence of the variants, overwhelmingly prefers *s*; but KS. also has 14 of *s* to 8 of *ṣ*. SV. itself has

only one instance (of *ṣ*), and its school texts have 2 of each. MS. is as unanimous for *ṣ* as TS. is for *s* (20 cases, and 16 from MŚ. and MG.). Summarizing: the schools of RV., AV., VS., and MS. regularly write *ṣ*; that of TS. always, and KS. usually, *s*; the variants from SV. are indecisive.

**§958.** There follows the list of variants, all before pronouns:

*aṅśur-aṅśuṣ ṭe* (TS. KS. ApŚ. °*śus te*) *deva somā pyāyatām* VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*agnis te 'graṁ* (MŚ. *agniṣ ṭe agraṁ*) . . . TS. MŚ.

*agniṣ ṭe tanvaṁ* . . . MŚ.: *agnis te tanuvaṁ* (KS. *tanvaṁ*) . . . TS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *agniṣ ṭe tvacaṁ* . . . VS. ŚB. KŚ.

*agniṣ ṭe tejo* . . . AŚ. MŚ.: *agnis te tejo* . . . TS. TB. JB. ApŚ.

*agniṣ ṭe* (TS. *agnis te*) *'dhipatiḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*agniṣ ṭvābhi* (TS. *agnis tvā*°) *pātu* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*agniṣ ṭvā* (TS. KS. *agnis tvā*) *śrīṇātu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*agnis tvā* (MS. *agniṣ ṭvā*) *hvayati* . . . TS. MS. KS. TB.

*agniṣ †ṭaṅ agre* . . . MS.: *agniṣ ṭāṅ* (AV. *ṭān*, TS. TA. [but not KS.†] *agnis tāṅ*) *agre* . . . AV. TS. KS. TA.

*agneṣ ṭvā* (KS. ApŚ. *agnes tvā*) *tejasā sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

*agneṣ ṭvā* (TS. KS. *agnes tvā*) *mātrayā* . . . TS. MS. KS. MŚ.

*agneṣ ṭvāsyena* (TS. ApŚ. *agnes tvā*°) . . . VS. VSK. TS. GB. ŚB. KB. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.

*aditiṣ ṭe* (TS. KS. TA. ApŚ. °*tis te*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

*aditiṣ ṭvā* (TS. KS. ApŚ. [but not MŚ.†] °*tis tvā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. KŚ.

*avatatya dhanuṣ ṭvam* (TS. KS. NīlarU. °*nus tvam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. NīlarU.

*gopāya mā* (VāDh. *māṁ*) *śevadhis te* (N. °*dhiṣ ṭe*) VāDh. ViDh. N.

*tābhiṣ ṭvam* (KS. TA. *tābhis tvam*) *ubhayībhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ* MS. KS. TA.

*tebhiṣ ṭvaṁ putraṁ janaya* ŚG.: *tais tvaṁ putraṁ* (*putrān*) *vindasva* AV. ApMB.

*dyauṣ ṭvā* (ŚŚ. *dyaus te*) *pitā pṛthivī mātā* AV. ŚŚ.

*prajāpatiṣ ṭvā sādayatu* . . . VS. ŚB. MS. MŚ.: *prajāpatis tvā sā*° . . . TS. TB. TA. ApŚ. KS.

*prajāpates tvā* (MŚ. °*teṣ ṭvā*) *prāṇena* . . . TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*prabhos te* (SV. °*bhoṣ ṭe*) †*sataḥ* . . . RV. SV.

*bahis te* (AV. KS. *bahiṣ ṭe*) *astu* . . . AV. TS. KS. ApŚ.

*bṛhaspateṣ ṭvā* (TS. TB. °*tes tvā*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB.

*bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvā* (TS. KS. ApŚ. °*tis tvā*) *sumne* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.
*bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvā* (SMB. HG. °*tis tvā*) *niyunaktu* . . . AG. ŚG. SMB. HG. MG.
*bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvā* (TA. °*tis tvā*) *viśvair* . . . MS. TA.
*bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvā* (TS. ApŚ. °*tis tvā*) *sādayatu* . . . TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.
*bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvopasīdatu* (TA. ApŚ. °*tis tvo*°) MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.
*manoṣ ṭvā* . . . MS. KŚ. MŚ.: *manos tvā* . . . KS. TB. ApŚ.
*varūtrīṣ ṭvā* . . . .VS. ŚB.: *varutrīs tvā* . . . KS.
*vāyuṣ ṭṭān* (MŚ. *ṭaṅ*, KS. *ṭāṅ*, TS. TA. *vāyus tāṅ*) *agre* . . . AV. TS. KS. TA. MŚ.
*vāyuṣ ṭe* (TS. *vāyus te*) *'dhipatiḥ* VS. TS. MS.
*vāyuṣ ṭe* (TS. *vāyus te*) *vājin yuṅ* TS. KSA.
*vāyuṣ ṭvābhipātu* (TS. *vāyus tvā*°) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
*śivebhir arcibhiṣ ṭvam* (TS. °*bhis tvam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
*savitus tvā* (AG. ŚG. °*tuṣ ṭvā*) *prasava* . . . VS. ŚB. KŚ. AG. ŚG.
*svadhitis te* (ŚG. °*tiṣ ṭe*) *pitā* VS. ŚG. ApMB.

### FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL *k* AND *p*

**§959.** Here the rules of the Prātiśākhyas (RPr. 260 [4. 14] ff.; APr. 2. 62ff.; TPr. 8. 23–35; VPr. 3. 10f., 20ff., especially 29, 36) give a mass of detailed prescriptions, which may be summarized thus: in compounds *s* (or *ṣ* after non-*a* vowels) prevails, otherwise *ḥ* (or *upadhmānīya* and *jihvāmūlīya*). But there are numerous exceptions to both parts of the rule.

**§960.** European grammarians have added practically nothing (cf. Macdonell 78. 2, c). Wackernagel I §286c, *β*, note, thinks he detects a tendency for the ending of the first part of an āmreḍita compound to be made like that of the second part, so as to make the two exactly alike in form, where that is possible.

**§961.** Among the variant formulas we find only one which concerns an āmreḍita, and very few others concerning compounds. They show no clear tendency to be treated differently from uncompounded words; but in view of the traditional distinction just mentioned, we shall list them separately. The sole āmreḍita noted is the following:

*paruṣaḥ-paruṣas* (KS. *paruṣas-paruṣas*, TS. TA. MahānU. *paruṣaḥ-paruṣaḥ*) *pari* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. MahānU. Note that in the VS. and MS. schools the final sound is dissimilar in the two parts of the compound, altho a *p* follows in both cases; and that the distinction made by these schools is exactly the reverse of that laid

down in the Prātiśākhyas, namely: we find *ḥ* in the prior member, *s* in the last member. VPr. 3. 36 mentions this as an exception; likewise TPr. 8. 33, which states that *ḥ* remains in compounds when the following vocable contains *ṣ* or *dh*, covers the case; this might be regarded as a kind of dissimilation, but is probably merely an artificial rule made up to cover actual occurrences.

**§962.** The other compounds noted are the following (in the first the *s* is preceded by *a*, in the others by *i* or *u*):

*sādyaskrīś* . . . ApMB.: *sadyaḥkrīś* . . . ŚG.

*śociṣkeśaṁ* (MS.* *śociḥ°*) *purupriya* RV. VS. TS. MS. (both) KS.

*upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkaraṇe* (MS. *haviḥ°*, but p.p. *haviṣ°*) MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *bhūyasi haviṣkaraṇa upahūtaḥ* (TB.* *°tā*) TS. TB. ŚB.

*āyukṛd āyuḥpatnī* . . . ApŚ.: *āyuṣkṛd āyuṣpatnī* . . . AV.

**§963.** In uncompounded words, contrary to the statements of the Prātiśākhyas, the variants indicate if anything that *s* or *ṣ* is commoner in most texts than *ḥ*. Perhaps, however, the numbers are not sufficiently large to justify such an inference. The Taittirīya school, to be sure, seems definitely to prefer *ḥ*, especially after *a*-vowels; but most other schools show a majority for *s* or *ṣ* in both groups (curiously, and perhaps by mere accident, the Maitrāyaṇīya school shows a majority for *s* after *a*-vowels, but for *ḥ* after others). We give the lists for what they are worth, separating the two classes. The statistics for all occurrences among the variants—including the few cases of compound words mentioned above—are as follows:

| | After *a*-vowels | | After non-*a*-vowels | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *ḥ* | *s* | *ḥ* | *ṣ* | *s* (dental) |
| RV. | 7 | 9 | 3 | 12 | |
| RV. school | 5 | 12 | 1 | 2 | |
| SV. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | |
| SV. school | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | |
| AV. | 4 | 7 | 1 | 8 | |
| AV. school | 0 | 4 | 0 | 1 | |
| VS. | 3 | 15 | 5 | 7 | |
| VS. school | 3 | 16 | 4 | 8 | |
| TS. | 21 | 2 | 2 | 4 | |
| TS. school | 24 | 7 | 16 | 6 | 2 |
| MS. | 6 | 15 | 10 | 5 | 1 |
| MS. school | 2 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 |
| KS. | 9 | 9 | 5 | 7 | 1 |
| Others | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | |

| | After *a*-vowels | | After non-*a*-vowels | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *ḥ* | *s* | *ḥ* | *ṣ* | *s* (dental) |
| Total RV. school | 12 | 21 | 4 | 14 | |
| Total SV. school | 6 | 7 | 4 | 5 | |
| Total AV. school | 4 | 11 | 1 | 9 | |
| Total VS. school | 6 | 31 | 9 | 15 | |
| Total TS. school | 45 | 9 | 18 | 10 | 2 |
| Total MS. school | 8 | 17 | 15 | 6 | 2 |
| Total all texts | 90 | 107 | 56 | 67 | 5 |
| Total all minus TS. school | 45 | 98 | 38 | 57 | 3 |

1. The *s* is preceded by an *a* vowel

**§964.** Here *s* remains in a majority of variants in all schools except that of the Taittirīyas; the latter is nearly unanimous for *ḥ*. Besides the two cases concerning compounds (§§961f.), the following occur:

*somaḥ* (SV. *somas*) *patī rayīṇām* RV. AV. SV.

*sa no divā sa riṣaḥ* (VS. MS. *riṣas*) *pātu naktam* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.

*śaṁ nas* (RV. *naḥ*) *karato aśvinā* RV. TB. ApŚ.

*manyāsai śaṁ ca nas* (TS. *naḥ*) *kṛdhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N.

*devīḥ* (*daivīḥ*) *ṣaḍ . . . uru naḥ* (*ṇaḥ*) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. ApMB.: *trayīṣ ṣaḍ . . . uru* †*ṇas kṛ*° KS.

*uru kṣayāya nas* (TS. *naḥ*) *kṛdhi* RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*varivas* (RV. °*vaḥ*) *kṛṇvan . . .* RV. SV.

*ayaṁ no agnir varivas* (TS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. °*vaḥ*) *kṛṇotu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*urvī rodasī varivas* (TS. KS. °*vaḥ*) *kṛ*° TS. MS. KS.

*divaḥ* (VS. *divas*) *parjanyād . . .* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*divaḥ pṛthivyāḥ pary antarikṣāt* TS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *divas* etc. RV. AV. MS.

*divaḥ pṛthivyāḥ pary oja udbhṛtam* VS. TS. KSA.: *divas* etc. RV. AV. Vait. Kauś.

*divaḥ pṛṣṭham svar* (*suvar*) . . . TS. MS. KS.: *divas* etc. AV. VS. ŚB.

*divas* (SV. *divaḥ*) *pṛṣṭham adhi . . .* RV. SV.

*divas* (SV. *divaḥ*) *pṛṣṭhāny . . .* AV. SV.

*divaḥ* (RV. *divas*) *pṛṣṭhaṁ* (PB. °*ṭhe*) . . . RV. PB. TA. ApŚ.

*abhi priyā divas padā* (SV. *divaḥ kaviḥ*) RV. SV.

*agne tvaṁ sūktavāg . . . divas* (TS. TB. *divaḥ*) *pṛthivyoḥ* TS. (fragment) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*parameṣṭhī tvā sādayatu divaḥ* (VS. ŚB. *divas*) *pṛṣṭhe* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*śṛṇīhi viśvataḥ prati* RV.: †*śṛṇāhi viśvatas pari* SV. Add to VV I §275.

*girir na viśvatas* (SV. °*taḥ*) *pṛthuḥ* . . . RV. AV. SV.

*yathā naḥ śreyasas* (TS. °*saḥ*) *karat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

*yathā no vasyasas* (TS. °*saḥ*, LŚ. *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

*viśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyaḥ* (VS.† ŚB. PG.† °*bhyas*; MS. *daṅṣṭrābhyas*) *pāhi* (TS. TB. *pāta*, PG. *paripāhi* . . .) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. PG.

*yeṣām apsu sadas* (TS. ApMB. *sadaḥ*) *kṛtam* VS. TS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB.† 2. 17. 6c.

*mitrās* (RV. *mitraḥ*) *pānty adruhaḥ* RV. SV.

*pṛthivyāḥ saṁpṛcas* (TS. TB. ApŚ. °*caḥ*; VS. ŚB. *saṁspṛśas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. AŚ.

*nānā hi vāṁ devahitaṁ sadas* (TB. ApŚ. *sadaḥ*) *kṛtam* VS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. AŚ.

*diva oṣadhayas* (TS. °*yaḥ*) *pari* RV. VS. TS. MS.

*ubhe ca no* (etc.) . . . *aṁhasaḥ* (MS. ŚB.† AŚ. °*sas*) *pātām* (TB. Conc. *syātām*, Poona ed. *aṁhasaḥ spātām*!; AŚ. text, †*aṁhasa syātām*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*indraḥ* (ŚŚ. *indras*) *patis* . . . AV. AA. ŚŚ.

*iḍāyās* (ApŚ. *iḍāyāḥ*) *padaṁ* . . . AV. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. Vait. Kauś.

*apaḥ* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *apas*) *pinva* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Note the perverseness of the Tait. texts in reading *s*, contrary to their usual rule, against all other texts!

*agne trātar ṛtas* (SV. *ṛtaḥ*) *kaviḥ* RV. SV.

*pūṣādhvanaḥ* (VS. KS. ŚB. °*nas*) *pātu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*prāṇasya tvā* . . . *tanuvaḥ* (MS. *tanvas*) *pāhi* MS. TA.

*praitu brahmaṇas* (MŚ. °*ṇaḥ*) *patnī* TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ṣaṇ morvīr aṁhasas* (ŚŚ. °*saḥ*) *pāntu* . . . ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

### 2. The *s* is preceded by a non-*a* vowel

**§965.** Here the variants are less numerous, and there seems to be a larger element of chance. In general, however, *ṣ* prevails. The dominance of *ḥ* in the Tait. school is less marked; TS. itself has only half a dozen variants, a majority of which happen to contain *ṣ*. More curious is the fact (which may be accidental, since the total number of cases is not very large) that the Maitr. school this time favors *ḥ*, tho after *a*-vowels it shows a majority for *s*. Nevertheless, in the three

variants where the preceding vowel is an *r*-vowel, MS. alone shows *ṣ*; other texts *ḥ*. These all concern the single form *nṝn*, acc. plur. of *nṛ*; the vowel *ṝ* alters the *s* across the intervening nasal which becomes *anunāsika* (cf. §940 above):

*hotā yakṣad uṣāsānaktā . . . nṝṇḥ* (MS. *nṝṇṣ*) *patibhyo* . . . MS. KS. TB.

*hotā yakṣan narāśaṅsaṁ nṛśastaṁ nṝṇṣpraṇetram* (TB. *nṝṇḥ*°) MS. TB.

*nṝṇḥ* (MS. *nṝṇṣ*) *pāhi* . . . RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

**§966.** Anomalously, dental *s* is preserved without change in two variants; both times before a form of root *kṛ* (does the form *skṛ* exercise an influence here?):

*supippalā oṣadhīs* (ApŚ. °*dhīḥ*) *kṛdhi* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*śam agnir agnibhis* (RV. °*bhiḥ*) *karat* RV. TB. ApŚ.

**§967.** Besides these and the cases concerning compounds (above, §962), we find the following variants:

*dyauḥ* (RV. *dyauṣ*) *pitaḥ pṛthivi mātar adhruk* RV. MS. TB.

*dyauḥ pitā* . . . TB. ApŚ.: *dyauṣ pitā* . . . AV.

*dyauḥ pṛṣṭhaṁ pṛthivī śarīram* ŚŚ. 10. 17. 4 (as two separate mantras): *dyauṣ pṛṣṭham antarikṣam* . . . ŚB. KŚ.

*upahūto dyauṣ* (TB. ApŚ. *dyauḥ*) *pitā* VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*upa māṁ dyauṣ* (TB. ApŚ. *dyauḥ*) *pitā hvayatām* VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*jyotiṣ* (MS. LŚ. *jyotiḥ*) *paśyanta* (MS.° *tā*) *uttaram* RV. MS. KS. ChU. LŚ.

*jyotiṣ* (SV. °*tiḥ*) *paśyanti vāsaram* RV. SV. KS.

*yas tāni veda sa pituṣ* (VS. and most mss. of AV. *pituḥ*) *pitāsat* AV. VS.: *yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ* (TA. *savituḥ*) *pitāsat* RV. AV. TA. N.: *yas tad veda savituḥ* (MahānU. *sa pituḥ*) *pitāsat* TA. MahānU.

*aham id dhi pituṣ* (MG. *pituḥ*) *pari* RV. AV. SV. Vait. MG.

*sa idhāno* (KS. ms. *edh*°, ed. emends) *vasuṣ* (MS. *vasuḥ*) *kaviḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*haviṣ* (HG. MG. *haviḥ*) *kṛṇvantaḥ parivatsarīṇam* (HG.† SMB.† °*ṇām*, MG. °*yam*) AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.

*yasya dvārā manuṣ* (SV. *manuḥ*) *pitā* RV. SV.

*mṛtyoḥ* (VSK. °*yoṣ*) *pāhi* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

*citraḥ śiśuḥ* (MS. *śiśuṣ*) *pari* . . . RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*āyoḥ patmane svāhā* KS.: *āyoṣ patvane svāhā* ApŚ.

*āviṣ* (MS. *āviḥ*) *kṛṇuṣva daivyāny agne* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*apālām* . . . *triṣ* (ApMB. MG. *triḥ*) *pū*° RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG.

*parṇe vo vasatiṣ* (TS. MS. °*tiḥ*) *kṛtā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*niḥ kravyādaṁ nudāmasi* (MS. *nudasva*) AV. MS.: *niṣ kravyādaṁ sedha* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *niṣ kravyādam anīnaśat* RV. AV. MG.

[*svāduṣ* (AV. °*duḥ*; but most mss., SPP., and Whitney °*duṣ*) *kilāyaṁ madhumāṅ utāyam* RV. AV. AB. ApŚ.]

ALTERATION OF FINAL *r* BEFORE *k* AND *p*

**§968.** Among the variants occur only three pādas belonging here, and they all concern the word *svarpati*. This occurs in that form in RV. (three times), AV. and KS. (once each), while in SV. (three times) and PB. (once) it occurs in the form *svaḥpati*. This accords with RPr. 258 (4. 12), which requires *svar* before any voiceless sound in composition (otherwise *ḥ*). APr. ignores the case, which does not come within its purview since it ocurs in Book 20, which the Pr. does not treat. The pādas are:
*yuvaṁ hi sthaḥ svarpatī* (SV. PB. *svaḥpatī*) RV. SV. PB.
*dātrasyāgne svarpatiḥ* (SV. *svaḥpatiḥ*) RV. SV. KS.
*svaḥpatir yadī vṛdhe* SV.: *svarpatiṁ yad īṁ vṛdhe* RV. AV.

FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL SIBILANT (NOT FOLLOWED BY A CONSONANT)

**§969.** In this case RPr. 251, 253 allows either *ḥ* or retention of the sibilant, except in cases where the initial is altered to *ṣ* by the influence of a non-*a* vowel preceding the final *s*, in which case the final *s* must be assimilated to *ṣ*. A violation of this rule is permitted in Aufrecht's edition and Müller's *editio princeps* in the first variant quoted below, *niḥṣahamāṇo . . .*; Müller's editions of 1873 and 1877 read *niṣṣah*° in accordance with the Pr. rule. VPr. 3. 8 f. quotes opposing views of different authorities and does not decide between them; according to Weber the mss. of both VS. and VSK. generally write *ḥ*. APr. 2. 40 requires assimilation of the sibilant, but according to Whitney the mss. of AV. generally write *ḥ*, and the edition usually follows them. TPr. 9. 2 also requires assimilation of the sibilant, but Whitney says that the mss. of TS. generally write *ḥ*, and this practice Weber seems to have generalized in his edition.

**§970.** The few variants recorded in the Concordance indicate that in most texts *s* in these circumstances appears as *ḥ*, whether absolutely final or in compounds. In KS. however it is always retained or assimilated, according to Von Schroeder's edition (cf. his Einleitung, p. XII); the Concordance rarely takes note of this habit of KS., and it has not seemed worth while to collect such cases here. Among the variants, the RV. retains or assimilates the sibilant in about half the cases (five in all); but in several of these Müller prints *ḥ* instead. According to the Concordance (based on the Bibl. Ind. edition), TB. also

retains the sibilant three times; but in all of these the Poona ed. has *ḥ*. ApMB. also retains or assimilates the sibilant (see Winternitz, p. xlviii); but again the Concordance usually ignores this. All other texts would seem to write *ḥ*. [But it is impossible to say how much this is due to editorial systematization on the one hand, and on the other to the failure of the Concordance to record readings with the sibilant, which evidently did not seem to Bloomfield worth recording when he was preparing the Concordance. In this opinion I agree with him; and I consider the following list of variants of extremely slight value. F. E.]

**§971.** The following variants have been noted:

*niḥṣahamāṇo* (SV. *niṣṣa*°) *yamate nāyate* RV. SV. On the RV. reading see the preceding paragraph.

*vakṣaḥsu* (RV. *vakṣassu*; but Müller °*ḥsu*) *rukmā upaśiśriyāṇāḥ* RV. MS. TB.

*vardhanaṁ pruniṣṣidhe* (SV. °*niḥṣidhe*) RV. SV.

*pṛtsutūrṣu śravassu* (AV. and Müller's RV. °*ḥsu*) *ca* RV. AV.

*vṛṣā na kruddhaḥ patayad rajassv* (AV. and Müller's RV. °*ḥsv*) *ā* RV. AV.

*havir haviṣṣu vandyaḥ* (SV. *haviḥṣu* †*vandyaḥ*) RV. SV.

*kriyanta* (TB. *priyā ta*) *ā barhiḥ* (KS.† TB. °*his*, but TB. Poona ed. °*hiḥ*) *sīda* RV. AV. KS. TB.

*uto araṇyāniḥ* (TB. °*nis*, but Poona ed. °*niḥ*) *sāyam* RV. TB.

*upa naḥ* (KS.† TB. *nas*, but TB. Poona ed. *naḥ*) *sūnavo giraḥ* RV. SV. VS. KS. TB.

*idaṁ devānām idam u naḥ* (KS. *idaṁ nas*) *saha* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*satyā eṣām* (AG. *etā*) *āśiṣaḥ* (ApMB. °*ṣas*) *santu* . . . VS. VSK. AG. SMB. Kauś. ApMB. HG.

### FINAL *s* BEFORE SIBILANT PLUS CONSONANT

**§972.** RPr. 255 (4. 12) prescribes the dropping of the *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant. So also VPr. 3. 12. TPr. 9. 1 quotes a rule of one teacher to the same effect; the comm. and Whitney regard this as intended to be binding, and according to Whitney the mss. of TS. generally follow it. APr. contains no such prescription, but the AV. mss. observe the practice in a majority of cases, and Whitney says that it has been observed uniformly in the Berlin edition (see his note on APr. 2. 40). This appears to be not quite true; cf. the variants *hotrā-vidaḥ stomataṣṭāso* . . . AV. 18. 3. 47b, and *madhvaḥ ścotanty* . . . AV. 20. 88. 3d.

**§973.** None of the Prātiśākhyas authorize the dropping of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant; but the comm. on TPr. 9. 1 says that 'some' prescribe the dropping even then.

1. Final *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant

**§974.** The usage varies somewhat arbitrarily in manuscripts and editions; and it is not always clear to what extent editors have been guided by the actual readings of the mss. Aufrecht's edition of RV. follows the Prātiśākhya rule, dropping *s* before sibilant plus surd; but Müller's edition always prints *ḥ*, at least in the variant pādas, and we believe otherwise. Benfey's edition of SV. is apparently not wholly consistent: of the two variant pādas noted, one drops the *s*, the other reads *ḥ*. On AV. see above, §972. In TS., Weber's edition apparently always drops the *s;* at least the variants record no contrary case. The same is true of Weber's edition of VS. Von Schroeder's edition of MS. always prints *ḥ;* but the editor tells us (Einleitung to Vol. 1, p. XLII) that this was done in defiance of his mss., which generally follow the custom of most texts and drop *s*. On MŚ. and MG. cf. Knauer, Einleitung to MG., p. xxxviii; it appears that the mss. of these texts vary greatly, but that Knauer undertook to print *ḥ* generally; among the variants we have noted only one case where he failed to do so, *yas te drapsa skandati* MŚ. 2. 4. 3. 29a. The mss. of KS. usually, and von Schroeder's edition apparently always, keep the final sibilant, assimilating it to a following palatal or lingual sibilant; in most cases the Concordance ignores this habit of KS., quoting its readings with *ḥ* like those of MS.

**§975.** Most other texts seem usually to drop the *s*, at least in the repeated mantras. But evidently the mss. of many of them are inconsistent. It will be noted, in our list of variants, that TB. especially varies, seemingly at random, and that the Bibl. Ind. and Poona editions are often at variance on the point. ŚŚ. likewise shows a number of cases of *ḥ* where other texts drop the sibilant. Instructive is the repetition in the same text of ŚG. of the mantra *mā no hiṅsīḥ* (*hiṅsīt*) *sthaviraṁ* . . ., with and without *ḥ;* we must assume that so careful an editor as Oldenberg followed his mss. in both cases, and he reports no v.l. to either.

**§976.** [In recording the variants on this point, I have taken the liberty of applying certain *paribhāṣā* rules. It would certainly have been futile to record individually all the cases in which Von Schroeder and Knauer insert *ḥ* in MS., MŚ., and MG. against the evidence of their mss.

Likewise in the case of KS. there would be no point in recording every occurrence of the retained or assimilated sibilant, altho in this case the editor appears to have followed the general custom of his mss. The Concordance itself, as stated above, usually ignores this habit of KS. When, therefore, in the following list, a variant is stated to be found in MS., MŚ., MG., or KS., it is to be understood, in default of statement to the contrary, that the printed editions of the three first-named texts read *ḥ*, and that of KS. reads *s* (or *ś*, *ṣ* when these sibilants follow). Likewise in quotations from the RV. it is to be understood that the form quoted, without sibilant or *ḥ*, is found in Aufrecht's edition, while Müller's edition in every case reads *ḥ*.—I would add that in view of the evidently arbitrary way in which this matter is treated both in mss. and by editors generally, I cannot attribute very much significance or importance to the variants recorded.—F. E.]

§977. The list of variants concerning final *s* before sibilant plus surd—to be interpreted in accordance with the *paribhāṣā* just stated—is as follows:

*pra tad viṣṇu* (TB. Poona ed. *viṣṇuḥ;* AV.† *viṣṇu;* ŚŚ. [pratīka] †*pra tad viṣṇur iti*] *stavate* . . . RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚŚ. NṛpU.

*ya* (ŚŚ. *yaḥ*) *strīṇāṁ* . . . VS. TS. KSA. ŚŚ.

*viṣṇo* (TB. *viṣṇoḥ*) *stupo* (*stūpo*) *'si* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*viṣṇo* (TB. *viṣṇoḥ*) *sthānam asi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*saṁsrāvabhāgā* (or, *saṁsrava*°; TB. °*bhāgāḥ*) *stheṣā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.

*huta* (TB. *hutaḥ*) *stokaḥ* TS.MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*hotrāvida* (AV. °*vidaḥ*, TB. °*vṛdha*, Poona ed. °*vṛdhaḥ*) *stomataṣṭāso* . . . RV. AV. MS. TB.

*vipṛca* (TB. Poona ed. 1. 3. 3. 6. °*caḥ*) *stha* VSK. KS. ŚB. TB. (both readings) KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The same with *saṁpṛca* . . .

*andha sthāndho* . . . VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *ambha* (ApŚ. *ambhaḥ*) *sthāmbho* . . . TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG.

*ā na* (ŚŚ. *naḥ*) *stuta* . . . RV. ŚŚ.

*āyu stha* ApŚ.: *āyuḥ stha* TB.

*ṛtava* (TB. °*vaḥ*) *stha* . . . VS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*indravanta* (AB. °*taḥ*) *stuta* (*studhvam*) AB. GB. Vait.

*diva* (TB. *divaḥ*) *skambha*° . . . VS. VSK. KS. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*pra va* (KB. ŚŚ. *vaḥ*) *spaḍ* . . . RV. KB. ŚŚ.

*prokṣitā* (TB. Conc. °*tā* and °*tāḥ*, Poona ed. both times °*tāḥ*) *stha* VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.

*balavijñāya* (SV. °*yaḥ*) *sthaviraḥ* . . . RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
*bṛhadbhir vājai* (TB. Poona ed. *vājaiḥ*) *sthavirebhir* . . . RV. MS. KS. TB.
*bṛhaspati* (TB. Conc. °*ti* and °*tiḥ*, Poona ed. both times °*tiḥ*) *stotram* VS. MS. KS. TB.
*madhva* (AV. °*vaḥ*) *ścotanty* . . . RV. AV.
*mā no hiṅsīḥ* (and, *hiṅsī*) *sthaviram* . . . ŚG. (both)
*mānta* (ApŚ. *māntaḥ*) *sthur* . . . RV. AV. AB. JB. ApŚ. MŚ.
*mā na stena* . . . RV. KS.: *mā va* (TB. Poona ed. *va* and *vaḥ*) *stena* . . . RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.
*yas te drapsa* (ŚŚ. Vait. *drapsaḥ;* MŚ. *drapsa*) *skandati* . . . RV. VS. TS. KS. GB. ŚB. Vait. MŚ. ŚŚ.
*ye devā devasuva* (TB. °*vaḥ*) *stha* . . . TS. TB.
*vāyava* (TB. °*vaḥ*) *stha* VS. TS. MS. KS. GB. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
*upāyava* (TB. °*vaḥ*) *stha* TS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.
*prāṇaḥ sthaḥ* TB.: *prāṇa sthaḥ* ApŚ.
*stokā* (TB. Poona ed. *stokāḥ*) *ścotanti* . . . RV. MS. KS. AB. TB.
*subhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ.: *suhutakṛtaḥ stha* AŚ.
*sūryatvacasa* (TB. Poona ed. °*saḥ*) *stha* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.
*gira* (ApŚ. *giraḥ*) *stomāsa īrate* RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ.
*cakṣu* (TB. *cakṣuḥ*) *sthaś* . . . TB. ApŚ.
*cita* (TB. *citaḥ*) *stha* TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
*cita* (ApŚ. once out of four times, and TA. twice out of three times acc. to Conc., all three times acc. to Poona ed., *citaḥ*) *stha pari*° . . . VS. TS. KS. TA. ApŚ. KŚ.
*prati tvā diva* (TB. *divaḥ*) *skambhanir vettu* (TB. Poona ed. †*vetu*) TS. TB.
[*triṇave* †*maruta* (Conc. °*taḥ* for VS.) *stutāḥ* (°*tam*) VS. MS. KS.]
[*dhruvam asi dhruvata* (Conc. °*taḥ* for ApMB.) *sthitam* ApMB. HG.]

### 2. Final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant

**§978.** Here the regular usage of nearly all texts, and the prescriptions of all the Prātiśākhyas, require *ḥ*. In KS., just as before sibilant plus surd, the final *s* is retained, or assimilated to an initial palatal or lingual sibilant; again, as in the preceding group, the Concordance usually ignores this, and quotes KS. as reading *visarga* like other texts. The only text noted which regularly drops the final *s* is ApMB.; see Winternitz's Introduction, p. xlviii. It appears, however, that the mss. of some other texts show the same dropping of *s* not infrequently. Especially is this true of AV.; see Whitney's note on APr. 2. 86, and on his Translation of AV., 6. 121. 1. The Bibl. Ind. editions of TB. and TA. show the dropping of *s* a number of times, but the Poona editions of the same

works print *ḥ* in most of these cases. There is even one case in MS. which seems to have eluded the editorial vigilance of von Schroeder: *syonā* (for *syonāḥ*, so ApŚ.) *syonena ghṛtena mā samukṣata*, MS. 4. 2. 5. Otherwise the variants which show lack of *ḥ* are rare and sporadic.

**§979.** [Again, as in the preceding section, the following list is to be interpreted with two *paribhāṣā* rules, viz.: 1. KS. always retains or assimilates the sibilant, tho this fact is usually not recorded in the Concordance.—2. Variants in which the sibilant is dropped in ApMB. alone are excluded from the list, since this dropping takes place universally in that text.—F. E.]

**§980.** The variants of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant are as follows:

*svapnaḥ svapnādhikaraṇe* RVKh.: *svapna svapnābhikaraṇena* AV. The latter is to be understood with *svápna(ḥ)* nom., not voc.; Edgerton, *AJP* 35. 438ff.

*medasaḥ* (VSK. °*sa*) *svāhā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.

*yā devy asīṣṭake prāṇadā . . . cakṣurdāś* (ApŚ. °*dā*) *śrotradā . . . dyaurdās* (ApŚ. °*dā*) *svardāḥ* . . . KS. ApŚ.: *yā devy asīṣṭaka āyurdāḥ . . . cakṣurdāḥ śrotradāḥ* MS.

*saṁjñānaṁ naḥ* (TB. *na*, but Poona ed. *naḥ*) *sve°* . . . RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB.

*ādityebhyaḥ preṣya . . . mahasvasarasya* (MŚ. *mahaḥ sva°*) . . . ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. See Knauer's note, and pw., Addendum to Vol. 5, s. v. *mahasvasara*.

*avidahantaḥ* (TB. °*ta*) *śrapayata* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*uṣasaḥ śreyasīḥ-śreyasīr dadhat* ApŚ.: *uṣasa śreyasī-śreyasīr dadhat* TB. Conc., but Poona ed. as ApŚ.

*jyog ajītā* (MŚ. *jīvā*, SMB. *jītā*, but Jörgensen *ajītā*) *ahatāḥ* (SMB. °*tā*) *syāma* TS. KS. MŚ. PG. SMB.

*śrotrapāḥ* (AŚ. °*pā*) *śrotraṁ* . . . TS. MS. AB. AŚ.

*svar* (TS. ApŚ. *suvar*) *ṇa* (TS. ApŚ. *na*) *gharmaḥ* (ApŚ.* °*ma*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. (both)

*stutaḥ* (TB. *stuta*, but Poona ed. *stutaḥ*) *śravasyann* . . . RV. MS. KS. TB.

*syonāḥ* (MS. °*nā*) *syonena ghṛtena mā samukṣata* MS. ApŚ.

*supāṇiḥ* (TA. °*ṇi*, but Poona ed. °*ṇiḥ;* ŚŚ. *subāhuḥ*) *svaṅguriḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.

*cittiḥ* (TA. °*ti*, but Poona ed. °*tiḥ*) *sruk* MS. TA. ŚŚ. MŚ.

*paro martaḥ paraḥ* (ApŚ. all mss., and TB. Conc. *para*, but TB. Poona ed. *paraḥ*) *śvā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*pary āvarte duṣvapnyāt* (KŚ. *duḥṣva°*, v. l. *duṣva°*) AV. KŚ. See Whitney's note on 6. 121. 1c for the spelling of this word in the AV. mss.

*duṣvapnyaṁ duritaṁ niḥ* (AV. **ni*) *ṣvāsmat* AV. (both). Whitney, however, would read *niḥ* in both places—with the Prātiśākhya, but against nearly all the mss.

*duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha* (Poona ed. *duṣṣvap° duruṣṣaha*) TA.: *duḥsvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU. Cf. preceding two.

*aśloṇā* (AV. comm. *aśro°*) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ* (TA. *aśloṇāṅgair ahṛtā*, Poona ed. *ahrutāḥ* with v. l. *°tā*) *svarge* AV. TA.

*snuṣā sapatnā* (TB. comm. and Poona ed. text *°nāḥ*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ. *'ham asmi*) TB. AŚ. *sapatnāḥ*, nom. pl. masc. (!), seems to be intended in both.

### INITIAL *s* VARYING WITH *ṣ*

**§981.** Nothing approaching general rules on this subject comes out of the Prātiśākhyas (RPr. 318 (5. 1) ff., APr. 2. 96 ff., TPr. 6. 1 ff., VPr. 3. 58 ff.). The variants hardly throw much new light on the excellent treatment in Wackernagel, I §§204–7. In practically every case the altered *s* is preceded by an *i* or *u* vowel; TS. reads *ṛkṣama* for *ṛksama* of other texts (§985), and in a few cases *ṣ* appears after *a*-vowels, always owing to the influence of analogy from other words where an *i* or *u* vowel occurred (§984). *Visarga* after *i* or *u* does not interfere with the alteration: Wackernagel I p. 237, bottom.

**§982.** In compound verbs the change was regular in all texts (Wackernagel I §204), and we find no variants except one or two compounds of the copula (§987), and except forms where the augment intervenes between the altering sound and the initial *s*. In these latter cases *ṣ* is extremely rare in RV., but becomes common in the other Saṁhitās (Wackernagel I §205a); two of our variants show *ṣ* under such circumstances for RV. *s* (§983). The largest group of variants concerns noun compounds. Here the conditions are confused: the change is quite common, yet by no means universal, in all periods of the Vedic language (Wackernagel I §206). We find in the variants no evidence of school or other tendencies; earlier *s* is replaced by later *ṣ* and vice versa, so far as we can see quite at random. Next comes a somewhat smaller group of cases in which 'light words', monosyllables or forms of the copula, are concerned. Lingual *ṣ* in these is common in the RV., but relatively rare later (Wackernagel I §207); accordingly we find that in most of our variants a later text substitutes *s* for earlier (generally RV.) *ṣ;* but the reverse is also found (§987). Finally, there are a very few sporadic cases of longer uncompounded words; in these the change is very rare in post-Rigvedic language; yet our variants show at least one case of *ṣ* in TB. substituted for *s* of RV. (§988).

**§983.** The following are the variants concerning augmented forms of compound verbs. As stated above, there are no other variants of compound verbs except a few of the copula, see §987:

*vy astabhnā* (VS. ŚB. *askabhnā*, MS. *aṣkabhnā*, KS. *aṣṭabhnā*, TS. *askabhnād*, TA. *aṣṭabhnād*) *rodasī* . . . RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*ād id dhotāraṁ ny asādayanta* (TB. *aṣā°*) RV. VS. TB.

*abhy aṣṭhāṁ* (TS. KS. ApŚ. *asthād*, MS. *asthāṁ*) *viśvāḥ pṛtanā arātīḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. ApŚ.

*tena dasyūn vy asahanta devāḥ* TS. KS.: *tena devā vy aṣahanta śatrūn* AV.

*yasmād bhīṣā nyaṣadaḥ* (ŚŚ. *nyasadaḥ*) TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

**§984.** Coming to noun compounds, we mention first the few anomalous cases in which an *a* vowel precedes, so that the change to *ṣ* is irregular. Four of them contain the Rigvedic words *pṛtanāṣah* (*°ṣāh*, *°ṣāhya*), which are several times changed in later texts to the more regular *°sah* etc. Whitney's statement (*Grammar*, 186a) about this form is not correct, as the variants show. The *ṣ* is evidently due to the analogy of compounds like *śatrūṣah*, *bhūriṣah*, *abhīṣah* etc.—The only other case contains the TS. form *saṣṭubh*, which is obviously analogous to *triṣṭubh*, *anuṣṭubh*, as noted by Wackernagel I §206b:

*saṁstup* (TS. *saṣṭup*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ā vīraṁ pṛtanāṣaham* (SV. *°saham*) RV. AV. SV.

*tam agne pṛtanāṣaham* (TS. *°saham*) RV. TS.

*pṛtanāṣāhyāya* (TB. *°sāhyāya*) *ca* RV. AV. VS. TB.

*uccairvāji pṛtanāṣāṭ* (HG. *°sāham*) RVKh. HG.

**§985.** Twice in the same passage of TS. occurs the stem *ṛkṣama*, for *ṛksama* of the others; this is the only case where the alteration is due to a preceding *k* (cf. Wackernagel I p. 237, top):

*jagatyā ṛksamam* (TS. *ṛkṣamam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ṛksamāc* (TS. *ṛkṣamāc*) *chukraḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

**§986.** The remaining cases concern a preceding *i* or *u* or diphthong. In GB. 1. 5. 25d, quoted in Conc. as *viskandham enaṁ vidhṛtaṁ prajāsu*, Gaastra reads *viṣkandham . . . visṛtaṁ . . .*

*abhivīro abhisatvā* (KS. *°ṣatvā*) *sahojāḥ* (AV. MS.† KS. *sahojit*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Many mss. of AV., followed by the comm. and SPP.'s ed., also read *abhiṣatvā*.

*stotā me goṣakhā* (SV. *gosakhā*) *syāt* RV. AV. SV.

*pṛthiviṣadaṁ* (MS. *pṛthivī°*; VS.† *°sadaṁ*) *tvāntarikṣasadaṁ* (VS.† adds, *divisadaṁ devasadaṁ*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*deva savitaḥ susāvitram* (ApŚ. *suṣāv°*) . . . PB. KŚ. ApŚ.

*rayisthāno* (AV. °*ṣṭhāno*) *rayim asmāsu dhehi* RV. AV.
*suṣamiddho* (RV. *susa*°) *na ā vaha* RV. SV. PB. LŚ.
*susamiddho* (KS. TB. *suṣa*°) *vareṇyaḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.
*susamiddhaṁ* (TB. *suṣa*°) *vareṇyam* VS. TB.
*suṣadam* (ŚŚ. *susatyam*) *id gavām* . . . AV. ŚŚ.
*ye triṣaptāḥ* (MS. *tris*°) *pariyanti* AV. MS.
*triṣaptāso* (TB. *tris*°) *marutaḥ* . . . AV. TB.
*utkūlanikūlebhyas triṣṭhinam* VS.: *utkūlavikūlābhyāṁ tristhinam* TB.
*amba niṣpara* (TS. ApŚ. *niṣvara*, KS. *nisvara*, MS. *nismara*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. In VS. ŚB. divide *niṣ-para;* the rest belong here.
*somanetrebhyo* . . . *uparisadbhyo* (VSK. °*ṣadbhyo*) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB.
*ye devāḥ somanetrā uparisado* (VSK. °*ṣado*) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB.: *ye devā upariṣado* (KS.° *das*) . . . MS. KS.
*vrajaṁ gacha gosthānam* (VS. ŚB. TB. *goṣṭhānam*, but TB. Poona ed. °*sth*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
*kṛṣṇagrīvaḥ śitikakṣo 'ñjisakthas* (MS. °*ṣakthas*) *ta aindrāgnāḥ* VS. MS.
*añjisakthāya* (KSA.† °*ṣakthāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.
*duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha* (Poona ed. *duṣṣvap*° *duruṣṣaha*) TA.: *duḥsvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU.

§**987.** Next we come to the group of monosyllables or forms of the copula. In one or two of these *s* of RV. is replaced by *ṣ* in a later text:
*druhaḥ pāśān* (TS. KS. *pāśaṁ*) *prati sa* (KS. *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* RV. TS. MS. KS.
*apo su* (MS. *ṣu*) *myakṣa* . . . RV. MS.

But in most of them the change is in the opposite direction:
*kṛdhī ṣv* (TS. *sv*) *asmāṅ* . . . RV. TS. MS. KS.
*prati ṣma* (SV. *sma*) *deva rīṣataḥ* (SV. *ri*°) RV. SV. MS. KS. TB.
*prati ṣma* (AV. *sma*) *rakṣaso daha* (AV. *jahi*) RV. AV.
*asti hi ṣmā* (TS. MS. KS. *astu sma*) *te śuṣminn avayāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
*vayaṁ ghā te api ṣmasi* (SV. *smasi*) RV. SV.
*anupūrvaṁ yatamānā yati ṣṭha* (AV. *stha*) RV. AV.
*divi ṣañ* (AV. *ṣaṅ*, SV. *saṅ*) *chukra ātataḥ* RV. AV. SV.
*divi sad* (RV. *ṣad*) *bhūmy ā dade* RV. SV. VS.
*ūtī ṣa* (SV. *sa*) *bṛhato divaḥ* RV. SV.
*pari ṣya suvāno akṣāḥ* RV.: *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV.: cf. *pari sya suvāno avyayam* RV.
*tasmād āpo anu ṣṭhana* (TS. *sthana*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

§**988.** Finally, we come to the few sporadic cases of longer uncom-

pounded words. Note that in the first a later text introduces *ṣ* where RV. has *s*:

*trīṇi śatā trī sahasrāṇy* (TB. *ṣa°*) *agnim* RV. VS. TB.

*ye apsu ṣadāṅsi* (KS. *'psu sadāṅsi*) *cakrire* MS. KS.: *teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam* RVKh.

*apsu dhautasya te deva soma* (TS. tr. *soma deva te*) *nṛbhiḥ ṣṭutasya* (KS. *nṛbhis stu°*, TS. PB. *nṛbhiḥ sutasya*) . . . TS. MS. KS. PB. The mss. of MS. read *nṛbhi*, which von Schroeder as always (cf. §974) changes to *nṛbhiḥ*; but the presence of final *ḥ*, as noted above, would have no influence here in any event.

*pari bhrātuḥ pari ṣvasuḥ* HG. ApMB.: *pari mātuḥ pari svasuḥ* PG.

*vāyo ve* (TS. ApŚ. *vīhi*) *stokānām* (VSK. *°nāṁ juṣāṇaḥ*, KS. *ṣṭokānām*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. KS.† 3. 6 (with †*ve*, not *veṣ*).

### SECONDARY CRASIS, AND HIATUS

**§989.** Secondary crasis or double sandhi occurs rarely among the variants. Most of the cases quoted below are capable of different morphological or lexical interpretations without assumption of double sandhi. There are however a few cases where it is clearly found, and we shall begin with one from MG., which according to Knauer (p. xxxviii f.) has it quite frequently:

*dhruvā strī patikule iyam* (MG. *°kuleyam*) SMB. MG. In SMB., also, the v. l. *°kuleyam* is recorded, as well as *°kula iyam*, which is the regular form and would seem preferable to the reading adopted by the editor, *°kule iyam* (with complete hiatus).

*uc chuṣmā oṣadhīnām* (AV. *chuṣmauṣ°*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Whitney would 'probably' read *chuṣmā* (for *°māḥ*) *oṣ°*; this is supported by Ppp., cf. Whitney's note and Barret, *JAOS* 35. 50 f.

*viśvādityāḥ* [pratīka] MG. This probably refers to the formula *viśva* (PG. text †*viśve*, with hiatus) *ādityā vasavaś ca devāḥ* (MG. *sarve*) AG. PG. MG. All mss. of MG. (in the pratīka) read *viśvād°*.

*sahasradhāre 'va* (AV. *°dhāra eva*) *te sam asvaran* RV. AV. KS. ApŚ. Whitney, note on AV. 5. 6. 3, suggests that RV. stands for *°dhārāḥ*, with double sandhi. The RV. p.p. reads *°dhāre, ava*. Oldenberg, *Noten*, would read *avate* as one word, keeping *°dhāre* of p.p. The whole verse is difficult and obscure.

*anāmayaidhi* etc., see §344.

**§990.** All the remaining cases permit, if they do not compel, interpretations of both forms of the variant without assuming double sandhi.

They are, however, similar enough to the foregoing to be worth quoting in this context:

*ado ma āgachatu* ApŚ.: *ado māgachatu* MS. KS. MŚ. (not ApŚ. which in 4. 13. 8 reads †*ma āga*°)—In ApŚ. *me*, in the others *mā*.

*māgadhaḥ puñścalī kitavaḥ klībo 'śūdrā abrāhmaṇās* (VSK. . . . *'śūdrā-brāhmaṇās*) *te prājāpatyāḥ* VS. VSK. Two separate words in VS., a compound in VSK. So also in the following; cf. the section on False Divisions, which contains other somewhat similar cases that might perhaps also be mentioned here.

*aśloṇā* (AV. comm. *aśro*°) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ* (TA. *aśloṇāṅgair ahṛtā*, Poona ed. *ahrutāḥ*, v. l. °*tā*) *svarge* AV. TA. 'Unmaimed in limbs', or 'with unmaimed limbs'. Cf. preceding.

*ākrayāyā ayogūm* VS.: *ākrayāyāyogūm* (so Poona ed. text and comm.) TB. Different genders; fem. in VS., masc. in TB.

*saha ojaḥ* (VS. *sahaujaḥ*; VSK. *sahojaḥ*) VS. VSK. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. In VS. VSK. *saha* plus *ojas* (on VSK.'s sandhi see §731); in the others, *sahas* plus *ojas*. The latter form is probably original.

*yathaika ṛṣir* (KS. °*karṣir*) *vijānate* KS. TA. ApŚ. See §919, end.

*yā* (MS. *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB.: *yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ* KS. Serpents are referred to: 'who are missiles of sorcerers' is certainly original, yet KS. makes reasonable sense: 'either in whom are sorcerers' . . . (correlative with the following, which see). But it is clearly based on *yā* (or *ya*) *iṣavo*, mispronounced with secondary crasis.

**§991.** From a purely external standpoint, the variants concerning hiatus are indistinguishable from those concerning double sandhi: or they may be called the converse of them. In the cases of double sandhi, the form with hiatus is regular; in those we are about to give, it is irregular. A fitting bridge between the two is formed by a group of variants in which a secondary text resolves a long vowel or diphthong incorrectly, leaving a secondary hiatus, or at least one whose historicity is questionable:

*uta śravasā* (MS. *śravasa ā*) *pṛthivīm* VS. TS. MS. TA. The p.p. of MS. reads *śravasaḥ, ā*; but both meter and sense show that the MS. has a stupid blunder.

*yad indra citra mehanā* (SV. PB. *ma iha na*) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. See §832.

*vasneva* (KS. *vasna iva*) *vikrīṇāvahai* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. AŚ. Since the uncombined form was a neuter nom.-acc. plur. of an *a*-stem (*vasna*), it seems that we are to understand it as *vasnā* (so MS. p.p.), rather

than *vasna*. We have, then, in KS. perhaps a case of what may be called partial sandhi, that is shortening of a long vowel before a following vowel, as in *ā-ṛ* = RV. etc. *a-ṛ*; cf. Wackernagel I §267b for such shortenings before other vowels than *ṛ*. Otherwise KS. would be a mere blunder, like MS. in the preceding. Cf. the next.

*sapatnā vācaṁ manasā* (AŚ. °*sa*) *upāsatām* TB. AŚ. 'His (or, my) rivals shall obey his (or, my) word with their minds'. Both texts must intend *manasā*; TB. has complete hiatus, while AŚ. (if the text is correct; we have not much faith in the edition) shows 'partial sandhi'; see under the preceding variant. The meter is against fusion.

See also the variant *praty etā vāmā* (*sunvan*) etc., §357.

**§992.** The rest concern cases of complete hiatus, except in so far as they may be capable of different formal or lexical explanations. It will be noticed that the meter sometimes favors the hiatus, as in the variant last quoted:

*bhūyo vā ataḥ somo rājārhati* (MŚ. *rājā arhati*) ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. All Knauer's mss. read thus for MŚ.; Knauer suggests *pluti*. The passage seems to be prose, but with hiatus as in MŚ. it could pass for a fair jagatī pāda.

*pavasva deva āyuṣak* (RV. *devāyuṣak*) RV. SV. PB. The accent in SV. (*devá*) indicates a nom. form; but Benfey translates a voc. In any case SV. is secondary, and metri gr.

*pāpmānam uta vāgham* (SMB. *vā agham*) SMB. ApMB. HG. Another case of hiatus for metrical reasons.

*ā pūṣā etv ā vasu* TS.: *ā puṣṭam etv ā vasu* AV. Hiatus for metrical reasons in TS.; in AV. the meter is improved without fusion.

*tatra indro bṛhaspatiḥ* VS.: *tatrā* (SV. *tatra*) *no brahmaṇaspatiḥ* RV. SV. Hiatus *metri gratia* in VS.

*tan ma* (Vait. *mā*) *āpyāyatāṁ punaḥ* GB. Vait. Not only the hiatus, but the meaning of the verb is strange in Vait. Garbe and Caland take it with active meaning, which it has according to BR. only in one epic passage (Mbh. 5. 508). In GB. (with *me*) there is no hiatus and the verb is intransitive, both improvements. But if *mā* be read, hiatus is necessary to give good meter.

*saṁ tvā riṇanti* (Vait. *ṛṇanti*) LŚ. KŚ. Vait. The hiatus in Vait. may be connected with pronunciation of *ṛ* as *ri*, see §676.

*punantu ṛṣayaḥ* TA. MahānU. Hiatus in both forms.

*daivyā hotārāgna* (MS. °*gnā*, ŚŚ. *hotārā agna*) *ājyasya vītām* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Probably ŚŚ. stands for *hotārā*, not °*rāu*, and therefore has hiatus; see §885d. For *hotārāu* we should expect °*rāv* in ŚŚ.

*achidrā uśijaḥ padānu takṣuḥ* TS.: *achidrośijaḥ kavayaḥ padānutakṣiṣuḥ* (see §627) KS. Keith, 'flawless abodes', as if *achidrā* went with *padā* as in KS.; but TS. p.p. *achidrāḥ*, with *uśijaḥ*, and so comm.

*abhīm* (SV. *abhī*) *ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata* RV. SV. Cf. *abhīm ṛtasya* (SV. *abhy ṛ3tasya*) *sudughā ghṛtaścutaḥ* RV. SV. On *m* as "Hiatus-tilger" see §309.

*pitṛbhyaḥ svadhāstu* (MahānU. *svadhā astu*) TA. MahānU.

**§993.** With the last variant belongs the next group, all in like contexts; in them we might indeed think of nominatives of the radical *ā* declension (in *ās*) varying with nominatives of the derivative *ā* declension in *ā*. But the uncombined forms occur only in Tait. texts, and according to TS. p.p. and TPr. 5. 2, 10. 13, are to be regarded as uncombined forms of *-mā*, without *s*:

*māsi* MS. MŚ.: *mā asi* TA. ApŚ. Likewise (in MS. TA.) *pramā, unmā, vimā, saṁmā, pratimā.*

*sahasrasya pramāsi* (TS. °*mā asi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with *pratimā*, and *sahasrasyonmā.*

**§994.** The next is different in character:

*manāsi* (KS. *manā asi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. All texts have a curious feminine stem (the gender doubtless due to attraction to parallel feminines in the context) which is supposed, no doubt correctly, to mean the same as the normal neuter *manas*. In KS. it has the form of a feminine *s*-stem (nom. *manā's*). In the others it becomes an *ā* stem.

**§995.** The next group contains textually dubious cases:

*pitaraś ca upāsate* (VS. *copā*°) RVKh. VS. The hiatus improves the meter; but Scheftelowitz reads *copāsate*, with all his authorities except the late Prayogaratna, which reads *copa āsate*, with hiatus in a different place.

*yā medhā apsarāsu* (MG. *medhāpsaraḥsu*) RVKh. MG. The meter is better, tho still poor, with hiatus. However, most of Knauer's mss. read *medhā aps*° in MG.; and on the other hand Scheftelowitz reads *medhāps*° in RVKh. without report of variant; he also reads °*psarassu.*

*devā brahmāṇa āgachata āgachata* GB., Conc.: *de*° *bra*° *āgachatāgachatāgachata* LŚ. But Gaastra reads for GB. *āgachatāgachata*; he notes a v. l. *āgachatā āga*°.

*vibhur vibhāvā suṣakhā* (AV. *sakha ā*) *sakhīyate* RV. AV. So the mss. of AV., leaving *sakha* unaccented; SPP. follows them; the vulgate ed. reads *sákhā ā'*. It seems at least possible that the AV. mss. correctly

present the Atharvan tradition; the verse is addressed to Kāma, so that a vocative *sakhe* is conceivable. If we were to accept the vulgate text, we should have a case of hiatus. Whitney in his Transl. assumes *sákhā'* (fusion of *sákhā* and *ā'*).

**§996.** The variants concerning the pronoun *sa* followed by a vowel constitute a special case. Here crasis was originally the rule, but (especially in late texts) there is a tendency to approach the Classical Sanskrit rule which requires hiatus. The variants are not numerous; in some of them the meter favors hiatus, notably in the first where the RV. itself (tho it writes a combined form) seems by its meter to call for hiatus:

*semāṁ* (AV. *sa imāṁ*) *no havyadātiṁ juṣāṇaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. Oldenberg, *Noten*, thinks that RV. should probably be read *sa imāṁ*.

*agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā* (AV. Kauś. *sa id dhotā*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Here both forms are metrically correct, since AV. omits the particle *u*.

*sa imāṁ* (ŚG. *semāṁ*) *devaḥ pūṣā* (also *aryamā*, and *varuṇaḥ*) ŚG. AG. SMB.

*soma āyuṣmān sa oṣadhībhir* (PG. *sauṣa°*) *āyuṣmān* TS. KS. PG. ApMB. This passage is prose. PG. is hyper-archaizing.

# INDEXES

# INDEX OF SOUNDS, SOUND GROUPS, AND LETTERS

Note.—Here are indexed all sounds, combinations, and letters which are treated as varying from a phonetic or graphic standpoint. In so far as they have semantic significance, they are to be sought rather in the following Sanskrit Index. For example, *ā* as a sound, and *ya* as a phonetic combination (which varies with *i*, *ī*, and *e*), are treated here; but *ā* the preposition or privative prefix, and *ya* the suffix, are listed in the Sanskrit Index. All references in all the Indexes are to sections.


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# SANSKRIT INDEX

Note.—Here are indexed the most important words, roots, stems, and formative elements which are treated in this book as having semantic value (cf. Note at the head of the Index of Sounds etc.): with this exception, that (to save space) words which occur *first* in their respective mantras are, as a general rule, *not* listed here, since they can be located in the Index of Mantras. The Index of Mantras is therefore to some extent supplementary to this Index, and should be consulted if a word sought is not found here. Of course, not all variant words could be listed here, even with this deduction. It has been the intention to include (a) those of greatest interest and importance, and (b) those which could least easily be found by other means. Nor are the references in this Index completely given to all occurrences of the variant word; only those references are given which deal with the matters most apt to be sought in connexion with the words listed. The Index of Mantras will supply complete references to all occurrences.—In this Index the colon (:) is used in the sense of 'varying with' or 'as a substitute for.' References are to sections.


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